A HISTORY OF EUROPE

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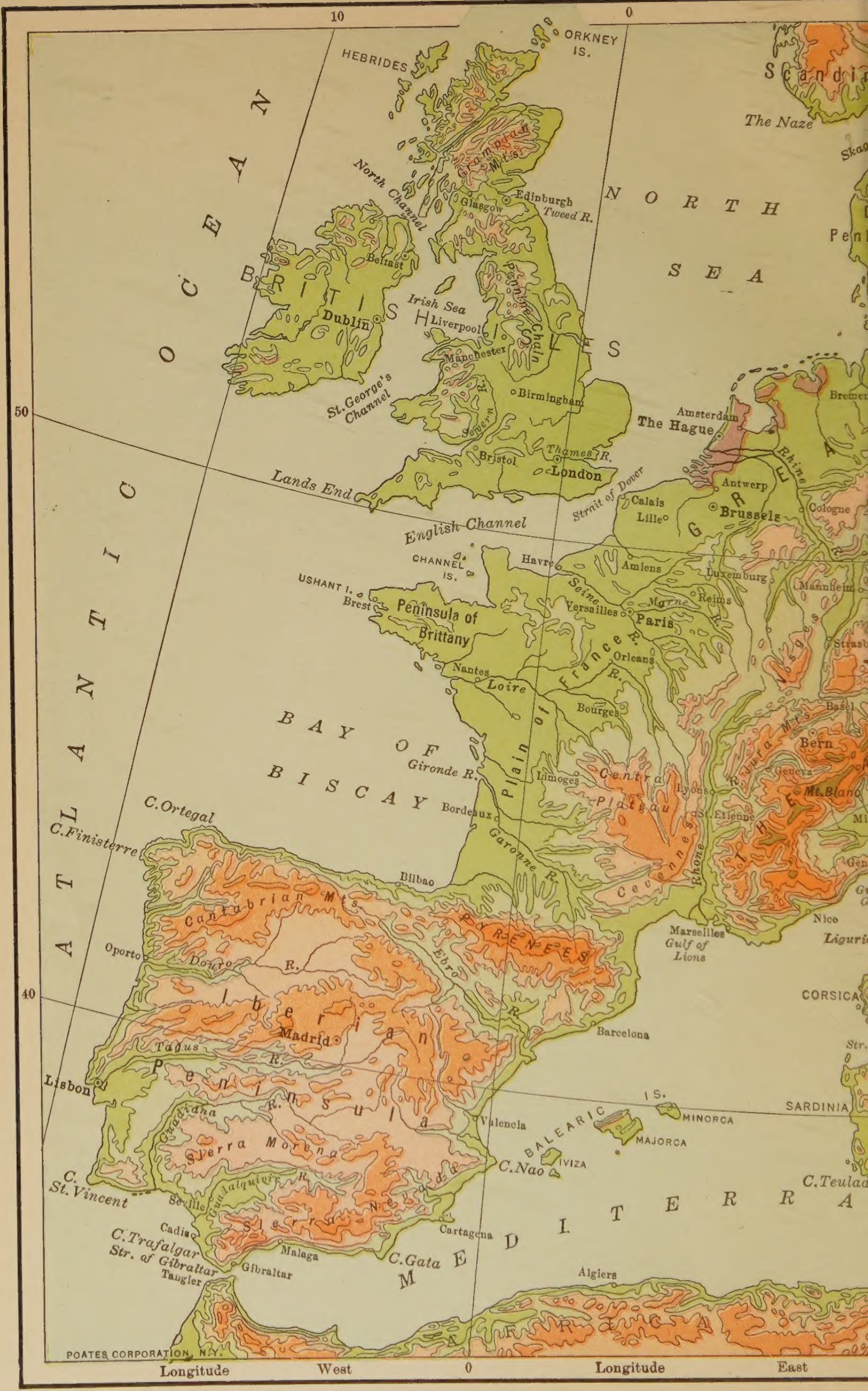
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HEBRIDES
ORKNEY IS.
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BRITISH ISLES
Belfast
Irish Sea
Dublin
Liverpool
Manchester
Pennine Chain
St. George's Channel
Birmingham
Severn R.
Amsterdam
The Hague
Bremen
Bristol
Thames R.
London
Lands End
Strait of Dover
Calais
Lille
Antwerp
Brussels
Rhine
Cologne
GERMANY
50
English Channel
CHANNEL IS.
Havre
Amiens
Luxemburg
Mannheim
USHANT I.
Brest
Peninsula of Brittany
Seine
Versailles
Paris
Marne
Reims
Strasb
Nantes
Loire
Orleans
France R.
Plain of France
Bourges
Basel
BAY OF BISCAY
Gironde R.
Jura Mts.
Bern
Limoges
Central Plateau
Lyons
Geneva
Mt. Blanc
Rhone R.
St. Etienne
ALPS
C. Ortegal
Bordeaux
C. Finisterre
Garonne R.
Cevennes
Bilbao
Gen
Cantabrian Mts.
PYRENEES
Nice
Marseilles
Gulf of Lions
Liguri
Oporto
Douro R.
Ebro R.
40
CORSICA
Iberian Peninsula
Madrid
Barcelona
Tagus R.
Str.
Lisbon
Guadiana R.
IS.
SARDINIA
MINORCA
BALEARIC
Valencia
MAJORCA
Sierra Morena
C. Nao
IVIZA
C. St. Vincent
Guadalquivir R.
C. Teulad
Sierra Nevada
MEDITERRA
Sevilla
Cadiz
C. Trafalgar
Str. of Gibraltar
Tangier
Gibraltar
Malaga
Cartagena
C. Gata
Algiers
AFRICA
POATES CORPORATION, N.Y.
Longitude West
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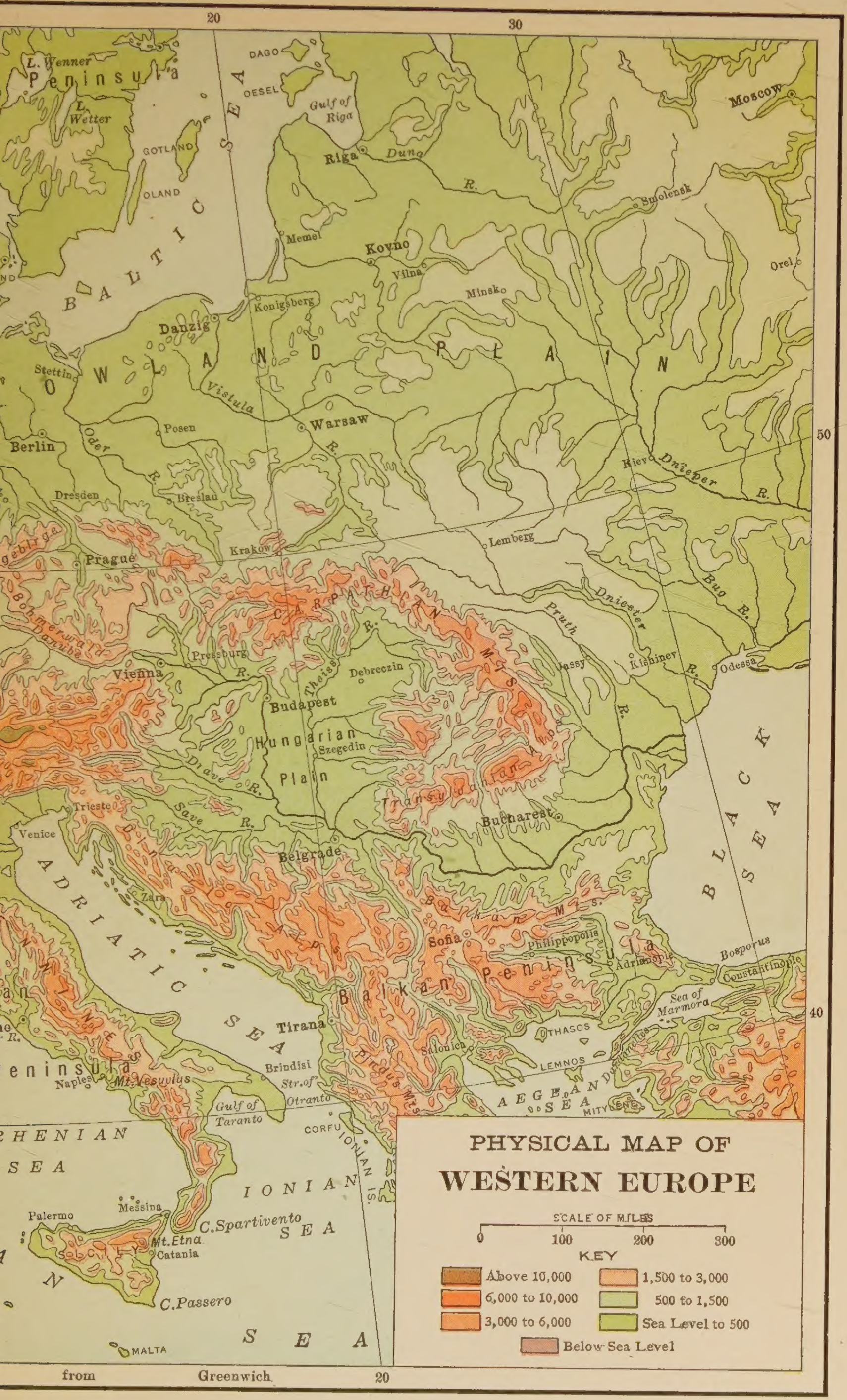

PHYSICAL MAP OF

WESTERN EUROPE

SCALE OF MILES
0
100
200
300
KEY
Above 10,000
6,000 to 10,000
3,000 to 6,000
1,500 to 3,000
500 to 1,500
Sea Level to 500
Below Sea Level
20
30
50
40
20
from
Greenwich
L. Wenner
Peninsula
L. Wetter
GOTLAND
OLAND
DAGO
OESEL
Gulf of Riga
Riga
Duna
R.
Moscow
Smolensk
Orel
BALTIC SEA
Memel
Kovno
Vilna
Minsk
Konigsberg
Danzig
Stettin
LOWLAND PLAIN
Vistula
Warsaw
R.
Posen
Berlin
Oder
R.
Breslau
Dresden
Kiev
Dnieper
R.
Krakow
Lemberg
gebirge
Prague
Bohmerwald
Danube
CARPATHIAN MTS.
R.
Dniester
Pruth
Bug
R.
Jassy
Kishinev
R.
Odessa
Pressburg
R.
Vienna
Theiss
Debreczin
Budapest
Hungarian Plain
Szegedin
Drave
R.
Save
R.
Trieste
Venice
Transylvanian Alps
Bucharest
Belgrade
BLACK SEA
ADRIATIC SEA
Zara
Din. Alps
Balkan Mts.
Sofia
Philippopolis
Balkan Peninsula
Adrianople
Bosporus
Constantinople
Sea of Marmora
Tirana
Salonica
Pindus Mts.
THASOS
LEMNOS
Dardanelles
AEGEAN SEA
MITYLENE
Brindisi
Str. of Otranto
CORFU
IONIAN IS.
APENNINES
Peninsula
Naples
Mt. Vesuvius
Gulf of Taranto
TYRRHENIAN SEA
IONIAN SEA
Palermo
Messina
C. Spartivento
Mt. Etna
Catania
SICILY
C. Passero
MALTA
SEA
R.

A HISTORY OF EUROPE

FROM THE REFORMATION
TO THE PRESENT DAY

BY FERDINAND SCHEVILL

PROFESSOR OF MODERN HISTORY IN THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

WITH GENEALOGICAL TABLES AND
TWENTY-FOUR MAPS

NEW EDITION

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A HISTORY OF EUROPE

CHAPTER I

CONCERNING HISTORY IN GENERAL AND THIS HISTORY IN PARTICULAR

An indispensable preliminary measure for every present-day historian is to explain to his readers what he means by history. For it can not have escaped even superficial observation that history has become a very elastic word with wholly indeterminate boundaries. It is hardly an exaggeration to say that there are today as many definitions of history as there are historians and that in fact every historian writes his own kind of history.

History a very elastic word

This extension of the bounds of history is a development of relatively recent date. The English historian, Edward Freeman, who lived in the second half of the nineteenth century, was still able to proclaim narrowly and dogmatically that "history is past politics." Not content with a cool, objective statement, he rode into the lists against all adversaries and fought hotly for his definition on the double ground that it alone accorded with the honorable tradition of his craft and that its surrender would bring loss and confusion in its train. And indeed the facts were so indisputably on his side that no one dreamed of denying that the European predecessors of Freeman as far back as the revivers of historical studies in the Renaissance had accepted history as substantially concerned with politics. More impressive still, the ancient historians from Herodotus to Tacitus, whom the modern writers regarded as half-gods and whom they continued humbly to imitate, had proceeded on precisely the same theory. It was unchallengeable that an ancient tradition gave its sanction to a purely political interpretation of history and that in view of the numerous brilliant disciples of the historical muse through the ages every departure from the customary ritual of her worship might be decried as impertinent and blasphemous.

History traditionally concerned with politics

And yet neither Freeman nor the long line of historical writers stretching in a shadowy column behind him as far back as Herodotus, father and fountain-head of history, could stop the movement that broke down the old barriers. Like all strong revolutionary forces it had been quietly and secretly at work some generations before men became aware of its existence. Undeniably it was tied up with the whole modern complex, above all, it resulted from the observational and scientific influences that had given birth to the new physics and astronomy, the new critical philosophies, and the new naturalistic phase of art and literature. Beginning more particularly with the eighteenth century, man's various activities in society, not only his political institutions but also his courts of justice and legal practices, his life on the farm and in the city, his relation to his group and the relation of social groups to one another, together with a score of other matters shedding a novel and amazing light on the great issue of his destiny, had begun to receive a somewhat timid attention. By the middle of the nineteenth century this new material, all of it strikingly illustrative of humanity's prolonged and many-sided struggle to make itself at home on earth, had reached immense proportions and could no longer be ignored by scholars who, calling themselves historians, instinctively felt that nothing appertaining to the creature man might remain foreign to their sympathy. To be sure, the vigor inhering in the accepted practice of history was such that a conservative group continued to insist that only political data were relevant to the historian's business and that it was for economists, sociologists, and other new-fangled specialists but not for the honorable craft of the historians to utilize the new material. But with each new decade the membership of the conservative school fell off until we come to the memorable fight made by Freeman. In spite of its having the appearance of a vigorous offensive, it was, regarded in the perspective of nineteenth century development, no more than a last-ditch rally fought under that most irrational and pathetic of slogans: "The old guard dies but does not surrender."

The modern movement breaks through the barriers of the Old History

With the dawn of the twentieth century the New History had triumphed all along the line. And the immediate result was undeniably that confusion which the routed pundits had so confidently foretold. Amidst a rush of more or less sincere avowals that history transcended politics every historical writer adopted a practice dictated by his individual attitude toward the world of today. While the state very generally continued to hold the main attention, one historian showed a disposition to take cognizance of data furnished by the geographer, another gave preference to economic material, and a third inclined to lend an ear to the voices emanating from literature and the arts. Although in the sudden levelling of the old restrictions every influence bearing on man and every one of man's activities had become theoretically relevant to a record professing to be a history, in practice each writer spread himself over as much territory as he was able to occupy and concocted under the name of history a very personal product. Of this regrettable confusion the only conceivable cure would be an agreement as to the true and exact ingredients of the New History, the relative importance of each element to all the others, and the method and principles of their interpretation. But before such an agreement could even be initiated, the labors of the numerous auxiliary workers such as geographers, ethnologists, economists, and sociologists, would have to be coördinated and made conveniently accessible; and following this achievement, by the putting out of new hypotheses constantly checked and corrected in the light of the facts, the formula would have to be worked out which would enable the New History competently to meet the obligation of a synthesis in conformity with the requirements of modern thought.

The twentieth century sees the dawn of the New History

So comprehensive a program signified the coöperative enterprise of many hands which might not culminate in a new and satisfactory world picture short of the labor of several generations. If an impatient historian here and there, refusing to wait longer, should rush to produce the synthesis demanded by the new outlook, he might by his shortcomings prove that his effort was premature, but he could hardly fail, provided he subjected his procedure to an honest self-criticism, to do useful pioneer work. It is in this light that we may regard certain recent experiments, notably the *Outline of History* by H. G. Wells. Although its sins both of omission and commission are considerable, it has rendered a hardly-to-be-exaggerated service in focussing the attention of historians and public alike on the desirability of a unified conception of the world which accords with the criteria of science and the fullness of modern knowledge. Discounting its weaknesses, we may, on the strength of its positive achievement, be reasonably sure

Premature historical syntheses. The case of H. G. Wells

that the path which it blazes will be followed until a history more adequately expressive of our present information and outlook will see the light. One advance will lead to another as step follows step until the staircase is completed which brings us to our goal.

The New History will be a history of civilization

Conceding that the New History is still in a fluid state, we may confidently assert that it will concern itself more and more vigorously with the total problem of man's earthly labors. The present writer is inclined to think that it will take the form of a history of civilization, but not as if there were just one unified history of civilization involving all men from the beginning of time regardless of climate, continent, and color. More conformable to the facts, it would seem to him, would be a whole series of histories of civilization constructed with reference to a contentious, plural world where peoples have repeatedly risen and disappeared after having produced a civilization so individual that we can not but regard it as unique. Thus the Chinese people built up through centuries a civilization which stands unmistakably on its own feet. So did the people of India. What good purpose is served by studying these two distinct creations other than for their own sakes and as highly individual expressions of a search for an adjustment to the specific conditions encountered on earth by Chinamen and Hindus? In the same way there is or has been a Persian, an Arab, a Greco-Roman and many another civilization besides. Admitting the claim on our attention of all these civilizations, we may none the less assert that preëminently interesting to us alive today in Europe or the United States of America is the European or Occidental civilization of which we are a passionate, struggling, and inseparable element.

This book a text-book concerned with European civilization

But enough of the New History and of its eventual crystallization in a history or in a series of histories of civilization! Undoubtedly the time for producing such works has arrived, but since they will still for a long time to come bear an experimental character, a book which, like the present, is avowedly a book for beginners is ill-suited for this pioneer service. For a text-book is not a fit platform for those theoretical discussions among the adepts which, as already indicated, must be brought to a certain degree of conclusion before the New History can take shape. Instead of inviting controversy and taking an advanced and problematical position a text-book can by its nature aim at nothing other than the assembling of a fund of more or less securely established results. It is frankly and overwhelmingly pragmatic in the persuasion that prior to every effort at interpretation of the facts are the facts themselves. For these reasons this work is not a History of European Civilization; but it is and desires to be looked upon as a portal to such a history. For what is its proceeding, with what is it steadily concerned? It directs the attention throughout on all of western Europe and on the European man, the *homo Europaeus*, in his several variations; it recognizes that there was a steady, developmental movement involving many stages from the primitive homogeneity of sixth century barbarism to the astonishing richness and heterogeneity of the twentieth century; it deals with the social classes and political forms of the emerging and evolving states; it takes account of new economic as well as new intellectual enterprises and registers the changing expression of literature and the arts. Because it does all these things it is substantially a history of European civilization; but as it is not constructed on the basis of a preceding theoretical discussion concerned with determining the relation of the constituent elements of civilization to one another it prefers, in view of this incompleteness, to call itself modestly a history and, more particularly, a History of Europe from the Reformation to Our Own Day.

An additional reason why the title History of European Civilization has been avoided for this book may be found in the above-indicated chronological limits. By the view already expounded European or Occidental civilization is a separate and unique historical entity. That does not of course mean that it has not absorbed important features of other, particularly the earlier Mediterranean civilizations. In the same way a people, which has made its appearance on the stage of history as a distinct and separate folk, does not necessarily lose its identity because it happens to incorporate in itself in the course of time a certain percentage of other racial stocks. In the interest of organic unity a History of European Civilization should therefore, ideally considered, begin with the beginning, that is, it should open with that earliest phase of its being which by an unhappy accident has been misnamed the Middle Age. Let us take note that every civilization necessarily has many phases because it is the product of a long evolutionary process. Adopting a biological analogy, we may think of the main phases of any civilization cycle as childhood, youth, young manhood and so on to the closing phase

This book a History of Modern Europe treated in four sections

of senility and death. But as it is only recently that civilization has been envisaged as a process, it has happened that labels, highly inappropriate from a modern evolutionary viewpoint, have got themselves attached to some of the stages of the European movement. The label Middle Age for the first or childhood phase is a case in point. The word Renaissance, customarily employed to designate the second phase, is hardly more relevant. However, these terms have become so thoroughly embedded in our consciousness that it would be foolish to attempt to dislodge them. They are therefore accepted in this book but the periods and experiences which they cover are only cursorily treated in an introductory section, numbered Section I. It is the phases following the Middle Age and the Renaissance, the phases collectively called the Modern Period, to which this work directs its effort. These modern phases are handled in three sections with chronological limits more or less clearly marked. They bear the following section numbers and titles; Section II, The Reformation and the Religious Wars from 1500 to 1648; Section III, The Absolute Monarchy from 1648 to 1789; Section IV, Revolution and Democracy from 1789 to Our Own Day. These, too, are commonly accepted periods and labels, and, like the designations Middle Age and Renaissance, are no longer wholly satisfactory. But as they indicate a succession of outstanding events and at least do not quarrel with the fundamental evolutionary concept, they may be permitted to stand. To the alert and inquiring student the text itself will suggest the possibility of divisions and designations different from the above and based on a more severely developmental analysis of the Modern Age.[1]

The proper attitude with which to approach this history

If the writer may venture to offer a last counsel to the young student about to accept the guidance of this book, it is to put himself in a frame of mind hospitable to the idea that bigger than Europe is the concept European civilization, and that, a living influence enfolding him and all of us alive today, it must needs include the whole series of its earlier phases back to its first beginning in the feudal age. Our remote, medieval ancestor was of course a backward barbarian checked and repressed by a hundred shackles made up largely of such tenuous things as his fears, his superstitions, and his tribal customs. However, because he was naturally active and enterprising he refused to sit with folded hands and passively face the hostile forces which surrounded him. He ventured forth, albeit timidly; he experimented until he broke one or another of his many bonds and gained a larger radius of action. Often, it is true, he straightway wove himself again a new shackle. None the less in the main he achieved from age to age a fuller liberty of movement and a more secure command of his environment. As soon as he had come upon a suitable legal device or had shaped a promising political institution, the probability was that he would tinker with his invention, constantly refitting it to meet his changing circumstances. Pursuing this restless course, the European man gradually developed innumerable activities and crowned his labors with immense creations in every field of mental and material endeavor. These in their successive unfolding are what we may call the evidences of European civilization and the true subject-matter of European history. Better were it not to have been born than not to feel the grandeur of these labors of our forebears and not to respond with heightened pulse-beat to the persistent heroism of their struggle with nature and with fate.

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[1] The last chapter returns to this question of periodization.

SECTION I

PRELIMINARY SURVEY

CHAPTER II

THE FIRST OR MEDIEVAL PHASE OF EUROPEAN CIVILIZATION

A review of the previous period necessary to the understanding of the Reformation

A history of Europe beginning with the Reformation labors under the disadvantage of an arbitrary starting-point. Plunging the reader without warning into a broad and agitated stream of human circumstance, it owes him at the least a few explanations which may enable him to discover where he is. If, holding fast to our announced purpose, we decline to ascend the human stream to its remote sources and content ourselves with a survey of that stretch which directly leads up to the Reformation, we shall find it advisable and even necessary to recede as far as the great bend in the stream marked by the fall of the Roman Empire and the incursion into Roman territory of the German and Slav tribes. Here undoubtedly is a towering mile-stone; here without question European, as distinct from Ancient or Mediterranean history, takes its start. From the fall of the Roman Empire to the Reformation is a stretch of a thousand years, during which enormous upheavals completely changed the face of western Europe and endowed it with a new civilization.

Middle Age and Renaissance chronologically determined

Of these thousand years an account, however brief, is indispensable if the reader would understand the situation confronting him in the Reformation. While it is not uncommon to consider the whole succession of ten centuries from 500 A.D. to 1500 A.D. as a single period, called the Middle Age, it is on the whole more advisable to break the ten centuries into two unequal parts and, while attributing the designation, Middle Age, to the eight centuries from 500 A.D. to 1300 A.D., to set off the period from 1300 to the Reformation as the Rebirth or the Renaissance. It hardly matters much if the Renaissance is regarded as an independent period or as a last, vanishing phase of the Middle

Age or even as the dawn of a new, the Modern Period. What alone really ever counts so far as chronological divisions of history are concerned is whether they serve a useful purpose; and that such is the case in regard to Middle Age and Renaissance admits of no dispute. Indeed the more we occupy ourselves with these two periods, the more we become aware that each is charged with its own distinctive characteristics. The outstanding differences between them, which will be developed fully later on, may be briefly anticipated here with the statement that the medieval epoch had a unique spiritual unity due to the unchallenged domination of religion and the Church, while the Renaissance cultivated a profusion of new activities and ideas sure in the long run to disperse the religious atmosphere which the Middle Age had cherished. In the slow manner characteristic of human movements and not without sharp setbacks the age ushered in about 1300 endowed man with a new attitude toward life. For this reason the Renaissance is, as the word signifies, a new birth or at least a new phase of west-European mankind.

In this chapter we shall undertake to define very briefly the Middle Age, while in the one that follows we shall deal in somewhat greater fullness with the characteristics of the Renaissance. The two chapters together may be thought of as a gateway leading to the period of our real concern, the Modern Age.

The Middle Age gave birth to the great peoples of Europe and to a special set of social and religious problems

Among the decisive features which in a sweeping backward view stand out in the medieval landscape, none is more striking than the emergence with definite national characteristics of the great peoples of Europe, the Italians, the French, the Spaniards, the English, and the Germans. Not only do they emerge in the course of the Middle Age, but they emerge identified with certain geographic areas which have ever since been uninterruptedly their homes. Within these respective areas each was obliged to struggle with very much the same variety of political, social, economic, and religious problems. Undoubtedly it is these problems that give the measure of the Middle Age and communicate its peculiar temper. We shall best succeed in capturing that temper if we concentrate our attention on the three outstanding factors of medieval society, on feudalism, the towns, and the Church. These three features, above all the Church, give a particular character to the first phase of what we must regard as a new movement in civilization.

A. FEUDALISM

Feudalism a complex of rude institutions representing an effort to rise above barbarism

If we agree that the Middle Age began at the close of the fifth century with the frightful chaos produced by the simultaneous decline of the Roman Empire and the invasion of the German tribes, and if we then reflect that in the course of the next seven or eight centuries Europe raised itself to a relatively stable order representing the early stages of a new and colorful civilization, we shall be cured of the unwarranted tendency of superficial thinkers to regard this extraordinary period with contempt. It was of course raw and youthful — a circumstance which can not be sufficiently stressed and as a result of which the political, social, and economic problems of medieval Europe bear invariably a markedly primitive stamp. In their essence these problems are all comprehended under the term feudalism. But what is feudalism? Feudalism may perhaps best be thought of as the sum of the economic, social, and political institutions representing the first effort of a young and aspiring society to rise above an unmitigated barbarism. Under feudalism European society, in spite of bewildering local variations, presents itself to view in rarely simple terms. Essentially there are but two classes: the rulers who own the soil and the ruled who till it. Land is the only form of wealth and land determines the structure of society. The rulers are of course armed and have the pride of an hereditary caste of warriors, while the ruled, disarmed, are attached to the soil as an hereditary caste of peasant-serfs. Governments of the modern type, maintaining a well regulated administration over a large area, do not exist. Substantially each petty lord, though theoretically subject to an over-lord and ultimately to the king, is master in his own possessions with the result that for all practical purposes Europe is made up of thousands of loosely associated little lordships. The social-economic unit of this backward society is the type of farmstead called the manor. The manor is worked coöperatively by the peasants who dwell together in the village and are governed either in person or by deputy by their military lord and master residing in the outskirts of the village in the manor-house or castle.

Carefully weighing these various data, we may think of the early Middle Age as effecting, owing to the influx of victorious German and Slav tribes of a nomad and semi-nomad type, the reagrarianization of the Roman Empire. The notable Roman city culture, already in decline before the coming of the barbarians, broke down and suffered a complete eclipse. The agrarian settlement proceeded on the whole according to a simple formula: a select warrior class took over the ownership of the soil permitting the bulk of the population to work it in return for rent paid, in the absence of money, in personal services and natural products. The warriors ruled society as a privileged noble class, while the peasants, at the mercy of their masters, were depressed to the legal status of serfs, not very much above that of chattels. Feudalism is the comprehensive word which describes this complex situation, that is, feudalism sets forth the political, social, and economic conditions produced by the triumph throughout western Europe of a primitive agrarianism.

The Middle Age caused by the failure of urban civilization and a return to agrarianism

B. THE RISE OF THE TOWNS

During the first five centuries of the Middle Age this rude organization of society characterizes all western Europe until, around 1000 A.D., a new element made its appearance which not only complicated the structure but produced a mental ferment destined to undermine the spiritual foundations on which the Middle Age rested. I refer to the coming of the towns. Originating in a rebirth of trade and industry, the towns represented an agglomeration of men resolved to engage in new, non-agricultural activities, to multiply the conveniences of living, and to defend themselves against a baronage established on the soil and instinctively hostile to traders only too eager to free themselves from the political control of a tyrannical warrior caste.

Around 1000 A. D. urbanization again sets in

The springing up of towns all over the face of Europe completely changed the picture. Before long the lords in their scattered castles found themselves face to face with burgher groups which exceeded them in wealth, culture, and ultimately in military power. Not that, confronted with this phenomenon, the feudal warriors promptly disappeared from the scene or even noticeably reduced their pretentions; but relatively they lost ground, both socially and politically, in the face of the steady advance of the town-dwellers, themselves armed behind tall, battlemented walls and acquiring by their courageous enterprise increasing material resources and an ever expanding mental outlook.

Rapid material, political, and cultural advance of the towns

The addition of the urban element brings medieval civilization to its climax

With the multiplication of towns and of the special activities by which town-folk lived medieval society in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries reached its climax. There are many people of our own day, especially philosophers and artists, who uphold the opinion that that climax represents such a balance and harmony of the forces of life and art as has been but rarely achieved in history. But impressive as the spiritual flowering of the Middle Age no doubt was, it is not the concern of this book. Confining our attention to the weighty phenomenon of the rising town, we shall be content to note what the town signified for European development in two directions, politically and culturally.

Politically the towns promote self-government and ultimately the absolute monarchy

On finding itself opposed by the existing feudal political order and obliged to fight for its life, the town boldly developed a political principle of its own, the principle of self-government. Wherever a town sprang up, there also, sooner or later, will be found a movement aiming at independence and self-help. By means of charters wrung from their lords, the towns gained their earliest liberties, which with the aid of additional grants they strove to enlarge whenever the occasion served. Some towns, notably those of Italy and Germany, succeeded finally in becoming free republics, detached or all but detached from the feudal state in the midst of which they had sprung up, while in countries like England and France the ever waxing urban centers consciously and unconsciously helped to build up the power of the king, because under the king the peace of the land so necessary to trade was more likely to be secured than under a turbulent nobility to whom war was hardly more than an intensification of their favorite sport, the hunt. Unmistakably the towns figure as the main historical agents in the gradual process of replacing the loose feudal régime with the royal centralized state. Although, exactly like the landlords with whom they locked horns, the vigorous townsmen, while engaged in their struggle for existence, thought only of themselves and of their selfish interests, they builded better than they knew for the simple reason that they represented economic forces which were bound in the end to effect a complete political reorganization of society. This reorganization, as we shall see, took the form of the centralized monarchy, which famous institution must therefore in last analysis be charged to the account of the towns.

Culturally the town initiated a change no whit less significant. By living together within the narrow confines of the town wall, great numbers of men were brought into close contact, quarreled with one another over conflicting interests or worked out common plans, and extraordinarily stimulated their wits through the constant necessity of action in the face of new situations. Some townsmen, in the capacity of enterprising merchants, gained wealth and experience by seeking business and adventure in neighboring towns or distant countries, while others, engaged in weaving cloth, tanning leather, or forging weapons, effectively increased their mastery of life by the skillful practice of their respective crafts. Living experimentally and rewarded for their hardihood with constantly increasing possessions, these men tended to abandon the ruts of custom not only in matters affecting their material and political welfare but in mental and spiritual matters as well. How could it have been otherwise? When men acquire the habit of freely using their minds in the immediate concern of earning a living, will they not be moved to apply them also to the higher interests represented by philosophy and religion? Let us concede that philosophy and religion everywhere and always represent an attempt to give theoretical expression to the experiences accumulated by man on his earthly pilgrimage. This being so, it follows that if a primitive agricultural society, such as that which preceded the rise of the towns, develops a religion and philosophy which adequately expresses its intentions, a commercial and mobile society, like that produced by the urban movement, is sure to wax critical of its inheritance and to set about the formulation of ideas and theories of its own.

Culturally the towns prepare the ground for a new religious and philosophic outlook on life

However, before we can advantageously look into the new culture which the towns promoted, we must acquire some conception of the older culture by which the towns at their birth were surrounded and against which they reacted. The culture of the Middle Age is embedded in its religion and philosophy and can be crowded into a single word — Christianity. To secure Christianity's unchallenged domination there had grown up since Roman times a splendid and authoritative agency in the Christian Catholic Church. While the Christian *religion*, consisting of a body of firmly held beliefs, must be looked upon as the spiritual essence of the Middle Age, the *Church* may be conceived as an institution for the

The Middle Age an attempt to realize a Christian society through a dominant Church

inculcation and triumphant assertion of the spiritual values of Christianity. This institution is the keystone of the medieval arch, absolutely indispensable to an understanding of medieval Europe.

C. THE CHURCH

Rise of Christianity and the Church

The origin of Christianity is to be found in a new and deeply emotional attitude on the part of the people of the Greco-Roman world toward the great questions of life and death. Wearied and disappointed by the sad actualities of life on earth, men in ever increasing numbers turned for comfort to a hoped-for life beyond the grave. Finally, under the inspiration of Jesus of Nazareth, hailed as savior and the Christ, and under the direction of a group of devoted disciples, a body of beliefs took shape which taught that this world was a vale of tears and which promised compensation for the many human ills by final rest in union with the one and only God, our heavenly Father. The new faith, called Christianity, had a remarkable success in gaining converts, who, scattered over the extensive Mediterranean area and confronted with a hostile pagan majority, felt before long the need of a close association. The result was the Christian Church, which, though periodically persecuted by the dominant pagans, had, by the beginning of the fourth century, grown strong enough to convince a new ruler, the famous Emperor Constantine the Great, of the advisability of granting it the protection of the law (Edict of Milan, 313 A.D.). And now, become fairly irresistible, the vigorous new institution undertook to crowd out and destroy all rival beliefs and religious organizations, until in the course of a few generations following its recognition it had become enthroned in exclusive majesty throughout the Roman world.

Christianization of the barbarians and the establishment of two Christian Churches

When the northern barbarians, the Slavs and Germans, overwhelmed the Roman Empire, the Church, surviving the Empire, undertook to draw them into its fold, and by heroic missionary labors extending over many centuries succeeded in its purpose beyond its most extravagant dreams. As a result the European world, which gradually emerged from the medieval chaos was Christian, theoretically one in faith and Church. Actually, however, owing to ecclesiastical disputes which can not be examined here and which proved incapable of settlement, Europe witnessed the establishment of two Christian Churches, one of the east and the other of the west. The eastern Church, organized under the patriarch of Constantinople, is usually referred to as the Greek Orthodox Church, while the western Church, called Catholic, centered about the pope of Rome and employed the Latin language as the medium of its thought and ritual. As the civilization with which we are concerned in this book grew up in the area dominated by the Latin Church, it is this Church with which the present sketch is exclusively concerned.

The Church the sole means of salvation

The central purpose of the Church was to serve as the means of saving men and women from the eternal damnation to which they were doomed by reason of the sin of their first parents, Adam and Eve. Through the vicarious sacrifice of Jesus Christ, the only begotten son of God, the primal curse had been lifted and salvation first made a possibility. With the utilization of the new opportunity the Church, according to universal belief, had been entrusted by Christ himself, who was considered to have expressly named the apostle Peter as his successor in the government of the communion of his followers. ("Thou art Peter and upon this rock I will build my church." St. Matthew XVI, 18.) Not without resistance a considerable number of organizations, also claiming Christian inspiration, were gradually suppressed as unauthorized and heretical and all Christians brought under that Church which called itself Catholic, proclaimed Peter as its second founder, and set up its capital in the city of Rome. As the fundamental belief of all good Christians was that Jesus Christ, the son of God, had offered himself as a sacrifice upon the Cross in order to appease the wrath of God, the Father, with the seed of Adam, it was easy and natural to accept the Church, of which Christ was proclaimed the founder, as the sole and divinely appointed means for bringing salvation to each needy individual sinner. One of the Christian Fathers compactly stated this position when he said: "Outside the Church there is no salvation." It was this awe-inspiring power enabling the Church to open and shut the gates of heaven and hell which in large measure explains the tremendous hold it had on the minds of men.

In view of this towering eminence it behooved the Church to keep its members ever mindful of their sinful state by fairly enfolding them with its solicitude and love. To this end it evolved a number of important measures: it drew up a creed containing the essentials of the Christian faith; it developed a body of uplifting prayers suitable for all the varied circumstances of life; and it established

The kernel of the Church the sacramental system

a noble succession of rites and services of which the most solemn and impressive was the mass. Above all, however, it provided as the necessary and effective means of that salvation which was the main concern of every man, woman, and child the Seven Sacraments. These, constituting what has been called the sacramental system, contain so much of the teaching and practice of the Church that an acquaintance with them illuminates not only the overshadowing importance of the institution throughout the medieval centuries but also the utter dependence of the individual on its divine authority. By means of the sacramental system the Church attended its subjects all the days of their life, from the cradle to the grave.

The Seven Sacraments

In dealing with the Seven Sacraments we may begin with *ordination.* Ordination was reserved for the clergy and was administered by a bishop by the laying on of hands. It conferred upon the candidate for priesthood the sacerdotal character with the authority and power to administer the other sacraments except confirmation, also reserved to bishops. Ordination drew a sharp dividing line through the Christian body since it marked off the priesthood, specially called to the service of God, from the mass of common men. By the *sacrament of baptism* the new-born infant was received into the membership of the Church. The holy water on its brow signified that its share in the guilt of Adam's fall was washed away and that it had become a Christian and the child of God. When the boy and girl reached the age of about twelve years, they received, after due instruction in the creed and customs of the Church, *confirmation* from the bishop, who rubbed holy oil and balsam on their forehead. The significance of this act was to make them strong to resist temptation in the approaching battle of life. However, if a Christian yielded to temptation and sinned, he could receive pardon by the *sacrament of penance.* This consisted of four parts: (1) he must feel contrition or regret for the sin committed; (2) he must confess orally to a priest; (3) he must receive absolution from a priest; and (4) he must render satisfaction by performing the particular penance, e.g. a pilgrimage or almsgiving, which the priest might see fit to impose. At the hour of death the priest stood by the bedside and by anointing the dying man with holy oil strengthened his soul for the eternal journey. This rite was called the *sacrament of extreme unction.* The *sacrament of marriage* bound man and wife in lawful Christian wedlock, held to be indissoluble by human power. Only the Church which made the marriage could annul it, and even the Church could only do so in case a holy ordinance had been overlooked when the marriage was celebrated. Finally, there was the *sacrament of the Holy Eucharist.* This developed from the Lord's Supper as described in the gospels and involved the consecration of bread and wine by the priest, its miraculous transformation into the body and blood of Christ, and its proffer in this consecrated form to the Father in renewal of Christ's original sacrifice upon the Cross. The change of substance effected at the altar is called in theological language transsubstantiation and is the central mystery of Catholicism. It was the sacrament of the Lord's Supper which, dignified with an elaborate chanted ritual and made impressive with candles, incense, and gorgeous vestments, finally evolved into the magnificent service called the mass.

Government and administration of the Church

Conceding that the spiritual guidance of mankind concentrated in the sacramental system was the chief function of the clergy, we must not overlook other duties of a more mundane sort which devolved on it. When we recall that to the clergy fell exclusively the government of the Church and that the Church on its material side consisted of innumerable houses of worship, clerical residences, manorial estates, and property of every conceivable kind, we are bound to admit that its worldly activities were neither few nor slight. To meet the various clerical obligations, spiritual as well as administrative, an elaborate organization had been worked out which extended from the parish priest at the foot of the ladder to the pope at the top. The *parish* was the territorial unit of administration, a convenient number of parishes being bound together into a *diocese,* at the head of which stood the *bishop.* A variable number of dioceses constituted a *province,* over which one of the bishops enjoyed authority under the title *archbishop.* The succession priest, bishop, archbishop, culminated in the pope, the unchallenged head of the Church, residing in his capital, in ancient and venerable Rome. Rome, as the hub of a vast administrative wheel, harbored an almost endless variety of officials, some attached to the papal chancellery, others to the law-courts, and still others to the treasury. The most distinguished group of these central officials was the *college of cardinals.* Appointed by the pope, the cardinals were associated with him in governing the Church, and upon them on the death of the ruling pope devolved the grave responsibility of electing his successor.

At the side of the above-mentioned officials, whose shoulders bore the main burden of Church government, there had, in response to the ascetic spirit of the age, grown up another group of churchmen, whom we must accept as a very characteristic feature of medieval Christianity. I refer to the monks and nuns. The monks and nuns were organized in a great variety of orders, founded by men and women animated by an unquenchable religious fervor. Some of the more popular monastic orders spread rapidly over the face of Europe, reached a large membership, and achieved through the free offerings of the faithful an enviable position expressed in terms of lands and houses. The oldest and most famous of the orders was that of the Benedictines founded by a dedicated spirit, St. Benedict, as early as the sixth century (529 A.D.), while the Cistercians, Carthusians, and others, who sprang into being at a later time, hardly, if at all, lagged behind the Benedictines in riches, popularity, and power.

The monastic orders a characteristic expression of medieval piety

In the thirteenth century the two famous orders, the Franciscans and the Dominicans, came into being, fashioned in the heat of a great religious revival and pledged to ideals somewhat different from those of their predecessors. The older orders — all organized more or less on the Benedictine model — emphasized the life of studious contemplation of divine things in seclusion from the world and its temptations. The Franciscans and Dominicans, on the other hand, sought out the crowded centers to dispense among the poor and heavy-laden the offices of Christian charity. Dedicated to poverty, chastity, and obedience, their three obligatory vows, and seeking their living, at least at first, from door to door, they were distinguished from the older monks under the name of begging brothers or friars (from Latin *frater*, i.e., brother).

The begging friars

The heads of monasteries were called abbots or priors. They and their flocks were usually subject to the jurisdiction of the bishop in whose diocese they resided, but occasionally individual abbots and, in the case of the begging friars, the orders themselves had sought and obtained from the pope the right to be responsible only to him. Naturally the pope profited by this arrangement, for he acquired an army of immediate adherents scattered throughout Christendom. But the pope's gain was the bishop's loss. As a result of this rivalry between the local and the central authority in the Church many a diocese became the scene of a bitter, though generally subterranean,

Jurisdictional disputes between the pope and the bishops

conflict between the bishop and his following of priests on the one hand and the abbot or prior supported by the monks and friars on the other.

The clergy the highest medieval class or first estate

The officials of the Church from pope to priest and including the monastic orders constituted a sharply defined class or caste of medieval society called the clergy. The respect felt for the clergy is indicated by the circumstance that everywhere in feudal Europe they took the highest rank and were called the first estate. The remainder of the inhabitants of a feudal state constituted the laity, which fell into two classes, an upper class embracing the nobility and called the second estate, and a lower class composed of the common people or third estate. Neither in practice nor theory did the laity have anything to do with the government of the Church, which was reserved exclusively to the first estate, the clergy.

The Church functions as an independent state

In the light of this brief review of the authority and government of the Church, we are thoroughly prepared to agree that its place in medieval society was very different from what it is at present. In fact, the Church was a state, so much greater than the various feudal states, at the side of which it played its part, that it completely overshadowed them. In consequence of this preëminence the Church had achieved what is known as immunity, that is, it had won from the civil authorities exemption from taxation as well as the right for the clergy to be amenable only to the law-courts of the Church. In consequence a member of the clergy, on being charged with an offense, was haled before an ecclesiastical tribunal and judged by ecclesiastical judges in accordance with the ecclesiastical law. This, commonly called canon law in distinction from the civil law of the secular courts, was composed of acts of Church councils and decisions of the popes, and so great was its importance in a world dominated by the clergy that it was pursued as a professional study at the universities. Moreover, in certain important matters, such as marriage and divorce and the proving of wills, the ecclesiastical courts possessed authority also over the laity. From these dispositions it follows that throughout western Europe the individual clergyman by being answerable in all respects to ecclesiastical authority was the unquestioned subject of the Church, while the individual layman owed obedience to two states, the Church and the civil state of his residence, each of which exercised authority over him in certain specified matters.

Another important function of the Church by virtue of which it met the definition of a state was that it levied taxes. Since the Church owned immense manorial properties, for which it claimed immunity and paid no contribution to the civil powers, it enjoyed a considerable income. This income, of the nature of rent, constituted its basic revenue. However, it was not large enough to meet the great expenses of its far-flung organization. In consequence the Church had, in every country in which it was established, gained the right to levy a tax, called tithe, amounting in theory to one-tenth of the annual produce of the soil, although in practice it usually came to a good deal less. If we add that since the Church undertook to direct the steps of erring mankind, it very naturally assumed control of the education of its followers and conducted such schools as existed, we join another detail to the picture painting the influences by which the Church counted in the affairs and overwhelmed the imagination of the faithful. But let no one dream for a moment that law-courts, taxes, and education represented unlawful usurpations. In the confusion of the early Middle Age, when the young states of Europe were only just taking shape and were as weak as new-born babes, all the functions which the Church cared to assume fell to its lot without a struggle because it was the strongest and, in some extreme cases, the only institution of any kind that in the general dissolution of society continued to operate.

The Church levies the tithe and controls education

However, in measure as the civil states gained strength, and they tended to do so, as we have seen, with the rise of the towns, the extraordinary power of the Church would be felt to be excessive and a conflict was inevitable. In fact, the conflict started even before the towns had become an acknowledged power, the whole Middle Age resounding, as is well known, with this struggle. But undeniable as is the sharp medieval contest between Church and state, we should not fail to note that it ran counter to the accepted theory of the age. For the theory affirmed that Church and state were equally of God, who had created them for the service of his creatures, entrusting to one the rule of the souls of men and to the other the rule of their bodies. At the head of the two complementary institutions God had placed the pope and the emperor, endowing them respectively with the spiritual and material authority over mankind. But as, in point of fact, pope and emperor, instead of working in harmony, were

The Church claims equality and, later, superiority over the state

involved in a struggle as constant as it was vehement, certain aggressive popes, like Gregory VII, Innocent III, and Boniface VIII, had been moved to brush the older equalitarian theory aside in favor of the view of the dependence of the emperor and all civil governors whatever on the pope, conceived as the only true spokesman and representative of God. Thus the later papal theory, formulated at the time of the greatest power of the Church, came to be that since civil as well as ecclesiastical authority had been divinely committed to the pope, the emperor and, of course, the other civil rulers as well held their thrones subject to the pope's pleasure. That the Renaissance with its powerful secular tendencies would challenge this extreme position and vindicate the independence of the civil sovereign goes without saying.

Clerical abuses

Since the clergy were the most exalted and richest class in Europe — the first estate — they paid the usual price of power by more than ordinary exposure to temptation. All through the Middle Age serious charges of corruption were preferred against them. Occasionally popes and prelates inaugurated a reform, but in spite of these praiseworthy efforts the abuses persisted or cropped up again. Human nature is weak and frail even under surplice and cowl. The chief abuse was perhaps simony, which is the buying and selling of Church offices. The Church officially recognized simony as a sin, but many clergymen and even popes were none the less guilty of it. So long as abbacies and bishoprics produced huge revenues, it is easy to see how ambitious men should crave their possession even at the price of bribery. Another charge against the upper clergy was that they lived in a state of pride and worldliness quite out of keeping with humble followers of Christ and the apostles. Many rode to hunt and even to war and lived in splendid palaces amid an unbroken round of festivals. The lower clergy were accused of squeezing excessive fees out of their parishioners for marriage, burial, and other necessary services, and there is irrefutable evidence that many ecclesiastics of all ranks were guilty of gross carnal vices. This latter charge was more particularly levelled at the monks and friars, tending to become ever more shrill and vehement as we approach the Reformation.

The shortcomings of the clergy were scourged by ardent and upright priests all through the Middle Age, sometimes even by incumbents of the highest ecclesiastical positions. It did not derogate from the Church to make public recognition of the fact that some of its ministers were unworthy. The personal conduct of clerics was conceded to be a field of permissible criticism. But it was different with criticism which gnawed at the organization and doctrine of the Church, because these represented God's own handiwork stamped with a holy and unalterable character. Such critics were blasphemers and against them the Church was armed with formidable weapons. She branded them as heretics and launched her excommunication against them, excluding them from her fellowship and the association of the living. There she left them, for an ancient scruple forbade her to shed blood; but at this juncture, her partner and more often her subordinate rather than partner, the state, stepped in to seize the heretic as a public enemy and put him to death, usually by fire.

Criticism of doctrine and organization defined as heresy

In spite of this rigorous repression heresy and heretics were not uncommon in the Middle Age. Even in that period of Church omnipotence an occasional hardy spirit was moved to assert his individual convictions. Of these isolated heretics, who were perpetually cropping up at odd corners of Europe, there is here no need to speak, although they hold a not unhonored place in the intellectual history of the age. But in addition there were concerted heretical movements affecting a wide area and really jeopardizing the existence of the Church. Of these collective heresies, that of the Albigensians, belonging to the beginning of the thirteenth century, spread over much of southern France. The Albigensians went the length of attacking the sacramental system, and when excommunication proved ineffective, Pope Innocent III, in 1208, preached a crusade against the offenders and crowned his victory, won only after a furious struggle, by setting up a special tribunal called the Inquisition. This was charged with inquiring into the opinions of the suspects and with punishing every slightest departure from orthodoxy. Having drowned the Albigensian heresy literally in blood, the Inquisition persisted as a convenient tool of ecclesiastical repression and was destined to acquire an unenviable reputation for cruelty and bigotry, especially in Spain. However, in spite of the severity with which the Albigensian rebellion was punished, other movements of protest raised their heads from time to time. In the fourteenth century John Wyclif inaugurated a heretical agitation in England which taught that the individual needed no mediator between himself and God and which it took

The Middle Age witnesses the rise of numerous individual and collective heresies

several decades to stamp out; and, shortly after, John Hus began a similar movement of criticism against priestly domination in Bohemia. Although Hus, in 1415, paid for his audacity by being burned at the stake, the heresy which he started continued to agitate his country for several generations after his disappearance.

New ideas and forces presage a new age

By such movements of concerted revolt and by many other signs as well it was in the course of the later Middle Age becoming clear not only that the Church no longer enjoyed its old unquestioned authority but that new ideas and forces were coming to the fore sure to alter the whole medieval inheritance and outlook. What these agencies were and what particular conditions were bringing them to the front must now engage our attention. Let us turn to examine the new or second phase of western civilization, commonly called the Renaissance.

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CHAPTER III

THE SECOND OR RENAISSANCE PHASE OF EUROPEAN CIVILIZATION

The Renaissance an era of transition

We have agreed that it does not matter much whether we regard the Renaissance as a last phase of the dying Middle Age or as an independent epoch ushering in the Modern Period. Beyond all question it is an era of transition, during which the peculiar social and political features of the Middle Age and, above all, the ideas in which these features had their roots, were undermined and new ideas saw the light which tended to embody themselves in novel forms and institutions.

The towns in their first phase absorbed into the medieval political system

It has been pointed out that the towns were the natural centers of the forces of transition because their peculiar activities were bound, in the long run, to prove disruptive of everything the medieval heart held dear. However, the towns developed slowly through long centuries and their inherent hostility to the medieval system did not at once appear, although the baronial class, threatened in its political domination, may be said to have scented the enemy instinctively and with very little delay. Following the natural tendency of youthful organisms, whose future is not yet assured, the towns were in their first phase driven to seek a compromise with the ruling powers, a sort of working arrangement. In this they succeeded to such a degree that they fitted themselves into the prevailing feudal system with sufficient grace and ease to produce a rather unusual balance of the forces and classes constituting society. The evidence of this accommodation is furnished by the fact that it was only after the coming of the towns, in the course of the thirteenth century, that the Middle Age came to a climax.

However, if the thirteenth century marks the flowering and culmination of the Middle Age, with the fourteenth century, owing to the continuous growth of the towns and the progressive social disequilibrium which that expansion entailed, the decay of the medieval world became open and palpable. The manifold changes soon registered in every field of human thought and action give the measure of the new stage of civilization and constitute the subject matter of every study concerned with the Renaissance. In an effort to get as close as possible to this great movement let us consider it under eight aspects.

In their second phase the towns disrupt the medieval system

A. THE DEVELOPMENT OF COMMERCE AND INDUSTRY

The earliest medieval trade had necessarily been determined by the political-economic conditions prevailing under feudalism. We must think of the long centuries of the Germanic settlement as substantially without security, without roads, without conveniences of living of even the humblest sort. Society satisfied at best an irreducible minimum of human wants and was simpler, ruder, and more impecunious than we can easily imagine. Therefore, when about 1000 A.D. trade began to revive, it crept slowly and cautiously along what in a socially chaotic world stood out as the safest routes of travel. These were the shore-lines of the Mediterranean, the North, and the Baltic seas, as well as the courses of the leading navigable rivers, such as the Po, the Seine, the Rhone, the Danube, the Rhine, and the Thames. Along these sea and river routes the first thriving towns came to life, though with the spread of the movement the interior, in its turn, became gradually dotted with settlements planted at bridges or crossroads or nestling under the protecting shadow of some castle or monastery.

The towns arise in response to new human needs and are distributed according to convenience and security

We have already seen that no sooner was a town formed than it aspired to self-government and gained, in spite of the opposition of the neighboring feudal lords, a measure of freedom which it was at pains constantly to increase. The greatest success in this endeavor was achieved by the towns of Italy, first, because the feudal opposition was weakest there, and second, because, owing to the geographical factors involved, the Italian towns enjoyed much greater opportunities for wealth and power than those of any other country. And exactly because the Italian towns assumed the unquestioned leadership of the town movement, the Renaissance, considered as a cultural process, is primarily a creation of Italy, from which, as a center, it radiated over the rest of Europe.

Preëminence of the Italian towns

To clinch the argument of Italian preëminence let us consider

Significance of the Mediterranean position of Italy, particularly of its proximity to the Levant

the location of the Italian towns with regard to the medieval world. In the days of the Roman Empire Italy had, as is well known, been a country of immense and busy towns, which, though fallen into sad decay during the seizure of power by the Germanic tribes, had but to pick up the threads of their past to put themselves once more on the road to recovery. Their ancient greatness had been largely due to the fact that Italy lay in the center of the Mediterranean basin, from gray antiquity the most populous and civilized area of the world. At the time of the town revival, around 1000 A.D., this situation had changed, if at all, to the further advantage of the ancient peninsula. To its west and north lay the crude and backward but aspiring societies of Spain, France, England, and Germany, while to the east there loomed, first, the Byzantine empire, still, though in patent decline, a highly civilized state, and second, the Arab dominion, a once powerful organism, now threatened with internal disruption and, since the eleventh century, exposed besides to the attack of wild Turkish tribes from the central plateau of Asia. As the Arabs had taken over much of the culture of the Greeks, they dwelt on as high a plane of civilization as their Byzantine neighbors, and, like them, were industrious and skillful artisans as well as busy traders who spun the threads of an ambitious commerce all the way to the remote regions of India and China. Within the compass of both the Byzantine and the Arab empires conveniences and luxuries were to be found of which backward and impoverished Europe had lost the very knowledge. The eastern nobility wore garments of silk and brocade, their ladies bedecked themselves with ropes of pearls and many-colored jewels, while the houses of the enterprising Moslem merchants of Syria and Egypt and the Christian churches and palaces of Constantinople were hung with glowing tapestries and enriched with ornaments of gold and ivory expressive of a cultivated society and a refined taste. Although, as the crusades amply proved, the east loomed vaguely as a region of fabulous riches to the whole backward body of western Christendom, it appealed particularly to the Italians. For not only did the peninsula lie in the close outskirts of Arab and Byzantine power, but its southern tip together with the island of Sicily had served for generations as an Arab-Byzantine battle-ground, thus bringing to the Italians an immediate knowledge of eastern politics as well as an acquaintance with eastern arts and wares. To the Italian folk the east was the Levant, Land of the Rising Sun, and they turned to it with longing and admiration in their eyes.

The Italians become the middlemen between east and west

Under these circumstances the Italian merchants became the natural middlemen between east and west. In the great coastal cities, such as Amalfi, Pisa, Genoa, and Venice, enterprising individuals formed companies of merchant adventurers who sailed their galleys to Alexandria, Jaffa, Acre, and Constantinople to fetch back the silks, the jewels, the gold chains, the carved ivory, and, above all, the dyes, spices, and slaves obtainable in the markets of the Levant. That slaves were for a long time one of the most profitable commodities handled by the medieval traders throws a penetrating light on the primitive and predatory character of the age. The other eastern wares, however, were without exception luxuries of small bulk, and could, on being landed on the Italian wharves, be loaded on horseback to be carried to the Italian inland and thence over the Alpine passes to France and Germany. Later on, when the galleys became larger and the skill of the sailors greater, the oriental goods could be transported by an unbroken water-route past the straits of Gibraltar to the cities of the English channel and the North sea. In the long run, the shrewd Italians took advantage of every available land and sea path and, as their caravans radiated over Europe, they would stop at one settlement after another, displaying their eastern wares and causing the rude natives to gape with wonder over the marvels spread before their eyes. Desires before undreamed of were excited in their breasts, desires to satisfy which they were obliged to offer in exchange their crude gold and silver coins and such raw products, native to the north, as linen, wool, leather, and furs. These, carried back to Italy and refined by Italian industrial skill, would then make up the cargo with which the galleys returned to the Levant to complete the circle of exchange.

Social, legal, and technical advances made by commerce

This system, once inaugurated, stimulated an increasing intensity of intercourse, and while transforming the economic life, altered gradually even the superficial physical aspect of Europe by the throwing of bridges over streams and the reconstruction of the neglected Roman roads as well as the tracing of new highways. At the same time a tentative code of international law came into being by means of treaties conceding to merchants protection of life and goods at the hands of the authorities of the city or country in which they chanced to sojourn. Of course we must guard against exaggerating the advance made, since it is undeniable that feudal lawlessness was a long-lived and many-headed hydra. But the fact of progress remains, as appears also from the circumstance that the traders, profiting by their experience, uninterruptedly improved the technical devices of their profession. Learning to coöperate, they formed partnerships based on written contract; they set up banks as aids and stimulants of commerce; they invented bills of exchange to facilitate the transfer of credits between places geographically separated; and they did what they could to replace the debased and unreliable medieval coinage with a sound and stable currency.

Trade fosters industry and both adopt the gild organization

A further important effect of an expanding trade was that it powerfully stimulated the industrial arts. If the west felt an irresistible longing for the precious eastern luxuries, it would imperatively have to give to the east equivalent goods of its own, and these, owing to the difficulties and expense of transportation, could not, to any large extent, be raw products. Soon, therefore, the original merchant organizations or merchant gilds, as they were called, were everywhere supplemented by the manufacturing associations or craft gilds of the woolen and linen weavers, the armorers, the leather-workers, the furriers and the rest, whose mounting success steadily increased the population of the medieval town as well as its general productivity and wealth. In this way every town came to be economically dominated by the gilds, which in their two fundamental types of merchant and craft gilds monopolized its entire business. Let us not fail to note, however, that the gild was more than an economic unit, for it served religious, social, and even political ends as well. Indeed some gilds, wholly non-economic, satisfied purely social and religious purposes, somewhat in the fashion of our modern fraternal orders. None the less the powerful gilds were doubtless the economic ones and their power was great enough to enable them or a combination of the wealthiest units among them to take over in most cases the town government. Gild membership implied individual political power collectively exercised. Thus the gilds fostered a justified pride, of which the most conspicuous outward sign were the meeting-places or gild halls. These together with the municipal center or town hall constituted the most expressive physical feature of each rising community, furnishing by their size, harmony of parts, and beauty of detail an accurate measure of its importance. In short, who would know well the town of this period must occupy himself with its organic cell, the gild.

Enumeration of the great town areas in Italy, France, and Flanders

A final word on the leading town areas during the Renaissance. They become intelligible on the basis of the general conditions of exchange just sketched. In Italy the northern half of the peninsula, because of the proximity of the Alpine passes behind which lay the markets capable of absorbing eastern wares, far outstripped the south in the development of town life; and in northern Italy two towns gradually took the lead over all the others. They were Venice and Florence. By building up a prosperous colonial empire in the eastern Mediterranean Venice largely succeeded in driving all the rival Italian cities from this scene of opportunity and of becoming the chief distributor of spices and other eastern articles through the western world, while Florence, by carrying the manufacture of textiles, both of wool and silk, to an unexampled proficiency, achieved both the industrial and the banking primacy of Europe. In southern France the valley of the Rhone became an important city area, which, however, gradually yielded ground to the Marne-Seine system of cities in the French north, among which Paris gained an early preëminence. The town movement was still young when the Rhine cities all the way from Strassburg to Cologne came to the front, their increasing commerce being favored by one of the most fruitful valleys of Europe as well as by a fairly easy connection *via* the Alpine passes with the Italian cities. In their favorable situation lay also the explanation of the rise of the Flemish towns, which served as the sea-ports of the rich Rhine hinterland. A further advantage accrued to this group from the proximity of England, one of the main sources in the Middle Age of the supply of that invaluable staple, wool. On the basis of this importation the Flemish cities, such as Ghent, Ypres, and Bruges, developed a textile industry which presents an interesting northern counterpart to that of Florence. The English cities across the channel from Flanders developed no equivalent industry and long remained industrially inferior, but being favorably located for commerce, several of them, and more particularly London on the broad-backed Thames, became flourishing emporiums.

A last town area to consider embraced the German settlements along the coast of the North and Baltic seas. In addition to exploiting the profitable herring fisheries of their waters, they acted as middlemen conducting the native products of Russia, such as leather, wax, and furs, and of Scandinavia, such as iron and tar, into the stream of world trade. Lübeck, Hamburg, and Bremen stood forth as leaders in this area. For the purpose of completely overawing the opposition of the neighboring feudal lords they had united several score of seaboard and inland cities with themselves in a mighty federation called the Hanse. During the fifteenth century, when the Hanse was at its height, it dominated politically and economically the basin of the North and particularly of the Baltic sea all the way from Novgorod in Russia to London and Bruges. At Bruges in Flanders the two greatest streams of European commerce, coming respectively from the Mediterranean and the Baltic, coalesced, making Bruges the leading world emporium until supplanted in the sixteenth century by Antwerp.

The German towns united in the Hanseatic League or Hanse

B. THE REVIVAL OF LEARNING

A new experience gives rise to new ideas

With the townsmen engaging in ever expanding trade and industry, journeying into far countries to make acquaintance with strange climes and peoples, struggling to dominate the chaotic social and political conditions of the feudal era, and courageously trying their hand at self-government, the world in which they lived began to assume a new form, making it indispensable for them to bring their inherited ideas into conformity with the reality about them.

The medieval Church upholds as its highest aim the contemplation of divine things

We have already seen that medieval Europe lived its life in the great shadow cast by religion and the Church. And this shadow is by no means a figure of speech, for the substance of the religious teaching of the age was that the body of man, as well as the earth of which it was a part, was under the curse of Adam and invited the scorn of the true Christian. The only thing of value was the soul, which, having come from God, would be restless here below until it had been reunited with the Father. Houses, lands, feasts, and finery, as empty possessions, as things seen, counted less than the dust of the fields against the unseen treasures of the spirit. If this is an extreme, ascetic statement of the Church's teaching, it may yet be said to communicate the essential attitude toward the problem of living which the Church drove home to the faithful. Man was in tune with the divine will if he resolutely rejected this world for the better world to come. His best hope of salvation was to be other-worldly.

The earth-bound activities of the townsmen in contradiction with the main ecclesiastical trend

At a relatively early time the townsmen, engaging in activities which conferred pleasure in themselves as well as highly welcome material benefits, began to entertain doubts touching the invariable applicability to them and their affairs of the purely idealist doctrine of the Church. They were glad to be alive, they frankly enjoyed the sensuous and colored garment of the earth, and they delighted in the improved material position resulting from their increased resources. Since the Church was an elastic institution, extremely responsive to the society which it served, an immediate clash was avoided, although we can not fail to see that the development of town mentality took from the outset a direction abhorrent to fundamental ecclesiastical principle.

The medieval school and university system

It was not so much the indulgent Church as one of its dependent institutions which gradually brought this secret inner conflict to the consciousness of the intellectual leaders of the cities. In the eleventh and twelfth centuries the Church had greatly enlarged its educational system by multiplying the monastery and cathedral schools and endowing them with a curriculum which inculcated the so-called Seven Liberal Arts — grammar, rhetoric, logic, arithmetic, geometry, astronomy, and music — but which in reality turned largely about Latin, the one wholly indispensable feature of an education aiming to fit a young cleric for his future work. In the twelfth century this system had flowered in a promising and ambitious institution, the university. Before long universities dotted the leading countries of Europe, but both in the renown of its teachers and in the number of its students the university of Paris outshone all the others.

The medieval intellectual movement aims at the reconciliation of faith and reason

The university movement signified a meager but genuine intellectual revival based on such scraps of Greek and, more particularly, of Aristotelian philosophy as had survived the long neglect of the last phase of the ancient and the first phase of the new European civilization. Admittedly slight, the Aristotelian remains none the less furnished evidence touching one of the notable achievements of the Greek mind. The basic feature of Aristotelianism was a system of logic which had been elaborated by the famous Athenian as a means for testing truth. This logic had by a stroke of chance been preserved; and enraptured by its rediscovery and by the excitements inherent in the dialectic game, the university professors undertook the task of bringing the Christian doctrines, owing their origin to faith alone, into harmony with the Aristotelian norms of reason. This labor, enthusiastically embarked on, produced a philosophy which from its university champions, the *doctores scholastici* or schoolmen, has been called scholasticism. The acknowledged prince of the scholastics was St. Thomas Aquinas (d. 1274) who, coming at the end of a cumulative movement, solved in his famous *Summa* the philosophic problem of his age to the general satisfaction. The achievement of Aquinas consisted in adjusting the conflicting demands of faith and reason in so subtle and delicate a way that each came into its own without infringing on the rights of the other. With that success scholasticism had reached its goal and spent its energy; but, instead of dying, it unhappily lingered on, as movements ensconced in powerful institutions will, until, eternally chewing its ancient cud, it invited the irritated attention of the alert and mobile townsmen. What struck them was that the education served up in the schools and universities by the dull and dessicated schoolmen was wholly out of touch with the needs and problems of an urban group. They wanted, although they were perhaps only dimly aware of the fact, intellectual sanctions for their novel, mundane ways of living; and when they could not get them from the university professors, they took them from the only other authority available, the ancients.

The new feeling for life and nature illustrated by St. Francis of Assisi

There followed the intellectual revolt called the Revival of Learning; and it is notable that it took place, at least to a large extent, outside and even against the universities. It is in fact a town, not a university movement, and the best proof thereof is that it had its start in the great towns of Italy, more particularly in Florence. Its forerunners begin to put in an appearance as early as the thirteenth century, as may be illustrated by the case of St. Francis of Assisi (1182–1226). An extraordinarily pure and simple soul, he gave his life whole-heartedly to Christ and founded one of the great orders of begging friars, the Brothers Minor or Franciscans. In these respects he moved within the frame of the ascetic concepts of the Middle Age; but because he sent his friars not into monastic solitude but out into the world to serve their suffering fellow-men, and further, because he rejoiced with the simple pleasure of a child or poet in the countless fair forms of nature, calling the beasts his brothers and the birds his sisters, he is on the way toward an affirmation of existence that is essentially modern.

The first great champion of the new learning is Petrarch

One hundred years after St. Francis we come across the first open champion of a revival of classical studies, Francesco Petrarca or Petrarch (1304–1374). Of Florentine ancestry Petrarch, owing to the banishment of his father from the Arno city as the result of a political defeat, was born in upper Tuscany at Arezzo and brought up beyond the Alps at Avignon on the Rhone, whither the papal court had recently transferred its seat. Having returned to Italy to pursue the study of law in the renowned legal university of Bologna, the young Petrarch ended by rejecting a profession which was repugnant to his nature and courageously resolved to live his life precariously as a wandering scholar. To later ages he was chiefly known as a poet who poured out his troubled love for Laura in scores of musical sonnets. By adopting the vernacular for these expressions of a mercurial emotion he became one of the founders of Italian literature. However, among the men of his own time, Petrarch, the poet, counted less, much less, than Petrarch, the intellectual giant. For them the notable thing about him was that he inaugurated a conscious rebellion against the hide-bound university professors and that he proposed to replace their educational pabulum, which he considered as no better than thrashed straw, with the nourishment still abundantly stored in the literature of the classical period. What made that literature, produced more than a thousand years before, appeal as still vital to the fourteenth century was an important but simple circumstance. It was the self-expression of an active people engaged in wrestling with the very human problems born of contact with this earth. Naturally enough its frank but refined worldliness made a strong appeal to the new Italian urban class involved in essentially the same struggle.

Petrarch champions the humanistic content of classical literature

The spirit of Petrarch's championship of classical literature should be clearly understood. Although the Greek language had been forgotten in the European west and its inestimable treasures had become inaccessible, let no one dream that the great Latin authors had similarly sunk from view during the Middle Age. Not only had the Latin language been made, as we already know, the corner-stone of the medieval school curriculum, but the Latin authors, more particularly Virgil, were freely utilized as a convenient text for mastering a strange and difficult tongue. But these Latin studies, prescribed by the dogmatic system of the Seven Liberal Arts under the names of grammar and rhetoric, were at best hardly more than dry philological exercises. Wholly taken up with its peculiar theological preoccupations, the Middle Age made no effort to penetrate to the spirit of the classical authors, who with their glad acceptance of this earth dwelt in a realm incomprehensible and even hateful to ascetically minded men. Petrarch, therefore, did not so much recover the ancient books as he unsealed his mind to their vital contents, and, arising in his place, preached that content to all the seekers of life in his day. According to his reform program, the curriculum of the schools was still to be based exactly as before on Latin; only henceforth the young men were to receive the living message of the text in order to be guided by its light. Not Latin for the sake of a dead language and the dusty theological disputes conducted in it, but Latin as an avenue to a genial outlook on life became Petrarch's watchword. As this prized geniality of spirit was admirably expressed by the word *humanitas*, the Revival of Learning has often been indentified with humanism and Petrarch has been called the first humanist. In the same effort to emphasize his resolute departure from the austere ideals of a medievalism still widely prevalent in his age, he has, not without a certain exaggeration, been acclaimed the first modern man.

Petrarch inaugurates a new era in classical scholarship

On the purely practical side Petrarch set himself as his main object the task of improving the manuscripts of Virgil, Horace, Livy, Cicero, and the other Latin poets, historians, and philosophers, whose texts, owing to the carelessness of many generations of scribes, had become exceedingly corrupt. In addition he aimed to establish libraries, by which the precious manuscripts could be made more accessible to the studious, and to discover valuable lost works among the dusty shelves of forgotten monasteries. In support of these labors he collected an enthusiastic following of scholars who devoted a vast energy to the recovery, correction, and popularization of the classical remains.

Although Petrarch did not know Greek, he fully recognized its importance. Within a generation after his death a number of native scholars from the Greek east had been drawn to Italy as teachers, and in the first half of the fifteenth century these scattered forerunners were followed by a voluntary influx due to the gradual conquest of the Byzantine Empire by the Ottoman Turks. When, in 1453, Constantinople, the Greek capital, itself fell before the Asiatic onslaught, still greater numbers of scholars turned their footsteps toward Italy, taking with them as their most precious possession whatever manuscripts they managed to save from the wreck of their world. In this way the treasure-house of Greek literature, immeasurably richer than that of Rome, was made accessible to the western student, and a scholarly group of humanists, hopefully reaping the rich fields of classical philology, history, and philosophy, might be encountered in every great center of Italy. While some of these men were no better than bat-eyed pedants, who gave their days to such trifles as the enclitic particle or the aorist tense, others again steeped themselves so thoroughly in the issues of life which dominated Athens and Rome that they impress us in some of their manifestations as belated Greeks and Romans, more comfortably at home in a dead and buried age than in their own.

The conquest of Greek and the recovery of the classical viewpoint

By the middle of the fifteenth century the vision of a new intellectual culture, based on antiquity, had seduced the whole educated world of Italy. Not only leading laymen associated with government or trade, but numerous churchmen, especially men of the highest rank, shared in the general enthusiasm. In many instances when the great Church dignitaries did not themselves become scholars, they assumed the role of patrons and dilettanti and tolerantly discussed Stoicism, Platonism, and the other philosophic speculations of the Greeks as if they had been interesting early phases of Christianity. Thus by subtle and imperceptible stages the otherworldliness of the Middle Age made way for the avowed worldliness of the Renaissance, and a glad affirmation of this life, the precious gift of which we have an immediate consciousness, came to expression in all classes of society.

The new learning seduces the great churchmen and penetrates all classes

The spread of pagan sentiments

Of the peculiarly joyous temper of the period and of its happy expression in the arts we shall presently learn more; but one sinister concomitant of the mental liberation belongs here and must not escape our attention. It will cause no surprise to learn that the continued occupation of the humanists with the pagan world threatened in the long run to estrange them from Christianity. To be sure this had not been the case with Petrarch, for the reason that he was still too close to the Middle Age to lose his sincere awe of the faith of his fathers. But after a hundred years of Cicero and Seneca, of Plato and Plotinus, this faith no longer loomed so large as formerly and as a result the mass of the humanists became infected with religious scepticism. And yet, if they broke inwardly with their inheritance, if they became more or less pagan in their outlook on life, they made no clamorous and inconvenient stir about it. The Church, governed by prelates themselves steeped in the new learning and cut adrift from the traditional moorings, practised an extreme toleration and carefully avoided bringing the humanists into open opposition with itself.

Danger for the Church in the paganization of the Italian prelates

Judged from a purely religious standpoint the resulting situation in Italy was hollow and, in the long run, dangerous. For granting that under the popes of the fifteenth century, who, frankly attached to the pleasures and splendors of this world, may be classified as a distinct group of Renaissance popes, the Church appeared as a house magnificent, costly, and outwardly no less impressive than of yore, it was never the less permissible to suspect that that house no longer sheltered the Christ in whose divine name it claimed the respect and obedience of the Christian world. And though the Italians, absorbed by their pagan enthusiasms, might not be shocked by this contradictory situation, it was not improbable that some other people, not yet paganized by the new learning, would rise to protest against what struck it as an intolerable scandal in the Christian family.

C. LITERATURE AND THE FINE ARTS

The Renaissance stimulates the vernacular literatures

Since, during the Renaissance, men developed a new attitude toward the problems of living, literature and the Fine Arts, which serve as an outlet for whatever stirs the human heart, promptly came to the front. Let us first briefly consider the movement of literature. In Italy and in every other country as well writers arose who, moved in the depth of their souls by the freshening stream of life, felt that they had something of value to communicate; and although some writers continued to use Latin, so long the authoritative medium of the learned classes of the world, others, especially poets, became convinced that their emotions could be adequately expressed only in the familiar mother-tongue. In this way the European vernaculars, the French, Italian, Spanish, English, and German languages acquired an incontestable literary standing, while at the same time the literatures in these languages, although they had begun to flourish in the Middle Age in connection with the epic poetry cultivated by the nobility, came into continuous being. Considered in their Renaissance phase, which alone concerns us here, these native literatures still possess a somewhat tentative character. They have come to stay but are not yet quite sure of the fact. Thus Italian literature, after introducing itself to the world, as to the sound of silver trumpets, with the three immortal Florentines, Dante, Petrarch, and Boccaccio, all of the fourteenth century, in the fifteenth century again dropped into comparative insignificance. In the same century which gave Italy its great Florentine constellation England gave birth to Chaucer (1340–1400), who produced the delightful *Canterbury Tales* but, like the Italian triumvirate, left no successor. Contemporary France was graced by Froissart (1337–1410), one of the most picturesque prose chroniclers of all time, and, shortly after, heard the natural, moving voice of the poet Villon (1431–1484), child of the city and its slums. Great names all these, but names whose distinctly sporadic performances leave the impression that the literary movement in the European vernaculars was not yet full-fledged.

The Fine Arts in the Middle Age created the Gothic style

Everything considered, the temper of the Renaissance in the period before the Reformation expressed itself much less fully in literature than in the Fine Arts. And in this field Italy so decisively led the other countries that we may be pardoned if, owing to lack of space, we confine ourselves to the artistic movement among the Italians. The several Fine Arts serve the function of expressing within the limits of their respective means and under the stimulus of the creative imagination the longings and ideals of a particular society. In other words, while architecture, sculpture, and painting always have specific tasks which they must satisfy each in its own material of stone, wood, or color, they will be found expressive and beautiful in a particular case in exact measure as they give convincing form to the aspirations of their time or of all times. No sooner had the townsmen, as early as the eleventh century, set themselves the task of building that new thing, a town, than they perforce called architecture into being; and architecture in its turn quite naturally wakened to life sculpture and painting. But as all this early activity had taken place while the Church still enjoyed an unquestioned authority, the Fine Arts in their purely medieval phase were steeped in the Christian spirit. By historians of art the medieval phase of the Fine Arts is universally called Gothic, a name rather ill-chosen (for what had the Goths to do with medieval art?), but fully serving a purpose if we agree that it means no more than that medieval churches, statues, and paintings were conceived in a particular spirit and sound an identical religious note. Gothic, in short, is a purely conventional name for the self-expression, the *style* of the Christian Middle Age.

The Renaissance style rules from 1400 to 1600

When, with the coming of the Renaissance, the town began to break away from the moorings of the Church, when it devoted itself to worldly ends and in this pursuit reëstablished the broken connection with antiquity, the Gothic style was gradually abandoned and a new manner of expression developed appropriate to the new age. Of course, this style too was, no more than Gothic, fixed and unchanged through successive generations; and connoisseurs distinguish at least three phases, early Renaissance, middle Renaissance, and late Renaissance, covering together the period from about 1400 to 1550 and even 1600. Concerned here with but the merest sketch, we shall be satisfied first, to characterize the Renaissance art as a whole, and second, to point to a few of the great artists who distinguished themselves in the respective fields of architecture, sculpture, and painting.

The Renaissance style defined by its elements

If we agree that Gothic feeling continued to rule the practice of the Italian artists till toward the year 1400, we are prepared to understand the conditions that helped mold the new style. Shortly after 1400 the artists, having had their attention called by the humanists to Greece and Rome, turned with the same fervor to the artistic monuments of the past as the scholars had already shown for its literature. With a sudden fiery enthusiasm for the new they coupled a wholly undeserved contempt for the forms which had enjoyed authority for so long a time. Gothic became positively taboo as they threw themselves with the passion of proselytes on the Corinthian columns, the decorative motifs, and the marble statuary of antiquity. Innumerable architectural and sculptural remains in a more or less complete state of preservation were still to be found in all the cities of Italy. If we consider more particularly the architects, in whose eyes the long neglected ruins suddenly again became beautiful, the practical issue for them came to be how the essential forms of the ancient monuments might be successfully adapted to the existing needs of society. The Renaissance town did not, like ancient Rome, call for amphitheaters, baths, and temples. It would normally require cathedrals, town halls, and gild houses, in so far as the need for these had not already been met in the Gothic period; and with the increasing wealth of the community and of its individual members a somewhat novel demand would make itself felt for parish churches, private chapels, and, above all, for palaces and villas. Add that the artists, more particularly the sculptors and painters, refusing to maintain the obligatory medieval attitude toward nature as the realm of Satan, knocked at her door with the request to be admitted to her kindly confidences, and we have the situation out of which the new style was born. Defining that style by its elements, we may therefore summarily say first, that it represented a revival of classical forms; second, that it was inspired with the freshness of nature; and, third that, while by no means wholly emancipated from religion and the Church, it served the interest and outlook of energetic groups which had risen to influence through the opportunities of trade and industry.

Architecture—Brunellesco and Michael Angelo

Turning first to architecture, we greet in Brunellesco (1377–1446) the harbinger of the Renaissance spirit. His great work, by which he illustrated the classical principle of spaciousness coupled with simplicity, is the dome with which he crowned the cathedral of his native town of Florence. Such a church as San Lorenzo, also in Florence, announces his decision to turn from the massive piers which featured Gothic church construction to the lighter and more graceful columnar row of the Roman builders. These suggestions of Brunellesco, taken over and elaborated by several generations of innovators, studded the Italian towns with that profusion of handsome edifices in the Renaissance style which still arouses the admiration of the visitor. The culminating structure, both historically and stylistically, is perhaps St. Peter's at Rome. Many of the greatest architects of the peninsula were at one time or another entrusted with its construction which continued throughout the sixteenth century; but the most famous name connected with the enterprise is that of the Florentine, Michael Angelo (1475–1564). In the far-seen dome, in which Michael Angelo outdid the lofty cupola of his fellow-citizen, Brunellesco, we hail one of the monumental achievements of all time.

In many ways, however, the private structures of the period were more interesting and more varied than the religious edifices. It was

The profusion of private palaces and country villas

an age when military despots and merchant princes came to the front, desirous to commemorate themselves and their families with an enduring monument. In Florence successful bankers, like the Medici, the Strozzi, and the Pitti, erected heavy piles of masonry whose frowning, fortress-like, and medieval character, was only slightly modified by the urbanity of the new feeling, while in Venice, the sea city, where an unthreatened security reigned and the idea of a fortress as a family home had become a complete anachronism, the merchant residences rose in open, graceful, superimposed arcades, whose many-colored marbles softly mirrored themselves in the slow-moving canals. But if Venice and Florence stand out in the front of the Italian cities, Rome, Padua, Bologna, Siena, and a score of others did not lag far behind. They too were architecturally transformed; and since each town boasted a distinct town personality, its structures of this period sound a very individual note in the richly modulated Italian architectural chorus.

Sculpture — Donatello and Michael Angelo

In the Florentine Donatello (1383–1466), the contemporary and friend of Brunellesco, we encounter the artist who inaugurated the Renaissance movement in sculpture. While an occasional, religiously conceived figure, like that of his well-known St. George, would show that he still cherished the memories of the Middle Age, his work, considered as a whole, is, though not untouched with the spirit of antiquity, the frank expression of a whole-hearted realism. As his numerous charming portrayals of childhood eloquently confess, Donatello was essentially a follower of nature. His contemporary, Ghiberti (1378–1455), is the author of the two celebrated bronze gates of the Florentine baptistery. They set forth in many scenes in high relief certain significant events, selected in one case from the life of Christ, in the other from the Old Testament. How be just to Luca della Robbia, Desiderio da Settignano, and a score of others? Enough that this Florentine school of sculpture culminated in Michael Angelo (1475–1564), who, by preference a wielder of the chisel, by no means confined himself to one art but practised also architecture, painting, and poetry. He is one of the myriad-minded men, the universal geniuses, who are a distinguished and distinguishing feature of the age. Abandoning the simple-hearted naturalism of Donatello which contented itself naïvely with the immediate aspect of the visible universe, he searched with persistence and austerity for the reality behind appearances, and in his Moses (in Rome) and in his figures for the Medicean tombs in Florence created an almost terrifying world of supermen, confronted with whom every living generation since has felt itself reduced to a race of pigmies.

Painting the outstanding art of the Renaissance

Significant as were the achievements of architecture and sculpture, it was, however, the art of painting which the Renaissance chiefly utilized to voice its hopes and fears. That was perhaps because paint is a more fluid and expressive medium than stone or marble and because the restless spirit of the age felt itself more completely at home in the sensitive and fugitive effects of line and color. So much did painting become the chosen Italian art that every town of any importance developed its own painters, who constituted a local group or school with a style peculiarly their own. The inexhaustible richness and variety of Italian painting is due to these schools, to which to do justice here is entirely out of the question. Let us content ourselves with glancing at the schools of the two greatest centers, Florence and Venice.

Florentine painting from Masaccio to Botticelli

The Florentine school of painting was founded by Giotto (1266–1337) in a period still dominated by Gothic emotions. Though Giotto is rightly considered one of the greatest artists of all times, his work, steeped in medieval feeling, ceased to appeal to the generation that took delight in Brunellesco and Donatello and achieved the Renaissance civilization. Early in the fifteenth century, therefore, the art of painting was invaded by the same spirit which had already moved architecture and sculpture to fresh expression. The first painter to sound the new note was Masaccio (1401–1428?), a sturdy, convincing realist, as his frescos in the Brancacci chapel, still extant, amply prove. Paolo Uccello, Fra Filippo Lippi, Botticelli, and many others caught the realist note from him, delicately varying it according to their individual temper. In Botticelli the world still recognizes a personal utterance so rare, so puzzling that its mystic implications have never quite been plumbed.

The Florentine school came to its final fruition in Michael Angelo (1475–1564) and Leonardo da Vinci (1452–1519). Of Michael Angelo it may be said that, though he became a painter against his will at the imperious bidding of a pope, he achieved in his scenes of the creation, depicted on the ceiling of the Sistine chapel at Rome, a masterpiece which has quickened the pulse of every generation of men since his time. Leonardo, like Michael Angelo, was a universal genius, who, in addition to painting, practised sculpture, interested himself in scientific experiment, and was an engineer and inventor. However, just as Michael Angelo was by preference a sculptor, Leonardo was first of all and preëminently a painter. Unfortunately some of his greatest works, like the Last Supper at Milan and the portrait of a lady, called Mona Lisa, at Paris, have been almost ruined by the tooth of time, owing, it would seem, to his over-hasty adoption of certain technical innovations.

Michael Angelo and Leonardo da Vinci

At this juncture a word about the technical processes connected with painting may not prove amiss. At the time of Giotto and for several generations afterwards the Florentines commonly and preferably used what is known as the fresco method. By this, a convenient style of large-scale wall-painting, the artist applies his color to the wet plaster, permitting plaster and paint to fuse into an indistinguishable mass in the process of drying. Largely because of its discouraging lack of permanence, fresco work was gradually abandoned for painting on specially prepared boards or canvas in substantial colors which owe their peculiar body to the circumstance of their being carried in a solution of oil. This extraordinarily solid technic, commonly called painting in oil, gradually gained the upper hand and was employed also by Leonardo; only, given as he was to scientific experimentation, he tried other media, besides oil, with the disastrous result above mentioned.

Fresco and oil painting

One of the last artists to use the fresco technic with outstanding success was Raphael (1483–1520), whose great allegorical presentations of theology, philosophy, and poetry in the private chambers of the pope's palace of the Vatican, as well as whose numerous altar-pieces and portraits in oil, place him on the summit of the Renaissance movement. A certain grace achieved by Raphael, a sensuous harmony, too facile, it may be, but rarely winning, have made him the most beloved artist of all time. A native of the mountain town, Urbino, he is, let us not fail to note, a product not of the Florentine, but of the Umbrian school. To accord him a merited place in our brief record may serve to confirm us in the view that the great centers of Florence and Venice by no means enjoyed a monopoly of artistic genius.

Raphael of Urbino

Not only was the city of Venice remarkably secure in its day and its government unusually stable, but set in a silver sea under a blue and radiant sky, it was and has remained one of the fairest and most stirring sights on earth. Inevitably these happy social and physical conditions were reflected in the school of painting, which, springing from the fresh vigor of the Renaissance, revelled in a liveliness and charm of color never before or afterwards achieved. Since it is futile simply to call off the roster of illustrious Venetian names, let us rest content with the artists who stand on the summit of accomplishment. They are Giorgione, Titian, Tintoretto, and Paul Veronese; but Titian (1477–1576) tops them all as the embodiment of peculiarly Venetian purposes. Whether he produced portraits — and he produced many, since all the prominent people of his time desired to be limned by him — or whether he painted altar-pieces for the gorgeous churches lining the canals, his work no longer bears a trace of medieval provincialism or piety. Let us for a moment transport ourselves into the presence of that gorgeous panel in the Venetian Academy called the Presentation of the Virgin. Instead of any act or gesture specifically Christian, we have a magnificent procession of gentlefolk moving with a dignity and arrayed with a sumptuousness which suggest not the Holy Family but the merchant princes under whose patronage Titian and his school developed their refined, aristocratic, and frankly worldly art.

Venetian painting — Titian

D. NATURAL SCIENCE AND INVENTION

That the Middle Age neglected the natural sciences was no more than might be expected of a period which looked askance at this earth as a vale of tears and taught that the happiest hour of life was the hour on which one left it. The common people held that nature was inhabited by sprites, elves, and devils, whom it was the part of wisdom to propitiate, and even the upper classes were very generally dominated by similar superstitions. Under these circumstances anything like a sane or systematic study of man's physical environment was out of the question and the closest medieval approach to scientific inquiry, as we understand the term, is represented by the quack sciences of astrology and alchemy. Astrology, which did indeed include some slight observation of the heavens, owed its amazing popularity to the specious belief that the individual human destiny is determined by the stars, while alchemy, which undoubtedly encour-

Medieval science limited to astrology and alchemy

aged a small measure of laboratory experimentation, was practised in the illusive hope of fabulous riches to be achieved by converting the baser metals into gold. Conceding that astrology and alchemy served as forerunners of the genuine sciences of astronomy and chemistry, owing to the absurd hypotheses on which they were based, as well as because of the total absence of a critical method, we can not agree that they contributed greatly to a truly helpful and exact knowledge of man and his world.

Slow improvement of observational methods: medicine

With the advent of the Renaissance the negative attitude toward the earth popularized by medieval Christianity gradually made way for a happy affirmation, which imperceptibly led to a closer observation of natural forms and processes. The intellectual stimulus supplied by humanism contributed to the same end, for with the uncovering of classical literature there was uncovered also the remarkable science of the Greeks, more particularly in the fields of physics, astronomy, medicine, and mathematics. The result was that at some universities, notably at Padua, by slow, indeed, very slow degrees a new scientific spirit began to prevail. Not till the beginning of the sixteenth century, however, did it celebrate any considerable triumphs, and these, moreover, were long limited to medicine. It was a notable advance when such studies as anatomy and physiology were put on a frankly experimental basis by the dissection of dead bodies. The greatest Paduan name is that of a native Fleming, Dr. Vesalius. In 1543 he published his anatomical treatise, *Fabrica Corporis Humani*, wherein he took the bold position that it was necessary to challenge every past authority, even the awe-inspiring Greeks, and to be guided exclusively by an examination of the facts. The facts — that was the sign in which science was destined to win its imposing modern victories.

The solid advances of geography

But since, after all, it was only toward the year 1500 that medicine took a distinctly original turn, we are justified in putting at the head of the studies that first yielded novel results the related sciences of geography and astronomy. In fact, investigation will make perfectly clear that the medieval scientific petrifaction was first shaken by the introduction of new geographical knowledge. This originated in the simplest possible way as a by-product of the journeys undertaken by merchants over land and sea in search of markets. As soon as the Mediterranean area had become fairly familiar, men took to travel, very often as much in the spirit of adventure as from the lust of gain. As early as the second half of the thirteenth century the celebrated Venetian, Marco Polo, penetrated overland all the way to China and left a record of his hazards which still inflames the imagination of the reader. Before long the scattered new information was incorporated in maps, made by cartographers who addressed themselves quite as much to man's mounting passion for knowledge as to the practical needs of traders and sea-captains. Then, in the fifteenth century, through the developments of humanism, the geography and astronomy of the ancient Greeks was made accessible. The last of the great Alexandrian astronomers was Ptolemy, who had lived in the second century after Christ and who had taught not only that the earth was round but also had calculated its circumference at an astonishingly close approximation to the true figure. Eager to pick up every crumb from the Greek table, the humanists were not slow to give up the common medieval view that the earth was flat in favor of the more authoritative Ptolemaic teaching. By the fifteenth century, therefore, the geography of the world had taken on a changed aspect: to abundant new data touching Europe, Africa, and Asia was added the advantage of fuller maps and charts and of the Ptolemaic hypothesis with its thought-provoking implications. If, in connection with these facts, we now consider the alluring profits of the oriental trade, we shall easily understand how men fell victim to that strange fever compounded of romance, love of knowledge, and low greed, which we call the voyages of discovery and which did not exhaust itself till man had entered into complete possession of the earth.

The new astronomy — Copernicus

Of the voyages of discovery more will be said later on. At this juncture it behooves us to point out that the new geography led with unescapable logic to the new astronomy, connected with the famous name of Copernicus (1473–1543). This native of the city of Thorn on the Vistula river passed ten formative years of his life in Italy, where he absorbed in eager draughts the new ideas so generally diffused through the peninsula. Impressed by the Ptolemaic astronomy, which placed a round, stationary earth at the center of the universe with all the other celestial bodies revolving around it, he was none the less led to question some of its dicta and formulated, after years of study, his own hypothesis. This upheld the view that the earth with the other planets revolved around the sun, and that, in addition to this motion, it spun every twenty-four hours around its axis.

General stimulus to science of the Copernican astronomy

Owing to the general currency of the Ptolemaic or geocentric theory, a currency made practically obligatory because of its endorsement by the Church, Copernicus hesitated so long to announce his heliocentric views that it was not till the year of his death that his epoch-making astronomical treatise issued from the press (1543). Not greatly noticed at first, its teachings filtered very slowly into the European consciousness. However, in measure as the new hypothesis captured the thinking minds, not only did it revolutionize the whole picture of the universe, but it helped decisively to put the natural sciences on a solid foundation by spreading the conviction that the modern, as distinct from the medieval, knowledge would have to begin with the challenge of tradition and pass on thence to new data accumulated through fresh, individual observation.

The Middle Age not undistinguished by invention

Because the Middle Age was conspicuously indifferent to natural science it must not be thought to have been wholly without distinction in the field of invention. While, as our own age would abundantly prove, invention is greatly stimulated by scientific discovery, it is not entirely dependent on it, since some of the most important inventions ever made by man have resulted from nothing more than from his inborn ingenuity. Even in the relatively slothful Middle Age men, on being confronted in the field of their immediate interests with perplexing problems, brought or tried to bring them to a satisfactory solution. Thus, since the liturgical service of the Church stimulated a love of music, the singers invented a system of notation, which, with additions imposed by later phases of development, is the system we still use. Again, the sailors of the Mediterranean, finding it difficult to steer their course as soon as they lost sight of land, either invented the mariners' compass or, what comes to much the same thing, took it over from the Arabs, who in their turn had borrowed it from the Chinese. As for the medieval painters, they first solved their particular difficulty, as we have seen, with the fresco method and, when that proved unsatisfactory, turned to oil and canvas.

When, with the quickening of intercourse in the Renaissance, problems of a technical kind rapidly multiplied, inventions, representing more or less complete solutions of the new problems, multiplied also. Two in particular had such far-reaching consequences that we must single them out for attention. In the course of the second half of the fourteenth century gun-powder came into use and gradually, very gradually, revolutionized the European methods of warfare, since gun-powder led to the invention of artillery and muskets, at first of exceedingly rude construction but destined relentlessly to supplant the earlier weapons. In the wake of these technical improvements, certain social and political changes were not slow to announce themselves. A little reflection will show that the ascendancy of the feudal baron was to a considerable extent dependent on his exclusive possession of an expensive equipment of horse, lance, and armor. Since the new weapons, even though they long remained almost ludicrously clumsy, were far more effective, when it came to the business of killing, than pike and sword, they tipped the balance in favor of the military rivals of the baronage, the low-born mercenaries, who, equipped at the king's expense and employing a tactics appropriate to the new instruments, were able, on the one hand, to break the attack of the noble cavalry and, on the other, to batter a breach into the hitherto impregnable walls of the feudal castle. The strong monarchy, of which we shall presently hear more, made its advent with the fifteenth century; it owed its replacement of the feudal system substantially to the rise of the towns, but there is no room to doubt that the feudal decline was greatly accelerated by the military revolution signified by gun-powder and the new weapons.

Gun-powder destroys the military advantage enjoyed by the nobility

A still more significant invention, doubtless one of the most far-reaching in the annals of the human race, was printing. So long as books were written laboriously by hand, they were necessarily few in number and expensive, a prerogative of kings and princes, lay and ecclesiastical. With the rise of the towns the problem of a simpler and cheaper method of communicating ideas became pressing, and was met, as is usually the case, not with a single invention but with a whole interlocking series of them. The situation becomes reasonably clear if we remember that in the Middle Age the scribes wrote chiefly on parchment, prepared from the skins of animals, preferably of sheep. To supersede the costly handwritten parchment a long succession of steps would be necessary, of which the invention of *paper* and *movable type* were the most important. Toward the middle of the fifteenth century an excellent linen paper, made of the fiber of flax, had come into use as a substitute for parchment; and shortly after, in 1454, the first book printed from movable type dropped from the press. Char-

Printing involves a series of inventions

acteristically for an age still predominantly ecclesiastical the first creation of the new labor-saving device was a version of the Bible. That Bible, one would be inclined to say after weighing all the facts, was more than the work of its immediate printer: it was the composite achievement of a great number of men, each of whom, nameless though he has remained, contributed an invaluable fraction to the final product. However, as they apparently all resided in the flourishing cities dotting the course of the Rhine, printing may not improperly be represented as the collective offering to mankind of the Rhenish towns. The crowning invention, that of the movable type, is usually ascribed to John Gutenberg of the city of Mainz.

The immeasurable revolution wrought by printing

Within a few decades printing had spread from the Rhine to all the countries of Europe. Books, once a rarity, were multiplied as though by magic, and, sold for a small price, carried the old and the new knowledge far afield. Not only was learning, the proud and barricaded learning of the schools, henceforth made more generally accessible, but an enormously potent engine for the promotion of his program was put into the hands of every innovator and reformer. Though it would be a mistake to think of the broad masses of men as now taking to reading and lifting themselves without more ado to a new level of understanding, it is certain that the middle classes, the true carriers of the Renaissance, still further clinched the triumph which was already theirs. Printing, even more than gun-powder, heralded their advent to power; and it is clear evidence of their rise that before many decades had passed, the books printed in Latin, the vehicle of a limited group of scholars, were greatly outnumbered by those published in the various European vernaculars. Plainly whoever wished to be widely read had to be content to circulate his ideas in the language of the street and home. But if the new invention helped the common tongues to win their final victory over Latin, it also tended to replace the many dialectic variations in each European country with a fixed language norm accepted as authoritative for literary purposes. In other words, the Italian, French, Spanish, German, and English languages substantially received their modern dress in the sixteenth century through the wide diffusion of printed books.

E. INDIVIDUALISM

The rigorous class system of the Middle Age

It is difficult for a modern man to realize to what an extent the Middle Age was a period of classes and class discipline. Whether you were a knight, a merchant, a craftsman, or a peasant, you lived out your life in the spirit of class loyalty and in strict submission to the firmly established customs of your group. In case you were injured in your rights you appealed for justice to the court which functioned for your social level. That means that there were baronial, ecclesiastical, town, and peasant (manorial) courts, to which the individual was amenable according to his status. Above the various civil courts, it is true, was the court of the king, but it did not always function because the king was frequently without power. Each class had its own dress, its own art, its own literature, even its own amusements and table manners. In sum, so tyrannical was the class code that the individual was bound and dominated in every concern of life by a vast multitude of meticulous prescriptions.

The individualist creed produces a galaxy of brilliant personalities

In the Renaissance, through the operation of the forces which we have been studying, the stout barriers of custom began to give way and men were prompted to modify their group allegiance in favor of the new and persuasive ideal of individual freedom. The great merchant of Venice or Florence chafed at the numerous restrictions imposed by his fellows of the gild of merchants regarding buying and selling, and nursed the smouldering conviction that if he were given a free hand, he would much more rapidly mount the golden ladder of success. With such ideas simmering in his head he favored an economic policy of untrammeled enterprise, just as his contemporary, the humanist, enamoured of classical literature and advocating a new educational program, desired to cut loose from the intellectual and moral restrictions of the Church and university. Whenever you draw close enough to a Renaissance situation to see what is really happening, you discover that the men who figure as leaders in the field under examination are liberating themselves from the fetters of the past and aiming at fuller self-expression. Philosophically stated the Renaissance is therefore an age of emerging individualism, the essence of which is freedom. Freedom — what a seductive battle-cry! It has rung sonorously through all the succeeding centuries and continues in our day to make itself heard with all its old persuasiveness. To the attempt to achieve the greatest possible measure of free self-expression is to be mainly attributed the amazing galaxy of fifteenth and sixteenth century personalities, more brilliant perhaps and more sharply defined than those of any other epoch of history.

Individualism with its ideal of freedom fosters an appropriate ethics

If individualism with its demand that every man seek his own fullest development came to the front at this time to remain a characteristic spiritual ingredient of the whole Modern Age, it carried with it certain ethical consequences which must not be overlooked. By its policy of minute and vigorous control the medieval class régime taught men to find their happiness in service to the group, in humble self-suppression. The Renaissance, on the contrary, with its individualist creed tended to ignore and sacrifice the group in favor of its most energetic and highly endowed members and to set up a criterion by virtue of which the gifted and successful ones, regardless of the methods they employed, were accorded universal honor. Two types of conduct, or, to speak philosophically, two systems of ethics were thus brought into confrontation with each other; and if the pagan-individualist type irresistibly surged to the surface in the Renaissance, the older medieval, or, as we may term it, Christian-socialist type was by no means entirely driven from the scene. In fact it is plain to see that both have existed side by side, often enough in open discord, to the present generation. What further complicates the situation is the circumstance that the modern man, as the historical heir of two ethical codes, most often tries to combine them both in his single person. The result is in most cases like the meeting of fire and water. Certainly it will not do to make out that men and women in our day adopt and tenaciously cling to either one or the other ethical system, seeing that in practice they pay a disconcertingly sincere homage to both.

The main elements of individualism

Making all allowances for a situation varying from place to place and class to class, we are still forced to admit that the Renaissance ushered in a new moral code. Its main elements are a powerful individualist assertiveness, the proclamation of freedom from inherited trammels, and an ethical and, by implication, an aesthetic practice in harmony with the new libertarian attitude toward the problem of living.

F. THE VOYAGES OF DISCOVERY AND EUROPEAN COLONIZATION

The voyages of discovery not an isolated event

If the constant interaction of the Renaissance forces, here artificially separated for purposes of analysis, has already been emphasized, it is borne in on us with renewed persuasiveness in taking up the voyages of discovery. Can the voyages of discovery be logically separated from the commercial expansion of the towns already treated? Certainly not, since following directly in the wake of that expansion they are preëminently a commercial movement. Are they intimately tied up with the Revival of Learning? Most decidedly, since it was the new scholarship that revived the Ptolemaic geography and popularized the idea that the earth was round. Without doubt too the discoveries owe much to the new passion for self-expression and adventure which during the Renaissance burned like fire in the hearts of men.

The voyages of discovery inaugurated by Portugal

It would be entirely proper to introduce this division of our Renaissance summary with the cautious voyages which, during and after the crusades, first familiarized the Italian merchants with the Mediterranean, since it was these early, modest enterprises which gave birth to the passion for the sea. However, as commonly understood, the voyages of discovery concern themselves with the open ocean and begin very definitely with Portugal. A fundamental feature in this little country's commercial position was that it did not participate in the benefits of the spice trade monopolized by the Italians. Moreover, geographically Portugal lay opposite Africa, to which continent it gave an enforced attention since northwestern Africa was inhabited by hostile Mohammedan Moors, whose favorite out-door amusement was to prey upon Portuguese trade.

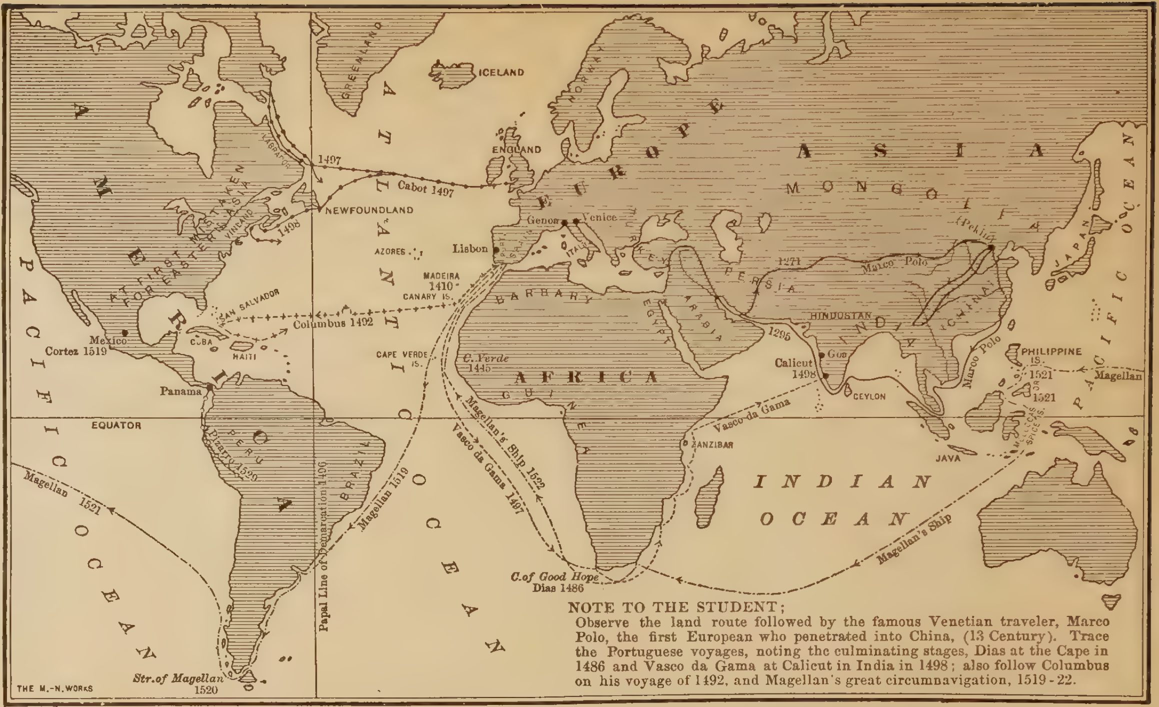
The Portuguese discoveries

In the first half of the fifteenth century a prince of the Portuguese royal house, known to fame as Prince Henry the Navigator, championed the idea, more or less in the air by reason of the enlarged geographic vision connected with humanism, of sailing around Africa to the Indies, the fabulous region whence the precious spices came. A deep Christian religious feeling added its peculiar stimulus to his purpose by filling him with the hope of pleasing God by the conversion of the African infidels. Moved to fit out expeditions, he received his reward before long by the discovery of the Azores and Cape Verde Islands. When he died in 1460, his bold mariners in their tiny ships had traced the coast of Africa almost to the equator. However, in spite of anxious prayers the land stubbornly refused to take the desired angle to the northeast which would show that the continent had been rounded. At last, in 1486, Diaz achieved this brilliant success and penetrated a few leagues beyond the Cape of Good Hope; and twelve years later, in 1498, Vasco da Gama crowned a century of heroic effort by sailing across the Indian ocean to Calicut in Hindustan. Since from now on the Portuguese could acquire the spices, silks, and other luxuries of the orient directly in the countries of their origin, the European trade in these commodities was put on a new foundation. The Italian cities, with Venice at their head, unable to compete with Portugal, suffered a mortal blow. Although the Adriatic metropolis might not immediately realize the fact, its heyday was over and its decline had set in.

Christopher Columbus sails west for the Indies

The startling discoveries inaugurated by Prince Henry aroused the emulation of all the hardy spirits throughout the maritime world. Since the Portuguese had dedicated themselves to the task of reaching the Indies by rounding Africa, why should not the attempt be made to beat them to their goal by sailing west over the Atlantic? If the Ptolemaic theory, which had become the common property of scholars, was correct, it was impossible to miss the Indies by that route. A certain bold skipper, Christopher Columbus (1446–1506), a native of the Italian city of Genoa, pondered the idea until he became firmly convinced of its feasibility. Much derided by cautious stay-at-homes and long unable to find the necessary financial sponsors, he at last secured the support of a woman of vision, Queen Isabella of Castile. Supplied by her with three small caravels, on August 3, 1492, he set out from Palos, a port of western Spain. Over two months later, on October 12, when all his companions had already despaired of success, he touched land in the small island group of the Bahamas; and before turning his prow back to Europe he discovered also the large neighboring islands of Cuba and Haiti.

Owing to his undercalculation of the earth's circumference, Columbus believed that he was on the fringe of the desired spice lands, the fabled Indies, and the name Indians, which he gave to the western aborigines, has clung to them to this day. On his return to Spain he was heartily acclaimed by court and people. Queen Isabella raised him to the rank of admiral, conferred a patent of


A M E R I C A
FOREST
VINLAND
MARKLAND
LABRADOR
1497
1498
Cabot 1497
NEWFOUNDLAND
GREENLAND
ICELAND
ENGLAND
A T L A N T I C
O C E A N
AZORES
MADEIRA
1410
CANARY IS.
CAPE VERDE IS.
Lisbon
Genoa
Venice
ITALY
E U R O P E
NORWAY
TURKEY
BARBARY
EGYPT
ARABIA
PERSIA
A S I A
M O N G O L I A
Peking
CHINA
JAPAN
HINDUSTAN
INDIA
Marco Polo
1271
1295
Goa
Calicut
1498
CEYLON
JAVA
PHILIPPINE IS.
1521
MOLUCCAS OR SPICE IS.
Magellan
ZANZIBAR
I N D I A N
O C E A N
Magellan's Ship
A F R I C A
GUINEA
C. Verde
1445
Magellan's Ship 1522
Vasco da Gama 1497
Vasco da Gama
C. of Good Hope
Dias 1486
SAN SALVADOR
Columbus 1492
CUBA
HAITI
Mexico
Cortez 1519
Panama
EQUATOR
PERU
Pizarro 1520
BRAZIL
Papal Line of Demarcation 1496
Magellan 1519
P A C I F I C
O C E A N
Magellan 1521
Str. of Magellan
1520
THE M.-N. WORKS

NOTE TO THE STUDENT;
Observe the land route followed by the famous Venetian traveler, Marco Polo, the first European who penetrated into China, (13 Century). Trace the Portuguese voyages, noting the culminating stages, Dias at the Cape in 1486 and Vasco da Gama at Calicut in India in 1498; also follow Columbus on his voyage of 1492, and Magellan's great circumnavigation, 1519-22.

THE VOYAGES OF DISCOVERY

nobility on him, and invested him with the viceroyalty of the new lands. In three subsequent voyages he learned nothing which led him to correct the impression that he had reached the outskirts of Asia and the Indian spice lands. A choleric man by nature with a host of enemies, he experienced many strange vicissitudes, of which perhaps the strangest is that he was, on the occasion of one of his later visits to the lands he had discovered, arrested and sent back to Spain, a prisoner in irons. On his death in 1506, near Valladolid, he was rapidly forgotten, and by a tragic mishap the world, which he had, so to speak, called out of the void,[1] was named, not after him, but after a relatively unimportant traveler and geographer, the Florentine, Amerigo Vespucci.

Columbus's mistake about his discovery

In consequence of these startling successes discovery became a passion, especially among the Portuguese and Spaniards. Though the seas were wide and perilous, every adventurer's soul felt a personal summons to strike out into the unknown regions whence fame and riches beckoned. Voyage soon trod upon the heel of voyage, each new enterprise contributing its mite to the completion of the world's geography. In 1497 John Cabot, a Venetian citizen in the employ of Henry VII of England, reached Cape Breton Island, off the coast of North America; and in 1499 Pinzon, who had accompanied Columbus on his first voyage, skirted the shore of Brazil. Thus the great continental mass behind the curtain of islands discovered by Columbus slowly hove in view and it became clear that this was neither India nor China. A fitting climax of this multiplied endeavor was reached when Magellan, a Portuguese in the Spanish service, attempted in 1519 to reach Asia by a passage to the south of the American continental barrier. Having successfully rounded Cape Horn, he was the first European to furrow the Pacific, and in 1522, after a journey of three years, his ship, fittingly named Victory, reached its European starting-point. Magellan himself did not live to see the end, for he was killed upon the Philippine Islands; but the honor of the first circumnavigation of the globe is undeniably his.

Discovery becomes a passion

As the discoveries had their origin in man's commercial instincts, they were utilized at once for purposes of trade. But that was not all. Energized by their successful labors, the Portuguese and Spaniards undertook also to Christianize the new regions and to settle them with colonists from the home-lands. In other words they adopted a policy of thorough-going Europeanization. However, it became apparent before long that this ambitious program would be successful only in the savage and sparsely inhabited continents of North and South America. In the thickly settled regions of Asia, especially in India and China, where the natives boasted a civilization, which, if different, was by every objective standard equal to that of Europe, both Christianization and colonization encountered insurmountable obstacles. In consequence we note a difference: Asia remained, as it began, a field purely of commercial exploitation; the Americas, on the other hand, were gradually planted with settlers and Europeanized.

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[1] It may be noticed in passing that the Northmen, proceeding from Iceland, had discovered America in the tenth century and called it Vinland. But as their discovery was not followed up, it had no results for civilization and does not detract in the least from the well-earned fame of Columbus.

Different treatment of Asia and the Americas

In this work of colonial appropriation Portugal and Spain, as first upon the ground, had an advantage over the other European states. For a moment they even dreamed of excluding all third parties and sharing the immense booty between themselves. Appealing to the pope to serve as arbiter, after much haggling they agreed (1496) on a division of the New World based on the meridian which lay three hundred and seventy leagues west of the Cape Verde Islands. All the new lands to the east of this meridian were to belong to Portugal, all to the west to Spain. But this arrangement, so immensely profitable for the partitioning powers, could not be maintained. In the long run, even as between Portugal and Spain, each power was likely to hold only what it could actually lay its hands on; and both together would find it impossible to shut out determined rivals. Sooner or later England, France, and, very likely, other countries would join in the scramble for the new possessions, and, in view of the resources at their disposal, were almost certain to effect a lodgment.

Attempt of Portugal and Spain to monopolize the new lands

The fierce colonial rivalry among the European powers is one of the most important interests of the Modern Period and will play no small part in this history. For the present, however, we shall merely associate the various European powers with the main regions to which in the first instance they directed their colonial enterprise. The Portuguese planted trading posts along the coast of Africa and the southern shore of Asia, and by means of an unbroken chain of fortified establishments long dominated the trade of the Indian Ocean. They also settled Brazil, which lay to the east of the meridian agreed upon with Spain, with sufficient numbers of their own people to make it gradually Portuguese in speech and manners. The Spaniards located their chief colonial centers at the following points: (1) The West Indies, whither Columbus himself had first directed the stream of immigration; (2) Mexico, which was won for the Spaniards by the intrepid conqueror Cortez; (3) Peru, which was acquired by the equally undaunted Pizarro; (4) the Philippine Islands, secured by Magellan. With the West Indies, Mexico, and Peru as outlying bases of action, Spain surrounded and soon occupied the whole region of Central and South America (except Brazil), while by means of the Philippine Islands she acquired an important foothold in Asiatic waters.

The main colonial objectives of Portugal and Spain

The northern countries of Europe entered late, and with only gradually increasing vigor, into the struggle for the new continents. The little which Henry VII of England did to secure a share for his nation in the great extension of the world is of importance only by reason of consequences which he did not foresee. In 1497 he fitted out John Cabot, a Venetian, who, as already noted, reached the coast of North America. After Henry's time English enterprise slumbered, to be directed on its revival toward the discovery of still another passage, a passage by the waters of the northwest, to that goal of all desires, the spice lands of Asia. By this route it was hoped to repeat the feat of the Portuguese and Spaniards, who had reached Asia by following respectively a southeasterly and a southwesterly course. Although, owing to the far projection of North America into the Arctic sea, the English plan was doomed to failure, it had the effect of at least keeping alive the English interest in the North American coast. Not till the early seventeenth century, however, did the English fully realize their opportunities and set about the systematic colonization of the Atlantic seaboard.

England slowly turns to the American coast

The French proved even more lax than the English in colonial enterprise and it was not till the reign of Henry IV (1589–1610) that they seriously undertook to carve out a conquest for themselves. They then hastened to undo, as far as possible, the consequences of their neglect by settlements in Canada, and, later, in Louisiana, that is, in the great basins of the St. Lawrence and Mississippi rivers.

France secures a lodgment in Canada and Louisiana

Germany and Italy do not participate in the colonial movement

Colonial success was in every instance assured by the support of a strong home government. By mastering that fact we have the explanation why Germany, where the feudal lords had reduced the central sovereign to impotence, had no part in the voyages of discovery and in this matter of colonial increase came off with empty hands. In the case of Italy, too, it was its unhappy political atomization which accounts for its failure to share in the Asiatic and American spoils. These vast potential benefits were reserved for the united and the strong.

G. THE RISE OF CAPITALISM

Medieval economy is town economy and its unit is the gild

A feature of the Renaissance which we can not afford to overlook is that it matured a new form of economic organization in which we recognize the germ of modern capitalism. In considering the growth of the town we noted that the expanding economic life centered around the gild. The gild was an admirable institution in its way and for its time. It supplied the town market, of which it was conceded a monopoly, but it also assumed proportionate obligations in that it guaranteed the town residents a sound article at a fair price. Although competition was not entirely eliminated among the members of the same gild, it failed to raise its head effectively against the prevailing equalitarian ideal of a living on a decent burgher level secured to the whole membership. A further purpose of the gild economy was to eliminate the middle man, the mere trader, by requiring whoever produced an article to display and sell it in his shop.

Foreign trade appropriated by the merchant-adventurer

However, fashioned for local ends, the gild became ineffective the moment the question of a lively export trade arose. This called for foresight and initiative, that is, for the promoter and enterpriser who was free to arrive at independent decisions and who was not hampered by the minute regulations concerning buying and selling which governed the gilds. As soon therefore as a foreign trade of considerable dimensions developed such, for instance, as the Italian trade with the Levant during and after the crusades, it eluded the control of the gild and was appropriated as his playground by the merchant endowed with a particular genius for business. Though the risks involved in these distant enterprises were enormous, the profits, correspondingly large, produced riches undreamed of by the stay-at-home craftsman and shopkeeper and presently gave rise, first in the towns of Italy and later, throughout the west, to a relatively small body of merchant princes and capitalists who towered head and shoulders over the rest of the community.

The merchant company and the rise of banking

While wealth might be and usually was individually owned, in accordance with the requirements of the age it was amassed by means of the coöperative or company venture. Consider the case of an intelligent Venetian who saw the chance of profit by importing a cargo of spices from Alexandria. He could not from his own resources supply the ships, the wages of a large number of seamen, and the articles of the out-bound voyage which were to be sold on the Egyptian market. He would have to find partners who would share in the prospective profits in proportion to their contribution to the enterprise. Formed in the first instance for a single voyage, the association, if successful, might take on a permanent form. Because of the greater trust existing among blood relations it is noticeable that most early partnerships possessed a family character. Moreover, as the merchant companies were alert to utilize every opportunity, they engaged not only in trade but also in financial operations, without which, owing to the bewildering coinage situation, no trade in goods was possible. All early trading companies without exception did also the business of banks; and those of Florence, which with creditable intelligence developed to the highest degree the possibilities of the banking field, acquired for their city a financial preponderance like that of London or New York in our day. That already by the fifteenth century money had become king, more particularly of course in Italy, is illustrated by the company of the Medici. Substantially a family bank, which had accumulated its huge capital under the leadership of several generations of eminent merchants, it engaged in the manner typical of early capitalism in trading and exchange operations in every part of the known world. By the second half of the fifteenth century the Medici operated a subsidiary bank in every important center of Europe. At the same time the family insinuated itself into the government of Florence with the result that the head of the institution gradually emerged as the ruler of the city.

A similar, if more tardy, development in the regions north of the Alps, particularly in Flanders, prepared the way for the subjection of the whole economic life of Europe to the power of money; for, while capitalism originated with the export trade, it was not long before it influenced the whole medieval gild economy. The exporter with connections in all markets and commanding ample resources could buy the raw products, such as wool or leather, much more cheaply than the local gild, and by giving out limited quantities from his store and further, by contracting for the total annual output of the individual master, could bring the gilds more or less under his control. As early as the fourteenth century the flourishing cloth manufacture of Florence was already so completely in the power of a handful of great promoters who merely bought up the cloth for export without themselves producing a single yard that the gild system no longer squared with its original principle. In the altered circumstances the masters of the wool gild leave the impression of having been reduced to a body of small shop-foremen while the journeymen and apprentices look for all the world like a proletariat of modern wage-earners.

Capitalism undermines the gild economy

The same movement may be noted somewhat later in Flanders and, somewhat later still, in England. It indicates an economic evolution which would end by crowding the socialistic gilds entirely from the scene and by establishing a competitive, capitalist order of society. Nor does it admit the least doubt that this was a fated development since it falls in perfectly with all the forces abroad in the Renaissance, with the enlargement of the world and of its opportunities, with the individualist philosophy inviting every man to make the most of his powers, and with the replacement of the town as the economico-political unit of society with the nation ruled by the "strong," the modern king. Monarchs like Louis XI of France and Henry VII of England or, in the following century, like King Francis I and Emperor Charles V, leaned heavily on the monied men, the bankers and capitalists, and never ceased to favor them as against the little men, the shopkeepers, who fought desperately to maintain the familiar but steadily slipping system of the gilds.

The rise of a capitalist society

H. THE STRONG MONARCHY

It remains to discuss the characteristic political movement belonging to the Renaissance. That already in the Middle Age the town had flung a challenge to the feudal baron we are aware; also that the town had become steadily more powerful, even though the feudal class had remained a factor, and a powerful factor, in the situation. Under the constitutional conceptions which ruled the Middle Age the monarch was himself a baron, though a baron-in-chief, to whom was conceded an honorary and strictly limited headship over his fellow-barons. He was *primus inter pares* (first among equals). On account of his feudal origin and prejudices he frequently failed to understand that the town movement offered itself as a convenient means for strengthening his position as against the nobility. In the long run the fact could hardly escape him, while, regardless of his far or shortsightedness, the cities would be only too eager to give him their support against an overweening baronage whose lawless control of the countryside interfered with their freedom of trade. Throughout Europe it comes to this: the towns and the monarch were natural political allies.

The political alliance between towns and monarch

Owing to special circumstances belonging to medieval history, Germany and Italy constituted the Holy Roman Empire and had the same monarch, the Holy Roman emperor. Confronted in Germany with the great landed nobility and in Italy with the pope supported by the towns, the emperor was in the course of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries so completely worsted that in both countries, but more particularly in Italy, he was reduced to impotence. In Italy the towns and other local agencies became substantially independent, while in Germany the largest of the barons acquired a power tantamount to sovereignty. In the period of the Renaissance this medieval decision against the emperor became irrevocable. In Italy he practically disappeared from the scene; in Germany, though he made a belated effort to strengthen his hand by favoring the towns, he remained so feeble that he conveys the impression of being hardly more than tolerated by the great dukes and archbishops, the real masters of the land.

Decline of the monarch's power in Italy and Germany

In Spain, France, and England, on the other hand, the feudal monarchy in this same Renaissance period traveled the opposite road and steadily waxed in strength. In these countries for reasons that belong to medieval history the king was not exposed to the combination of circumstances which sapped the vigor of the Holy Roman emperor. Owing to this immunity he was enabled to profit to the full from the rise of that strong urban element which was opposed to the barons and actively engaged in multiplying the wealth of the country. When the king needed money, as he constantly did since the jealous nobles systematically kept him poor, he found that the easiest way to get it was to apply to the men with the moneybags, his doughty burghers. But as these naturally asked for a return favor, they received it, on the one hand, by enlarged municipal charters and, on the other, in the form of a constitutional concession: they were admitted to the feudal assembly of the realm. The feudal assembly or parliament was originally composed of clergy and nobles and constituted the national council of the king. When to clergy and nobles, who in feudal law were regarded respectively as the first and second estates, the representatives of the towns were added, these, having gained a foothold within the feudal frame, acquired the character and designation of a third estate. It was essentially in the Renaissance period that this advance in political status was secured by the towns of all three feudal states under discussion.

The monarchs of Spain, France, and England lean on the towns

Nationalist sentiment comes to the aid of the king

To the bonds of a financial and constitutional order created between the townsmen and their king a powerful emotional element was presently added in the rise of nationalism. As one of the decisive influences in the history of modern Europe nationalism can not be too closely scanned by the student. Although not entirely lacking in the medieval period, it became clearly manifest as a political factor only in the Renaissance, from which time it has grown steadily until, like a slowly developing motif in an orchestral piece, it mounted to a thundering climax in the nineteenth century. Nationalism is a sentiment based on community of language and customs and is historically associated with the new social order inaugurated by the towns. Latent and unimportant in the period of unchallenged feudalism, it made its appearance in the Renaissance, most often under circumstances involving an attack by a foreign foe on the collective interests and ideas of the urban class. Thus Spanish nationalism developed as a reaction against the Mohammedan Moors, who had taken possession of the land in the eighth century; and it strengthened and consolidated itself in the long struggle with the alien invader. Similarly French nationalism, as the name of Joan of Arc eloquently attests, was the child of the English invasion and the Hundred Years' War. Again, the English largely achieved their own powerful group consciousness in the same struggle. We must guard against exaggerating the new national fervor of the western peoples, since so long as the baronial class held aloof from the common people, considering itself a special breed infinitely superior to the vulgar herd, a harmonious sentiment, binding all classes, was out of the question. However, it can not be denied that the towns, which in the first phase of their existence had been animated by nothing more than a very local type of patriotism, became the champions of the more inclusive sentiment and, in measure as they prospered, spread among the people of the same speech a more generous love of country. But as the head of the country was the king, as, in fact, he was the visible embodiment of the nation, it followed that every increase of patriotic sentiment redounded to his benefit.

Growth of the royal power implied also a struggle with the Church

Thus a powerful combination of circumstances connected with the towns and their new civilization came to the aid of the king in his struggle with the nobles. But to the nobles, as outstanding rivals of the royal power, must be added the clergy, who in the medieval period had acquired a body of rights and immunities amounting in their sum to substantial independence of the state. When we further recall that at the height of the Middle Age the pope, as chief representative of the clergy throughout Europe, had gone the length of declaring that kings held their states by his grace as papal benefices, we shall have to admit that the medieval monarch faced a difficult situation. It was indisputable that if ever he was to become the effective head of a united people, the vast clerical pretensions and privileges would as imperatively have to be reduced as those of the nobility. In fact the only conceivable way by which a united nation could be created was by the subjection by all classes alike to a common law embodied in the king. Wherever therefore the national unification movement was inaugurated, a struggle with the Church followed as logically and inexorably as with the nobles.

Measures by which the king increased his power

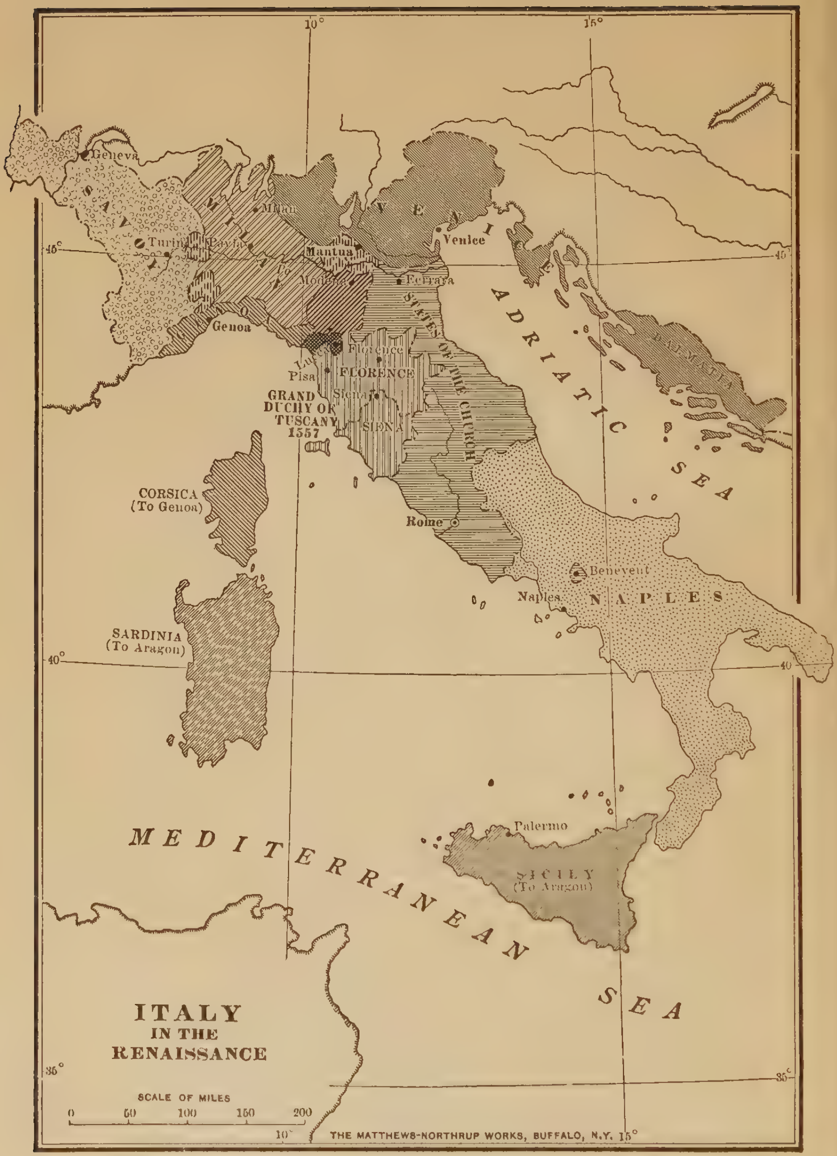
It must now be clear that the cue for an active sovereign of the age of the Renaissance was to enlarge in every way the monarchy centered about his person. This states substantially the royal program pursued alike in Spain, France, and England; and though its execution exhibits considerable variation in each country, there is noticeable a broad identity of result. Without necessarily disturbing the numerous judicial tribunals inherited from the feudal régime, the king confirmed his position as court of final appeal and head of the national system of justice; he multiplied the officials who looked after the royal interests in the provinces, thereby building up a royal administration; he increased his income by subsidies from the towns, which he was concerned to render fixed and regular; and with his enlarged means he laid the foundation of a permanent armed force dependent on no one but himself. All these measures partook in reality of a more tentative character than is indicated by the above over-definite statements. Often enough, as, for instance, in England during the War of the Roses, it seemed as if the monarchy, instead of winning its cause, was on the point of being engulfed in disaster; but, beneath the surface, the tendencies here sketched continued to operate and ended by producing that novel political phenomenon, the strong monarchy.

Spain, France, and England become strong monarchies

As a result of this political evolution Spain, France, and England, on the eve of the Reformation, present themselves to view with a new unity and vigor; and though they will long continue to be engaged in the process of extricating themselves from feudal bonds, it may be said of them around 1500 that they have become fairly provided with a modern centralized organization, enabling them to exercise a power undreamed of in their earlier history.

Summary

The eight heads under which we have attempted to familiarize ourselves with the Renaissance are so many paths by which the European man ventured into new fields. If we hold fast to the idea that he was carrying forward a movement of civilization the foundations of which had been laid in the Middle Age, his many activities during the new period become amazingly unified. For, viewed in this organic manner, the Renaissance signified in substance a breaking away from childhood with its innumerable bondages. Surely it is not merely fanciful to see in the man of the Middle Age essentially a child, a timid stay-at-home clinging to his familiar hearth and disinclined to look beyond the narrow limits of his home and parish. Besides, the Church, which led him like a mother by the hand, bade him not to make too much of this life of troubles but to feast his eyes on the vision of the life to come. There was in consequence something repressed and passive about the Middle Age. By the hundreds and the thousands men sought the seclusion of a monastic cell, voluntarily renouncing life before its natural close. Yet within other thousands and tens of thousands a spark gleamed and a sap stirred which would not be extinguished or denied. And when in due time the child became a youth, west-


ITALY
IN THE
RENAISSANCE
SCALE OF MILES
0
50
100
150
200
10°
15°
45°
40°
35°
Geneva
SAVOY
MILAN
Milan
Turin
Pavia
Po
Mantua
Modena
VENICE
Venice
Ferrara
Genoa
Lucca
Pisa
Florence
FLORENCE
Siena
SIENA
GRAND
DUCHY OF
TUSCANY
1557
STATES OF THE CHURCH
Rome
ADRIATIC SEA
DALMATIA
CORSICA
(To Genoa)
SARDINIA
(To Aragon)
Benevent
Naples
NAPLES
Palermo
SICILY
(To Aragon)
MEDITERRANEAN SEA
THE MATTHEWS-NORTHRUP WORKS, BUFFALO, N.Y.

European civilization entered upon a new and higher stage. Here lies the significance of the Renaissance, here is the reason why the eight aspects under which we have examined the movement exhibit with the often wanton breaking of bonds the courageous testing of new opportunities. The Renaissance triumphantly affirmed that the special characteristic of European civilization was to be experimentation and love of danger in a degree beyond that of any other civilization of which there is record; it declared that for better or worse European civilization was not to be held under the authoritative direction of the Church in a fixed and predetermined mold, but that by combining curiosity with enterprise it was to impose on the European man the obligation of an unceasing self-renewal.

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SECTION II

THE REFORMATION AND THE RELIGIOUS WARS FROM 1500 TO 1648

CHAPTER IV

THE EUROPEAN STATES ON THE EVE OF THE REFORMATION

Desirability of a detailed survey of Europe

The emergence among the peoples of western Europe of the strong monarchy, of which we have just heard, is in striking contrast with the increased disintegration among the peoples of central Europe. This contradictory phenomenon suggests the necessity of a detailed survey of the whole European political situation at the beginning of the sixteenth century. And as at that time Italy was in most essential respects the center of the western world it is proper to begin our survey with the Mediterranean peninsula.

ITALY

Italy breaks away from the Empire

The central fact of Italian political history during the Middle Age is that the Holy Roman emperor lost his hold on the peninsula. He suffered defeat, in part because he represented feudalism and thwarted the growth of city life, but in still larger part because, as a German, he represented the idea of foreign domination. In consequence the towns, representative of a young and sturdy nationalism, joined forces with the pope, violently opposed to the emperor as the leading check on his political ambitions, and the combination proved too much for the imperial strength. With the death in 1250 of Frederick II of the house of Hohenstaufen the sun of the Empire may be said to have set in Italy. Nor did the occasional reappearance of an emperor in the fourteenth and even in the fifteenth century alter the situation: Italy had thrown off the imperial yoke.

The casting off of the imperial yoke is part of the great outburst of energy which led to the Renaissance. Scores of towns of northern and north-central Italy, chiefly in Lombardy and Tuscany, became free republics, and having no more to fear from the emperor, engaged in violent conflict with one another; in the mountain areas of the Alps and Apennines occasional feudal lords, more or less formidable, continued to maintain themselves; the central area, with Rome as capital, was claimed by the pope as his temporal dominion; and finally, the spacious south, including the island of Sicily, constituted the kingdom of Naples (officially called the kingdom of Sicily). The most novel and promising features in the complicated situation were the northern and north-central towns, which had gained political liberty and overflowed with bubbling vigor; but unfortunately, like the Greek cities of antiquity, neither could they keep the peace with one another nor preserve the necessary inner harmony among the citizens. As a result a double movement was soon manifest among them: the large towns swallowed up their small neighbors, and all towns, large and small, becoming a prey to domestic faction, tended to fall under the rule of some bold adventurer eager to assume despotic control. Before many decades had passed the city of Milan embraced all Lombardy, while Venice and Florence, equally aspiring and ambitious, achieved a position of corresponding eminence in the provinces respectively of Venetia and Tuscany. Around 1450 therefore the towns of Milan, Venice, and Florence exercised such power that only the state of the Church, dominated by the pope, and the kingdom of Naples could be compared with them. These five outstanding states ruled the politics of Italy and while there were still some feudal lords, such as the dukes of Savoy and Ferrara, who represented survivals of an older order, they brought little effective power to bear on the situation. Let us take a closer view of the five leading states.

The Italian chaos and the emergence of five dominant states

Milan. Even before Milan acquired the control of Lombardy by subjecting the neighbor-cities to her rule, her local government had suffered the typical transformation from free republic to despotism. It was the penalty the citizens paid for being unable to bring their local feuds to an amicable settlement. The first tyrant was of the native house of Visconti, which by its bold and unscrupulous conduct succeeded in making its power permanent. In sign thereof the Visconti despot presently took the title duke and converted the Milanese republic into a duchy. In 1447 the last Visconti died without male heirs. Thereupon the

The ruling houses of Visconti and Sforza

city reasserted its freedom, but lacking the energy to carry out its purpose, it was in 1450 obliged to accept a new despot, a military adventurer by the name of Francesco Sforza. Like the Visconti before him Sforza fastened his power on the state. The second ducal line set up a brilliant court at Milan and with the Milanese revenues at its disposal entered with zest into the political rivalries of the peninsula.

Venice. From early medieval times it was clear that the city of Venice was destined to play a large role not only in Italy but also in Europe. A sea-city, planted among the islands of the Adriatic lagoons, she was secure from attack by land, while her position at the very center of the contemporary world imposed upon her, as it were by decree of nature, the part of intermediary in the commerce between east and west. Alert to the opportunity, not only did her merchants succeed in gradually monopolizing the trade of the Levant, but in order to make their position impregnable they built up a colonial empire, which at its height included the Dalmatian coast as well as the islands of Corfu, Crete, and Cyprus together with a large number of smaller islands constituting an unbroken chain of posts stretching all the way across the waters of the eastern Mediterranean. When the poet Wordsworth, reviewing her medieval greatness, began an apostrophe to her with the words: "Once did she hold the gorgeous east in fee," he uttered no more than the bare truth.

Venice founds a maritime empire

But their colonial empire did not suffice the ambitious traders of the Queen of the Adriatic. Desiring to secure the passes of the Alps, necessary for their trade with Germany, they began an expansion movement on the continent; and at the very time when neighboring Milan was consolidating her rule in Lombardy the Venetians set up the banner of their patron saint, St. Mark, throughout the northeastern province of the peninsula, the province of Venetia. Already deeply involved in the engrossing politics of the eastern Mediterranean, the city of the lagoons was by this acquisition plunged also into the territorial problems of Italy.

Venice becomes an Italian land power

Venetian domestic government presents a very different face from that exhibited by the average Italian town. The main reason is that the enterprising merchants who had been particularly instrumental in building up the wealth and the greatness of the city were firmly resolved that the political control should never pass from their hands. In this purpose they were aided by the circumstance that, preëminently commercial, Venice never developed a powerful industrial proletariat. In consequence of the weakness of the common people the merchants succeeded not only in gradually eliminating the democratic features originally embodied in the Venetian constitution, but also in establishing themselves as a full-fledged hereditary oligarchy. It was in 1297 that they carried the decisive measure which declared that the government inhered in perpetuity in the citizens who at that date were members of the Grand Council and in their descendants. Naturally the limited number of families thus exalted above their fellow-citizens thenceforth designated themselves as noble and, in proof of their unusual intelligence and moderation, maintained themselves in unchallenged control for many centuries. Although an hereditary Grand Council thus became the sovereign body over Venice, the actual administration was placed in the hands of various commissions elected by the Grand Council. The system culminated in the duke or doge, who was chosen for the term of his life but bound to a strictly constitutional and severely limited exercise of power. In view of her prosperity, political stability, and, last but not least, her brilliant contribution to the culture of the Renaissance, Venice may be regarded as probably the most successful merchant oligarchy in European annals.

The Venetian government a merchant oligarchy

The republic supplanted by the house of Medici

Florence. The only Italian city which matched and possibly exceeded Venice in wealth and culture was Florence. In political stability, on the other hand, the Tuscan town was decidedly inferior. The explanation lies in the circumstance that Florence, though by no means eschewing over-sea trade, developed primarily as an industrial and banking center and became densely populated with workingmen engaged, above all, in the manufacture of woolen cloth. At a relatively early time the gilds, twenty-one in number, around which the economic life of the town revolved, took over the government of the city. However, in point of fact the few large and powerful merchant gilds of bankers and wholesalers successfully kept the lesser or craft gilds in the background, while the common workers, forbidden to organize gilds of their own, brooded over their wrongs in sullen discontent. In spite of these inner rifts and because of a really genuine passion for political liberty, Florence retained a republican form of government longer than any city of Italy. In the long run, however, the class divisions, fanned by ambitious individuals for their own ends, proved disastrous to her. Early in the fifteenth century a local family of merchants and bankers of the name of Medici succeeded in organizing a political machine, which, while preserving the established forms, took over the government by underground manipulations. The Medici system was much like that of the average American city "boss," except that the Medici succeeded in making their control hereditary. As a result a Medici of the third generation, Lorenzo by name, ventured to set up his power in the open and both at home and abroad was honored as the head of the government. This Lorenzo (d. 1492), called the Magnificent, was an intelligent and gifted statesman, besides being a poet and a liberal patron of poets, philosophers, and artists; but even he so far continued to respect the republican tradition as to refrain from taking a title such as prince or duke.

Uncertain control by the popes of their temporal dominion

The State of the Church. How the pope, spiritual head of western or Latin Christendom, slowly built up a temporal dominion around the city of Rome is an impressive chapter of medieval history. For us it will suffice to note that the gradual failure of the imperial power in Italy clinched the papal claim to a territory, which extended from the mouth of the Tiber in a northeasterly direction all the way across the peninsula to the Adriatic sea. Considerable in extent, the papal lands were for the most part a difficult mountain area of small hill-towns bent on independence, and of feudal lords securely ensconced in inaccessible castles. Even when, at the height of his power, the pope issued commands to all the monarchs of Europe, his control of his immediate dominion was very precarious; and when, at the beginning of the fourteenth century, he abandoned Rome for Avignon, entering on what is known as the Babylonian Captivity (1305–1377), his rule over the State of the Church broke down completely. On its return to Rome, in the last quarter of the fourteenth century, the papacy resolutely took up the plan of at last reducing its territory to submission but met with such resistance on the part of the hill-towns and the castle-lords that more than a hundred years passed before the battle was won.

The long drawn out political struggle between the popes and their recalcitrant lieges so fully occupied the papal strength that this purely local conflict constitutes perhaps the main element in the fifteenth century story of the papacy. Nor need the frank papal bid for temporal and worldly power surprise us. The Renaissance had dawned over Italy and the Renaissance signified in essence a brisk turning toward earth and earthly things. On the side of politics it prompted state-building, that is, a more effective organization of government; and with all the world intent upon this matter, how could the popes, themselves temporal sovereigns since the early Middle Age, remain untouched by so universal a development? In sum, the Renaissance made the popes political-minded in the specifically Italian sense indicated by the movement toward despotism. But the Renaissance influence did not stop there. Steeped in the atmosphere of their time and country, the pontiffs took up humanism, became admirers of pagan philosophy, and gloried in the patronage of literature and the arts. Certainly from Nicholas V (d. 1455) to Leo X (d. 1521) we encounter a succession of popes who reflect so much of the color of their time that we may think of them as constituting a distinct Renaissance group. Considered as a body they are decidedly worldly individuals, enjoying life on the same terms as any Renaissance despot; their chief political concern is to consolidate their Italian state; and liberating themselves from medieval austerity to the point of losing all sense of the spiritual obligations of their office, they multiply the financial burdens of Christendom in order to acquire abundant means wherewith to maintain a splendid court, to build palaces and churches, and to exercise a munificent patronage of scholars and artists.

Policy and character of the Renaissance popes

Although, owing to their close intimacy with humanists and painters, the Renaissance popes often appear in an agreeable personal light, it is also true that some of them, mastered by their passion for fame and their dream of power, fell into extraordinary excesses. In fact, morally, some popes are indistinguishable from the worst tyrants that forced their way to the front in the city republics. Take, for example, Alexander VI (1492–1503) of the house of Borgia. Without crediting all the monstrous scandal which circulated concerning him in his own time, it is yet undeniable that he indulged himself in every sensual pleasure forbidden to his sacred office and that at the same time he abused his ecclesiastical power by employing it to advance the fortunes of his many illegitimate children. The most famous of these was his son, Caesar Borgia, who, uniquely vicious and unscrupulous, was nevertheless a man of remarkable courage and

Alexander VI and Caesar Borgia

attainments. Caesar entertained the astounding dream of acquiring the State of the Church as his personal possession. Supported by the criminal connivance of his father, he might have succeeded but for Alexander's premature death, caused in all probability by his mistakenly swallowing the poison which he had planned to administer to one of his guests.

Julius II and Leo X

Like and yet very unlike Alexander were his successors, Julius II (1503–1513) and Leo X (1513–1521), the latter a son of the Florentine usurper, Lorenzo the Magnificent (Medici). Of Julius it may be said that he holds the honor of having at last completed the reduction of the State of the Church to papal obedience, while both he and Leo are memorable as lavish builders and patrons. Julius II, a dynamic character who brooked no opposition, laid the foundations of the famous church of St. Peter at Rome and, attaching Michael Angelo and Raphael to his person, assigned them the respective commissions of the Sistine chapel and the Vatican frescos in which they attained their greatest heights. Leo X, who lacks the large proportions of the forceful Julius, presents himself to view as a cultured, easy-going sybarite. He is sufficiently characterized by his cheery invitation to his intimates, on the occasion of his election, to join him in "enjoying the papacy." Such an attitude and the worldly spirit it implies, acceptable though it may have proved in an ordinary secular ruler, ran violently counter to the ancient traditions of the Christian Church. Besides — a by no means unimportant prudential consideration — it necessitated a huge outlay of money. No wonder that in certain countries of Europe a protest began to make itself heard inspired, on the one hand, by an immediate moral revulsion against the pagan splendors of Rome and, on the other, by indignation against the increasing taxes of all kinds laid upon the faithful in order to defray the papal program. Here is the seed of what in the very reign of the spendthrift Leo became a religious rebellion of world import.

A feudal survival

The Kingdom of Naples. The southernmost of the Italian states was structurally so different from the others that, except geographically, it hardly seemed to belong to the peninsula. It was a feudal state governed by a king set over a body of unruly barons and, besides Naples, the capital, hardly developed any city of note. In consequence the town movement, which inwardly and outwardly transformed the Italian north, left the southern kingdom essentially unaffected, permitting it to retain its medieval social and political organization right through the Renaissance. In fact the Renaissance hardly made itself felt even in the field of art and letters.

The succession of foreign dynasties: Norman, German, French, and Spanish

But if the kingdom constituted a conservative, relatively unchanging society, its size gave it such power that it counted heavily in the world of Italian politics. On the failure, in the twelfth century, of its original Norman dynasty the crown had passed to the German house of Hohenstaufen, which, because of its overshadowing power in Italy, the popes pursued with a deadly hatred. As the Norman kings had acknowledged the pope as their suzerain, the Holy Father always had a convenient pretext at hand for interfering in the affairs of Naples. Finally, to rid himself once and for all of the Hohenstaufen incubus, he offered the crown to the duke of Anjou, brother of the French king. The ensuing struggle, one of the most tragic in the history of the thirteenth century, ended (1268) with the victory of the duke of Anjou, who took the title Charles I. But the new Angevin dynasty encountered grave difficulties in its turn. Before long (1282) Sicily revolted and, appealing for help to the king of Aragon, committed itself to his hands; and when, in 1435, the last direct descendant of Charles I died, the Aragonese ruler of Sicily crossed the straits of Messina and took possession of Naples too. However, as certain French relatives of the last Angevin sovereign did not fail to put forth a claim to Naples based on ties of blood, there followed a tedious conflict between the houses of Anjou and Aragon which did not however alter the fact of Aragonese possession. In 1481 the last Anjou pretender died, leaving all his claims to the crown of France. For over a decade the claim was permitted to slumber, but in 1494 the youthful French king, Charles VIII, bethought himself of his shadowy Neapolitan rights and made them the basis of an invasion of Italy. That invasion, as we shall see later on, changed the face of the peninsula and, to a not inconsiderable measure, of Europe.

GERMANY OR THE HOLY ROMAN EMPIRE

What determined the history of Germany in the Middle Age more than any other one thing was that through the coronation of the Frank king, Charles the Great, as emperor on Christmas day, 800 A.D., it became involved in the attempt to unite Europe by reviving the Roman Empire. The restored Empire, because of its close association with the Christian Church, became known as the Holy Roman Empire; and without doubt the Holy Roman Empire did for some centuries occupy a preëminent position, although it never effected the union of all Europe but only of its middle area comprising chiefly Germany and Italy. When, in the thirteenth century, in the days following the defeat of the house of Hohenstaufen, Italy repudiated the imperial connection, the Holy Roman Empire became substantially restricted to Germany. Thenceforth the Holy Roman Empire and Germany became interchangeable terms.

The Holy Roman Empire reduced to Germany

The emperor had originally been a powerful sovereign of the feudal type. But his defeat in Italy reacted disastrously on his position in Germany. On finding him engaged to his full strength in Italy his leading German vassals, the great dukes, counts, and bishops, had raised their head against him, had forced him to make heavy political concessions whenever he asked for military help, and by slow degrees had reduced him to a puppet. By the middle of the fourteenth century the triumph of the great feudataries was so complete that they resolved to incorporate it in a constitutional enactment which from its official seal (*bulla*) has received the name of the Golden Bull (1356). The situation created by the Golden Bull is illuminating, especially in the matter of the emperor's dependence on the great lords. Elected in the past by the whole baronage, he was now made the nominee of a select body of the seven greatest princes of the realm. Of this number three, the archbishops of Mainz, Trier (Treves), and Cologne, were ecclesiastical princes, while four, the king of Bohemia, the duke of Saxony, the margrave of Brandenburg, and the count palatine of the Rhine, were lay lords. On the demise of an emperor these seven, who assumed the title electors (*Kurfuersten*), met and elected a new emperor. Thereupon the successful candidate was qualified to take the title German king and to exercise the authority still inhering in the Roman emperor, though, in theory at least, he was not supposed to be clothed with the full Roman rights until he had completed the process of his elevation to the purple by crossing the Alps to Italy to be crowned in Rome at the hands of the pope.

Decline of the emperor's power

Another feature connected with the Golden Bull was that the traditional legislative and administrative dependence of the emperor on the feudal assembly, called the *Reichstag* or diet, was confirmed and strengthened. The diet was composed of two houses, the upper of the seven electors and the lower of the lesser barons, lay and ecclesiastical; but as, in the period after the Golden Bull, those cities, which, having won self-government, were known as the free imperial cities (*Freie Reichsstaedte*), were constituted as an additional house, the German diet in its final form was composed of three houses. Under German constitutional practice the emperor was incapable of taking any action without the consent of all three houses; and as two of the houses were made up of feudal magnates bent on playing the master in their respective territories, it was clear that the emperor was likely to be kept in close bondage. He was in point of fact left without army, navy, administration, or taxes and became no better than a graven image draped for merely decorative purposes in the mantle of royalty. While the form of a united Germany was maintained, to all practical intents the rights of sovereignty had been taken over by the members of the three houses called the estates of the realm. Thus Germany was broken up, or at least entered on a phase preliminary to being broken up, into several hundred little sovereignties.

The German diet

Toward the end of the fifteenth century, as a result of the breath of nationalism which stirred every country of Europe in connection with the Renaissance, an attempt was made to revive the central power of the emperor. The nationalist sentiment was strong enough to create a party of constitutional reform within the diet. Putting itself behind the young and attractive Emperor Maximilian, who had mounted the throne in 1493, it excited high hopes, which, owing to the persistent separatist tendencies, came in the long run to nothing. True, a few measures were adopted somewhat strengthening the decrepit German organization. The old feudal right of private warfare was abolished by the proclamation of internal peace (*ewiger Landfrieden*); a national tribunal (*Reichskammergericht*) was established as a court of last resort; and a first move was made toward a national administration by dividing the country into ten districts to serve as a skeleton for military and financial action. But as the emperor was endowed neither with an army nor taxes nor officials of any kind, Germany remained, as before, impotent, unrespected, and disorganized to the point of chaos.

The German nationalist movement fails to unify the German government

The Emperor Maximilian (1493–1519) belonged to the house of Hapsburg established in the old east mark of Germany, called

Austria. Possessing a mobile mind and hospitably disposed to the new influences of the Renaissance, he was none the less so greatly under the sway of the colorful medieval dreams of chivalry that his contemporaries were well inspired to hail him as "the last knight." Driven by contradictory emotions, he steered an uncertain and quixotic course and by a long string of failures proved himself one of the poorest politicians that ever lived. However, his father, the Emperor Frederick, had evolved a matrimonial program which, extended by the son, succeeded in the course of two generations in raising the house of Hapsburg to a leading position in Europe. In 1477 Maximilian himself was joined in wedlock to Mary of Burgundy, heiress of the Netherlands, one of the busiest and wealthiest city areas of Europe. Then, in 1496, the son of this union, Philip, married another and even greater heiress, Joan, daughter of Ferdinand and Isabella of Spain. The oldest-born of this match, Charles by name, represented the junction of three great reigning houses and in due course entered upon possession of Austria, the Netherlands, and Spain. In the eyes of the aging Maximilian his grandson Charles must have been more than a compensation for his many political disappointments, since the young man was the visible proof and symbol of the greatness of the house of Hapsburg, for which Maximilian and his father before him had labored and intrigued during a long life.

Emperor Maximilian prepares the greatness of the house of Hapsburg by his marriage alliances

In 1519 "the last knight" ended an inglorious career. When thereupon the electors raised Charles, who took the title Charles V, to the imperial dignity, it may have seemed to superficial observers as if the dimmed glories of the Holy Roman Empire had been brilliantly renewed. But if Charles's reign, which was destined to be filled with the uproar of the Reformation, amply proved that he was a powerful monarch, it also proved that he was strong not by reason of any power conferred on him by Germany and the imperial office, but solely because he commanded the immense resources represented by the lands of which he was master by right of inheritance. Preëminent among these was Spain.

Emperor Charles V

SPAIN

While the Spanish people were still in an early formative stage, they suffered a crushing experience by being conquered by the Mohammedan Moors from across the straits in Africa. The event occurred in the eighth century and the victory of the followers of Allah and his Prophet was so complete that only in the shelter of the northern mountains did scattered Christian groups manage to maintain themselves in freedom. Before long, however, they took courage, advanced against the enemies of both their country and their faith, and slowly pushed them southward toward the sea. On the liberated territory a number of Christian states were formed which, though hampered by jealousy, usually tended to act together against the hated infidel. In the course of time, either through matrimonial alliances or by conquest, the Christian states, possessing alike a feudal and military character, amalgamated with the result that by the second half of the fifteenth century two of them, Castile and Aragon, dominated the situation. It was now only necessary for Isabella, heiress of Castile, to marry Ferdinand, heir of Aragon, for the country's lost unity to be in the main restored. Complete peninsular unity, however, had been made very difficult and perhaps unattainable by the emergence along the western coast of the state of Portugal, whose people gradually developed a national consciousness of their own. As Portugal comprised less than one fifth of the trans-Pyrenean area, the peninsula was not hindered from becoming preponderantly Spanish.

Christian versus Mohammedan Spain

The states of Castile and Aragon owed their greatness to the fact that by accepting as their mission the expulsion of the Moors from the peninsula they served as rallying-points of the national and religious sentiment of the Spaniards. Therefore no sooner had Ferdinand and Isabella become a royal pair than they turned their combined arms against Granada, the last foothold maintained in the peninsula by the Moors. In the year 1492 they completed the difficult work of conquest. It was a triumph such as only a few sovereigns have ever tasted, for it meant the final disappearance of a power which had exercised a hateful, alien rule for almost eight centuries.

The conquest of Granada

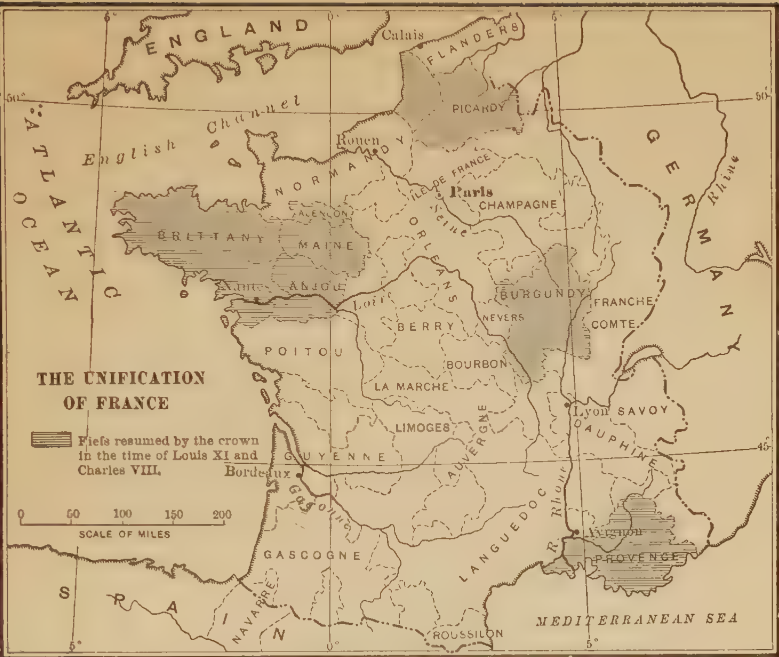
But if the state of the Moors had vanished, the Moors themselves had not. In certain sections, chiefly along the southern coast, they constituted a leading urban element, while agriculture too, in which they had distinguished themselves by the introduction of an efficient system of irrigation, gave a livelihood to many thousands of their faith and blood. In religious and racial respects the Spanish situation was still further complicated by the presence in most towns of flourishing communities of Jews. In an effort to propitiate these two alien groups they had originally been treated with liberality. They had even been endowed with charters guaranteeing their rights. But when the last Moorish fortress was about to fall, a wild Christian and national fanaticism flared up which demanded nothing less than the forcible conversion of both Jews and Moors to the ruling faith or, in lieu thereof, their death or expulsion. Clergy, nobility, and common people shared this lamentable intolerance, which, quite as much political as it was religious, reached the height of its expression in an institution with as sorry a fame as any in history, the Inquisition.

The rising tide of Christian intolerance

The Inquisition took the form of a central governing committee, with branches in all the provinces of Spain charged to ferret out heretics and infidels with the idea either of bringing about their conversion or else of visiting an exemplary punishment upon them. Avowedly a Christian institution, its main purpose was, after all, political rather than religious in that it aimed to consolidate the state. To this end it was subjected to the crown and the pope's control entirely eliminated. The head of the dread machine was called the Grand Inquisitor and under the first incumbent, Thomas de Torquemada, who held the office from 1483 to 1498, some two thousand persons suffered death by fire and some tens of thousands were sentenced to prison terms and money fines. Rather than submit to a debasing tyranny innumerable families of self-respecting and well-to-do Jews and Moors fled to foreign countries. Let us admit that Protestant writers have frequently exaggerated the horrors of the Spanish Inquisition. With ample deductions made on the score of partisanship, enough remains to revolt every sensitive spirit. And a consideration of another sort falls heavily into the scales — the injury which Spain did herself by her policy of uncompromising violence. For, aside from the manifest economic loss and the still more serious intellectual setback resulting from the suppression of what were, mentally, probably the most alert groups of the community, the settled religious intolerance developed a national pride and exclusiveness which petrified the Spanish mind and hindered it from making as large a contribution to European civilization as, in view of its many notable endowments, might have been justly expected.

The Spanish Inquisition

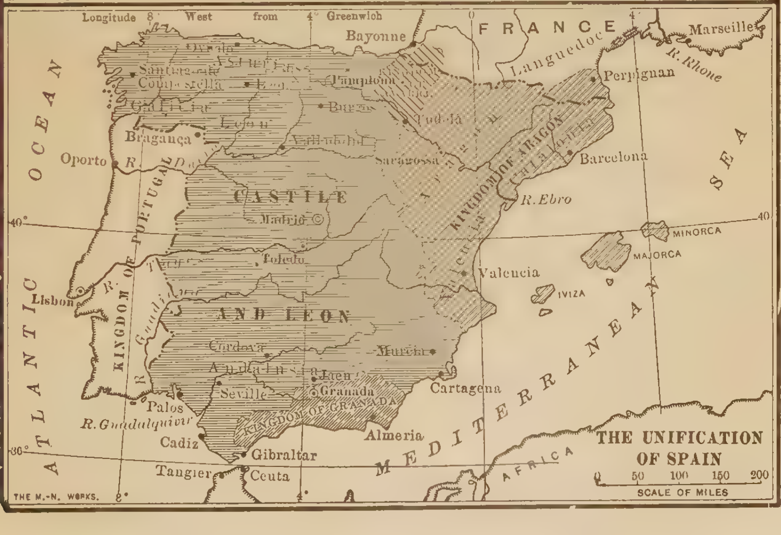
Queen Isabella, a resolute, gracious, and deeply religious woman,



THE UNIFICATION OF FRANCE

▤ Fiefs resumed by the crown in the time of Louis XI and Charles VIII.

ENGLAND
Calais
FLANDERS
PICARDY
English Channel
ATLANTIC OCEAN
GERMANY
Rhine
Rouen
NORMANDY
ÎLE DE FRANCE
Paris
CHAMPAGNE
Seine
ALENÇON
BRITTANY
MAINE
ORLEANS
Nantes
ANJOU
Loire
BURGUNDY
FRANCHE COMTÉ
NEVERS
BERRY
POITOU
BOURBON
LA MARCHE
Lyon
SAVOY
LIMOGES
AUVERGNE
DAUPHINÉ
GUYENNE
Bordeaux
Garonne
R. Rhone
LANGUEDOC
Avignon
PROVENCE
GASCOGNE
SPAIN
NAVARRE
ROUSSILON
MEDITERRANEAN SEA
50°
45°
5°
0°
0 50 100 150 200
SCALE OF MILES



THE UNIFICATION OF SPAIN

Longitude 8° West from 4° Greenwich
0
4°
Bayonne
FRANCE
Languedoc
Marseilles
R. Rhone
Perpignan
Oviedo
Asturias
Santiago de Compostella
Leon
Pamplona
Burgos
Galicia
Tudela
NAVARRE
Leon
Bragança
Valladolid
Oporto
R. Douro
Saragossa
ARAGON
KINGDOM OF ARAGON
CATALONIA
Barcelona
CASTILE
PORTUGAL
Madrid
R. Ebro
MINORCA
MAJORCA
Toledo
Valencia
R. Tagus
IVIZA
Lisbon
KINGDOM OF PORTUGAL
R. Guadiana
AND LEON
Cordova
Murcia
Andalusia
Jaen
Granada
Seville
Cartagena
KINGDOM OF GRANADA
Palos
R. Guadalquivir
Almeria
Cadiz
Gibraltar
Tangier
Ceuta
AFRICA
ATLANTIC OCEAN
MEDITERRANEAN SEA
40°
36°
8°
4°
0 50 100 150 200
SCALE OF MILES

THE M.-N. WORKS.

who died in 1504, was survived twelve years by her husband Ferdinand, a remarkably capable but harsh and unscrupulous ruler. Owing to the death of their only son, the crown was destined to pass to their daughter Joan, who in 1496 had been married to Philip of Hapsburg, son of Emperor Maximilian. But as Philip died in 1506 and Joan was adjudged insane and therefore incapable of government, the successor of the famous unifiers of Spain was the oldest issue of the Hapsburg marriage, Charles. When on the death of Ferdinand in 1516, Charles assumed the crown, he was but sixteen years old.

The succession passes from Ferdinand and Isabella to their grandson, Charles

To understand Charles's role in Spanish history we must thoroughly grasp the constitutional position to which he fell heir. In medieval times the monarchy, both in Castile and Aragon, had exhibited the usual feudal character and the sovereign had ruled with the advice of a baronial assembly, called *cortes*. As early as the thirteenth century the commoners had risen to consideration by gaining admission to the cortes for representatives of the fast growing cities. Unfortunately the democratic promise contained in this broadening of the parliamentary system was not realized, for the eternal struggle with an alien conqueror violently inflamed the national sentiment which naturally rallied around its visible symbol, the king. In consequence the king was able to extend his administrative and judicial system, to maintain a fighting force, and to insinuate his tax-gatherers into the towns, although the constitutional custom was not abrogated that the taxes had to be authorized by the cortes. The movement toward centralization was subtle and imperceptible but necessarily led to the exaltation of the king whose person served as the focus of constantly multiplying administrative threads. In short, though both in Castile and Aragon the cortes continued to function with all their traditional rights apparently intact, there fell across them in an ominous way the constantly lengthening shadow of the king.

Growing power of the king

During the reign of Ferdinand and Isabella there took place so memorable a territorial expansion that it may not be overlooked. If it was Isabella, who, by putting her faith in Columbus, acquired a title to the new world beyond the Atlantic, it was her Aragonese husband who pushed Spanish influence in the opposite direction, that is, eastward along the Mediterranean. Not that he was the originator of this policy, for long before his time his ancestors had spread their power from the Balearic islands to Sardinia and Sicily, while an illegitimate branch of the royal line had seated itself on the throne of Naples. In this situation was indicated a possible control of Italy and the Mediterranean basin which Ferdinand of Aragon, one of the most grasping and enterprising sovereigns of his day, was sure not to lose from sight. In consequence when Charles VIII of France tried to seize Naples for himself (1494), he inevitably encountered lively opposition from his royal cousin of Spain. We shall presently look into the Franco-Spanish conflict which ensued; but in connection with this summary of Spanish territorial growth we may anticipate the outcome by noting that Ferdinand more than held his own against his French rival. In 1504 he acquired the kingdom of Naples and somewhat later (1512) the southern or Spanish section of the small mountain-kingdom of the Pyrenees known as Navarre.

The growth of Spanish territorial power during the reign of Ferdinand and Isabella

FRANCE

So successful was the French monarchy in initiating a process of consolidation at the expense of the feudal barons that, as early as the thirteenth century, it stood out as the most efficient governmental machine in Europe. But owing to a series of disasters, of which the greatest was the Hundred Years' War with England, the advantages won were in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries again largely sacrificed. In the end the long English occupation reacted in favor of the French king by creating such a passion of nationalism as the country had never known. Its unforgettable exponent was the heroic maid of Orleans, Joan of Arc, under whose inspired leadership the French people successfully inaugurated the task of driving the English back across the channel. For Joan as well as for all others dedicated to the idea of liberation the natural leader was the king; and though the king, Charles VII (1422–1461), was a man of very ordinary character and capacity, he succeeded in greatly advancing his prestige and power by his consistent championship of the national cause. By 1453 the English had lost every foot of their French conquest except the port of Calais.

The French monarchy and the Hundred Years' War

Theoretically the French king was, even in the Middle Age, the source of all authority. In practice, however, his power was limited not only by the great nobles and the Church but also by the States General, which was the feudal assembly composed originally of clergy and nobles and strengthened since the beginning of the fourteenth century by the addition of representatives of the commoners or bourgeoisie. Since the States General bear an undeniable resemblance to the Spanish cortes, the German diet, and the English parliament, it becomes clear that all the European states boasted a somewhat similar political structure and developed along parallel lines. True, the States General appear as rather feeble compared with the English parliament; nevertheless, without their consent the king could not collect the *taille*, the tax on land or property values constituting his chief revenue. In 1439 the States General voluntarily divested themselves of their right of consent and from that moment their fate was sealed. Assured of a permanent income, the king increased the royal armed forces and was soon beyond the control of his subjects. From the earliest times ample revenues and a standing army have constituted the foundations of absolute monarchy. If the French people did not protest against the constitutional turn taken under Charles VII, it was owing mainly to the fact that no sacrifice seemed too great to purchase liberation from the English yoke; but hardly in less degree than to the English situation the monarchy owed its steady advance to the favor of the urban element which looked upon a strong king as the surest means for enforcing peace and order against the lawless feudal lords.

Increasing concentration of power in the hand of the king

It was under Charles's son and successor, Louis XI (1461–1483), that the menace of the great lords, which periodically threatened to overwhelm the monarchy, was so effectively met that the edifice of absolutism was still further fortified. Louis was a conspicuous example of the new order of ruler, just coming to the front, whose game was to spin a web as fine and elastic as a spider's and to gain his cause by diplomacy rather than by war. Faced by such powerful, semi-independent vassals as the dukes of Burgundy, Orleans, Anjou, and Brittany, he met their plots by a mixture of force and cunning and let no opportunity pass to add their fiefs to the royal domain. He was aided by the feudal custom of escheat, under which a fief reverted to the crown on the failure of male heirs. In this manner on the death (1477) without a son of Charles of Burgundy, Louis acquired Burgundy (the duchy) and Picardy, while by the death (1481) of the duke of

Territorial unification under Louis XI

Anjou, he laid his hand on the rich patrimony of Anjou, Maine, and Provence. When Louis's successor, Charles VIII (1483–1498) married Anne, the heiress of the duchy of Brittany, he acted in strict accord with his father's policy of absorbing the great semi-independent fiefs. The addition of Brittany to the crown practically completed the process of French territorial unification.

Growth of the royal power secured by increase of the royal services

In measure as the power of the great nobles paled, the power of the king grew, chiefly by the multiplication of the instruments of government at his command. He distributed his administrative agents more generally through the land and established beyond challenge the ascendancy of the royal courts of justice, particularly of the several courts of ultimate appeal, called *parlements*. As the States General had abdicated their power by the perpetual grant of the taille, they were rarely called together after the middle of the fifteenth century and gradually lost prestige. Nor did the Church escape the general trend. In 1438 in the Pragmatic Sanction of Bourges the independence of the Gallican (i.e. the French) Church had been strongly asserted as against the usurpations of the pope. But the enforced loosening of the papal hold only prepared the way for the encroachments of the king, who increasingly appointed bishops to office without regard either for the recent claims of the pope or for the more ancient rights of election by the cathedral chapters. The constitutional development indicated by the above measures is not limited to the reign of Charles VII or Louis XI but extends over the whole fifteenth and into the sixteenth century. As in Spain the constitutional movement, if slow, was sure and its meaning as clear as day: it signified the coming of one-man power, the system of absolutism.

ENGLAND

Government vested in king and parliament

The medieval history of England is dominated by the conquest effected in 1066 by William of Normandy, who became King William I. By this event England acquired the benefit of a strong monarchy and was spared some of the worst excesses of feudal lawlessness. Neither William nor his successors, however, dispensed with the assembly of barons, lay and ecclesiastical, known as the parliament. By taking advantage of certain difficulties in which some of William's successors became involved, the parliament gradually increased its powers, more particularly under John I, whom it obliged to sign (1215) the famous document, the Magna Charta, which signified an important limitation of the royal prerogative. Toward the end of the thirteenth century, in 1295, the parliament was expanded by the admission of representatives of the towns (boroughs); and thus strengthened, it organized in the course of time in two houses, the first made up of the great barons, lay and ecclesiastical, and the second of the representatives of the boroughs together with the representatives of the smaller holders of fiefs, called knights.

Constitutional development interrupted by two great national upheavals

The parliament of two houses proved so effective an organization of the social classes interested in keeping an eye on the monarchy that the king might have been obliged to renounce all his special prerogatives, if a number of grave national upheavals had not interrupted the quiet tenor of domestic evolution. The most important of these was the Hundred Years' War with France, which by inflaming the national sentiment tended to redound to the benefit of the king, the country's natural head in a conflict with a foreign foe. But in spite of brilliant triumphs in the field, the Hundred Years' War ended disastrously (1453); the English lost all their gains across the channel except Calais; and, to make a bad matter worse, under the weak Henry VI (1422–1461) they became entangled in the civil struggle familiar under the name of the War of the Roses. When the War of the Roses ended with the victory of Henry Tudor at the battle of Bosworth (1485), England was an exhausted country ready to welcome a dictatorial ruler, provided he brought the peace she needed and passionately longed for.

The accession of Henry VII

The War of the Roses, ostensibly a struggle between two branches of the Plantagenet dynasty, the houses of York and Lancaster, was really waged between various factions of the feudal lords and was such an upflare of baronial lawlessness as England had never before known. The new sovereign, Henry VII (1485–1509) signified the advent of a new house, the house of Tudor, though he boasted through his mother the possession of Lancastrian blood. As he was wise enough to marry a princess of the house of York, he could urge the appeasement of the civil brawls on the ground of the convergence in him and his queen of the rival royal strains. Even with these precautions Henry was repeatedly disturbed by pretenders, who obtained a following among the people by the false claim of Yorkist descent. All such crises he met with unusual subtlety and sagacity, with traits, in a word, that are rather a modern than a medieval specialty. Naturally such a keen penetration as his would not fail to see and grasp the opportunity afforded by the civil exhaustion for establishing a strong monarchy of the kind just then triumphantly emerging in France and Spain. Manifestly the rivals of the royal power were, on the one hand, the great nobles who had made the crown their plaything during the War of the Roses and, on the other, the parliament, which in an earlier period had established its right to a substantial share in the government.

Henry's policy toward nobles and parliament

In a lifetime of narrowly concentrated effort Henry put a curb on both of his opponents. By virtue of a law depriving the nobles of the right to keep under arms great bodies of retainers, he extinguished the centers of provincial resistance to the royal will; and to make assurance doubly sure he established an extraordinary court, the court of Star Chamber, which sat in London under his eye and visited dire punishment on the recalcitrant nobles as well as on all other malefactors whom the local courts were not strong enough to punish. In curbing the parliament he took a far less drastic course because the parliament was an integral feature of the English constitution and well entrenched in the affections of the nation. With shrewd self-restraint he even adopted a policy of ostensible coöperation with the rival institution. Since he owed his throne to the circumstance of his having been victor in a social broil, that is, to military force, he honored the representatives of the nation — and incidentally put the authority of the law behind his claim — by asking them to endorse his accession in a formal resolution. Furthermore he scrupulously observed the ancient custom by which the king could raise no taxes except with parliamentary consent. But, his supplies once obtained, he husbanded the returns like a miser in order not to be obliged to demonstrate more often than was necessary his dependence on a popular body. In the last thirteen years of his reign he took counsel with his parliament only twice and, partly out of gratitude for his reëstablishment of the domestic peace, it showed no disposition to hew out a path of its own. No doubt the legal claim of parliament to be associated with the king in governing England remained intact; but from failing to appear in London the legislature tended to fall into oblivion, leaving the king to occupy the national stage alone. All facts carefully considered, it is incontrovertible that Henry Tudor renewed the prestige of the crown and created, certainly not a royal absolutism, but a strong monarchy looking in that direction.

England encroaches on her neighbors, Wales, Ireland, and Scotland

The predecessors of Henry Tudor, while chiefly occupied with the conquest of France, had not failed to concern themselves with the annexation of the three smaller states nearer home, Wales, Ireland, and Scotland. Their progress, though often interrupted, had been notable, for in the thirteenth century Wales had been brought definitely under the English crown, while even earlier, in the twelfth century, in the reign of Henry II, Ireland had been invaded and reduced to vassalage. Unfortunately for the native Irish they were split into numerous warring tribes incapable of acting together except on very rare occasions. Even under these untoward circumstances the Irish resistance was vigorous enough to make the English hold on the western island precarious, nay, at times wholly illusive. Henry VII, cautious by nature and fully occupied with the English domestic situation, contented himself with holding the coastal section around Dublin, called the English pale, and relegated the task of a genuine and sweeping conquest to his successors. As for Scotland, wars with it had been frequent throughout the Middle Age but the Scots and their king had thus far successfully escaped the English noose. Without doubt the Hundred Years' War, which had kept England occupied in France for several generations, had favored the independence of the northern neighbor. But with the Hundred Years' War at an end, it became probable that England would scan the situation beyond the Tweed somewhat more narrowly. The effect of such unsolicited interest would be to prompt the alarmed Scots to draw closer to France. In fact the probable partnership of Scotland and France was a circumstance with which Henry and all his Tudor successors would be obliged to reckon.

Henry's policy of peace

His delicate position between the French hammer and the Scottish anvil partly explains why Henry VII felt little inclination to renew the traditional struggle with the Capetian monarchy. But it is also true and wholly to his credit that he had no love of military adventure for its own sake. Of course he was in a measure drawn into the intricate game of continental diplomacy; and it was natural enough that he should usually align himself against France. But as soon as serious conflict or embarrassing expense threatened he quietly withdrew. On the whole he held to the view that his safest policy was to maintain good and even intimate relations with Spain; and in 1501 he gave expression to this opinion in the fashion of the time by arranging a marriage between Arthur, prince of Wales, and Catherine, daughter of Ferdinand and Isabella. When Arthur died shortly after the ceremony, his widow was retained in England with a view to a later marriage to the king's second son, afterwards Henry VIII. In a commendable effort to detach Scotland by friendly means from her traditional ally across the channel Henry, in 1502, gave his daughter, Margaret, in wedlock to the Scottish king, James IV. In short the first Tudor was a man of peace. If he kept a sharp lookout toward France he was content in the main with such diplomatic measures for keeping his rival in check as amicable relations with Spain and Scotland.

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Charles VIII of France invades Italy

At the end of the fifteenth century there occurred an event which profoundly affected the relation toward each other of all the European states just passed in review. I refer to the invasion of Italy by Charles VIII of France in 1494. Although Charles pretended that he invaded Italy in the interest of his rightful claim to the kingdom of Naples, he was really prompted by an ungoverned ambition fortified by the circumstance that the French monarchy had become so strong that it overflowed like a brimming cup. The first result of the invasion was to show that Italy, home of the humanists and artists, was politically too feeble to offer an effective resistance to the new centralized type of monarchy. If her five most important states had stood together, there might have been a different tale to tell, but their incurable jealousies made a united front impossible. Charles marched the whole length of the peninsula without meeting a trace of serious opposition, drove the Aragonese incumbent from the throne of Naples, and crowned himself king. But there his triumph ended. King Ferdinand of Spain was not the man to let a rival pick a fruit which he regarded as his own and, allying himself with some of the Italian states, obliged the French king to beat a precipitate retreat. In 1495 Charles stood again on the soil of France with nothing but a few stirring memories to show for his lavish expenditure of blood and money.

However, the French king had proved that the trick could be turned and that Italy was the predestined victim of a neighbor with a will to conquer. On dying in 1498, Charles left this conviction to his successor, Louis XII, and when, after a reign of seventeen years, Louis was succeeded by Francis I (1515–1546), the new king shaped his policy on the same ambitious assumption. It would be a tedious undertaking to follow in detail the Italian campaigns of these three rulers and mortally dull to trace the fluctuations of their shifty diplomacy. Let it suffice that France's rival, Spain, moved heaven and earth to hinder the consummation of the French designs and that in the battle of the two giants the pigmy states of Italy were at first pawns and ultimately victims.

Charles's Italian ambitions pursued by his successors, Louis XII and Francis I

Although France and Spain were on the whole well-matched, the scales tended from the first to incline in favor of the latter. As early as 1504 the issue over Naples was settled by its unconditional cession to King Ferdinand. In return Louis XII hoped to be left in possession of the duchy of Milan, on which he had fixed his eye as more desirable than Naples because nearer to France and which he had seized (1499) immediately on coming to the throne on the pretext, dearly beloved by the monarchs of his day, of an hereditary claim. But Ferdinand was not minded to leave Louis in possession of Milan either and in 1512, by means of a new combination of Italian princes and European powers, successfully ousted him. Thereupon Francis I, on the morrow of his accession to the throne, returned to the attack and once more gained a firm lodgment in the Lombard duchy (1515). Shortly after Ferdinand ended his days (1516), leaving the quarrel with France over Italy to his grandson and heir, Charles. How the poor Italian bone was worried by Francis and Charles all the days of their life we shall see in a later chapter.

The struggle in Italy turns around Naples and Milan

However, long before the struggle between France and Spain over Italy was brought to a settlement, it had become plain that the peninsula was a doomed land. Helpless before the might of the two western monarchies, the small Italian states wasted their resources in a frenzied and indecent scramble for mere self-preservation. Moreover, their abasement availed them not at all, for so long as Italy failed to present a united front to her aggressors she was, in the long run, certain to lose her independence. Worse, much worse from a cultural viewpoint, ground under the heel of brute force, she was sure

Political and cultural decline of Italy

to lose also the fine intellectual zest which had made the Renaissance such a brilliant and imaginative episode. In point of fact a general decline of Italian life set in, which, hardly noticed at first, became as legible as print toward the middle of the sixteenth century. It signified that the country's subjection to its foreign masters kept accurate pace with the extinction of those spiritual fires which had enabled Italy to produce a literary and artistic treasure still cherished by the world as one of its most precious possessions.

Fate of the individual states

In this tragic decay the destiny meted out to the individual states deserves a passing word. As Naples and Milan were the main objectives of the Franco-Spanish conflict, these two states quickly lost their independence, even though the question whether they would lose it to France or Spain long continued to hang in the balance. The other three states, Venice, Florence, and the State of the Church, were not so much threatened in their immediate sovereignty as in a general diminution of importance due to the projection into peninsular affairs of two large-scale powers. In fact all three native states continued to assert a technical independence for many succeeding generations, Venice and the State of the Church under essentially the same form of government they had given themselves in the Renaissance. Only Florence passed through a number of stirring domestic changes which may be briefly noted here since the vicissitudes of the lively Arno city, mother of such a host of distinguished sons, have always enlisted a sympathetic attention.

The restored Florentine republic

The reader will remember that we have traced the political evolution of Florence to the Medicean domination under Lorenzo the Magnificent. On the heels of Lorenzo's death in 1492 came the invasion of Italy by Charles VIII. Taking advantage of the general disturbance of the peninsula, the Florentines rose against Piero, the feeble heir of Lorenzo, drove him and all his family to flight, and again set up a republic. The new government lived for a time in the shadow of the famous Dominican friar and stern moralist, Girolamo Savonarola, and represented a curious reversion to the Middle Age. It was characteristic of Savonarola that while he hated the Medici as destroyers of the ancient liberties of Florence, he abominated them still more as the embodiment of the pagan spirit of the Renaissance. The strange attempt to throw Florence, beacon and inspiration of the new age, back into the twilight of the thirteenth century continued as long as the fanatical friar succeeded in dominating the common people. By 1498 his many enemies had sufficiently knocked his props from under him to compass his downfall and burn him at the stake on a trumped-up charge of heresy. Thereupon the political control slipped promptly into the hands of the business elements traditionally in command of the situation; but to no avail, since their valiant efforts to appease the bitter domestic divisions by a constitution on the Venetian model had only a temporary success. For the student of European thought the most memorable circumstance connected with the renewed Florentine republic in the days following the overthrow of Savonarola is that it employed as its secretary of state Niccolo Machiavelli, in whom we hail by virtue of his historical studies, particularly *The Prince*, one of the most penetrating political observers that ever lived. In *The Prince* Machiavelli shows not only that he had a remarkably keen appreciation of the movement toward tyranny and absolutism going on all over Europe in his day but also that he welcomed it as an escape from feudal and republican disorder.

The triumph of the Medici

The grievous lesson reserved for the renewed Florentine republic was that the days of a free Italy were over and that the small native states could not possibly escape the dilemma presented by the Franco-Spanish rivalry. Obliged to lean on one or the other of the two dominating powers, the republic threw in its lot with France with the result that when King Louis XII went down in defeat (1512), the government promptly collapsed. With the help of Spain the Medici now returned to the city; and though they were once again driven out (1527) and the republic set up anew, the struggle for liberty was hopeless since under the altered circumstances it was directed not so much against the Medici as against the titan behind them, Spain. The renewed and final restoration of the Medici (1530) was the solemn evidence of Spanish invincibility. Convinced that it was useless to kick against the pricks, the Florentines now sullenly accepted the yoke of the Medici, who in their turn wore with fitting meekness the yoke of Spain. With the consent of their Spanish protector they converted their Florentine possession into the duchy (ultimately the grand duchy) of Tuscany. Thus at last was their ancient dream realized: they became hereditary lords of their native city, sacrificing to this petty ambition the liberty of their fellow-citizens as well as their own.

Beside these purely local consequences, certain other effects of the prolonged Franco-Spanish duel over Italy began slowly to outline themselves. They literally embrace all Europe and have helped shape its history to the present day. To gain the proper approach to these general consequences let us recall that the Middle Age cherished a noble ideal of European unity. Championed in the first instance by St. Augustine in his famous City of God, it envisaged in its developed form a world-state of Christian humanity committed to a program of peace under the double guidance of pope and emperor. But this program of a Christian commonwealth failed in the course of the Middle Age and was replaced by the actuality of separate and independent civil states engaged in frank rivalry for the control of lands, commerce, and other evidences of material wealth. The Renaissance with its strong secular drift marks the definite emergence of these competing civil entities; and the Franco-Spanish conflict over Italy presents to view the first struggle among two leading powers in which there is hardly traceable any longer the least vestige of medieval ideology. The Franco-Spanish struggle is a naked power issue in which the two combatants make use of war without scruple as a perfectly legitimate weapon.

Passing of the medieval political ideal

It is therefore plain that toward the end of the Renaissance Europe had become endowed with a new political system which, since it continues to this day, may be called the modern system, and which is distinguished by an unlimited competition among its component parts logically culminating in the shock of war. But even when war is reckoned a legitimate tool, the *ultima ratio*, which each state reserves to itself as its court of last appeal, it is undoubtedly a weapon of destruction; and the Modern Period which, just beginning to dawn, was dedicated to commerce and industry and the multiplication of wealth, was sure to develop, at least at intervals, a strong aversion for war's indiscriminate application. To conduct their enterprises the burgher classes, with whom the control of society was coming to rest in constantly increasing measure, required peace; and therefore as soon as the patriotic intoxication which war released had evaporated, they welcomed the treaty of peace which muffled the din of battle and at the same time cleared once more the highways and opened the markets. Treaties of peace, though chiefly of a political nature, usually contained also commercial

Europe works out a system of coöperation based on treaties and a diplomatic and consular service

provisions or else were supplemented by express treaties of commerce. To be sure, each new war cancelled all treaties existing between the belligerent states, but on the termination of the conflict new treaties, which were the old treaties modified in accordance with the issue of the recent struggle, were promptly negotiated. To secure their precise execution there were gradually developed two special administrative services, the one diplomatic for political matters and the other consular for purely commercial affairs. Placed under the supervision of the department of state or foreign office, the two services taken together constituted the administrative machinery for maintaining and developing the relations among states according to the letter of the current agreements.

The constantly developing code of international law

The sum of all the treaties negotiated among sovereign states for any end whatsoever may be conceived as making up the body of international law. Increasing in bulk with each new generation, international law has served to bind Europe into a single, more and more compactly organized commonwealth. Undeniably so long as each sovereign state, large or small, insisted that it was its inalienable right to bring every difference of opinion or of interest to the arbitrament of war, this delicate organization of the European states would be periodically exposed to anarchic disorganization; but for all that we should not overlook the substantial gain for political coöperation and economic interdependence that lay in basing all peace-time dealings among the jealously sovereign units of the European system on an expanding code of international law.

The great powers and the principle of balance

Although this emerging modern system comprised all states, great and small alike, only the powerful states, powerful in last analysis because of their military and naval strength, figure in the system as great powers. With them during the last four centuries has rested the control of Europe and, in measure as Europe has expanded over-seas, the control of the rest of the world. But as each great power has been unceasingly engaged in the attempt to outstrip its rivals in defensive and offensive strength, there has developed the curious phenomenon called the balance of power. It comes into play when one great power, either by reason of its actual resources or by an alliance with other powers or by attaching to itself a group of lesser client states, achieves a position which points or seems to point to domination. Almost automatically the opponents draw together in order to redress the scales — a complicated diplomatic operation touching which enlightening evidence was supplied during the Franco-Spanish wars. Whenever in the struggle for the Italian prize France was in the ascendancy there was an immediate rush on the part of the other powers of Europe to come to the aid of Spain; and whenever Spain was in the lead the rush was the other way.

Europe a single but imperfect commonwealth

To the reflective reader it must be reasonably clear that with a developing code of international law supplemented by the principle of balanced power, albeit precariously maintained, Europe should be conceived as a single commonwealth. Its political unity was however constantly challenged and at times completely nullified by the persistent and stubborn claim of each member-state to an unlimited sovereignty culminating in the right of war. Before a more harmonious commonwealth than this was possible the individual European citizen would have to learn to think in terms of Europe rather than in terms of the country of his particular allegiance. And that time was in the sixteenth century still far off; in fact it may be doubted if even yet, in this, the twentieth century, it has dawned for more than a handful of men, the hopeful and courageous vanguard of a new political order.

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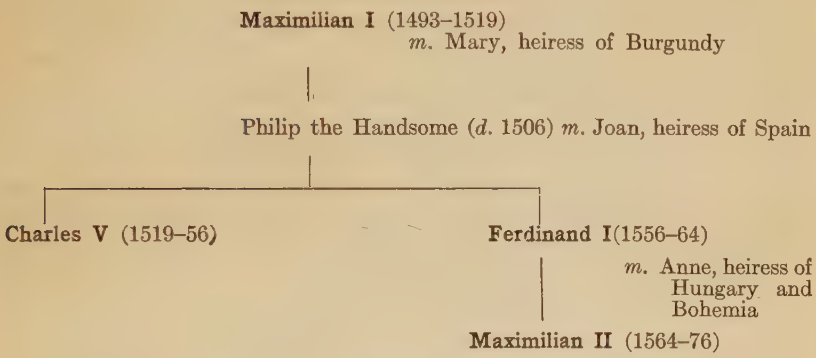
CHAPTER V

THE GERMAN REFORMATION TO THE PEACE OF AUGSBURG (1555)

The House of Hapsburg



Maximilian I (1493–1519)
m. Mary, heiress of Burgundy

Philip the Handsome (*d.* 1506) *m.* Joan, heiress of Spain

Charles V (1519–56)

Ferdinand I(1556–64)
m. Anne, heiress of Hungary and Bohemia

Maximilian II (1564–76)

We have seen that Germany, identical with the Holy Roman Empire (the Empire, for short), was a loose federation of several hundred semi-sovereign states, and that in the reign of the Emperor Maximilian (1493–1519) it experienced a national revival which, however, did not in any essential respect strengthen the feeble national government. The national revival was itself an effect of the general awakening that came to all sections of Europe alike with the Renaissance. Only a somewhat detailed understanding of the particular stir which the Renaissance brought to Germany will prepare us to grasp the origin of the great sixteenth century movement called the Reformation.

The Renaissance a forerunner of the Reformation

As an instructive introduction to both Renaissance and Reformation let us examine the implications of the unshaken domination in Germany, and almost alone in Germany, of the Church. We are aware that the Middle Age was so thoroughly ruled by organized Christianity that the pope was able to proclaim the theory that, since all power came from God and he himself was God's earthly vicar, all government, civil as well as ecclesiastical, was of right vested in his person. Of course, the doctrine of papal authority in this, its extreme form, never enjoyed universal acceptance and never hindered the European monarchs from asserting their independence in the civil field. None the less, in every country of Europe, the Church secured a position which placed it outside the national frame; and in view of the fact that the pope succeeded in acquiring substantial control of each national Church, he rose in every instance to a coördinate position with the monarch, exercising sovereignty in the monarch's territory, chiefly by laying taxes on ecclesiastical property and by controlling the higher ecclesiastical appointments.

The medieval popes exercise powers which prejudice the rights of civil rulers

When, during the Renaissance, the strong monarchies developed in France, Spain, and England, they undertook to challenge the pope's power exercised within their boundaries. In each instance they scored successes, which, if incomplete, showed that the wind had veered and was now no longer filling the pope's sails. Thus in France King Charles VII issued (1438) a royal ordinance, known as the Pragmatic Sanction of Bourges, challenging the papal pretensions to control the French Church; and letting the deed follow the boast, Charles VII as well as his successors by degrees took over the nomination of the French bishops and abbots, in this way successfully usurping a power to which the popes had never ceased to pretend. Again, in Spain, under Ferdinand and Isabella, the crown took over (1482) the right to nominate to bishoprics and forbade appeals from the Spanish ecclesiastical courts to Rome; while in England by the celebrated statutes of Provisors (1351) and of Praemunire (1353), a similar anti-papal policy took shape, the former measure denying the pope's claim to appoint to English benefices and the latter forbidding the carrying of appeals outside the realm.

Decline of the pope's power in the strong monarchies

In Germany where, in distinction from the western monarchies, the crown instead of growing stronger had, especially during the long, disgraceful reign of Frederick III (1440–1493), become steadily more feeble, the papal ascendancy over the German Church had been confirmed (Concordat of Vienna, 1448). In consequence the popes of the Renaissance exercised a more arbitrary power in Germany than anywhere else in Christendom. They abused their appointive rights by taking money from candidates to office — the sin of simony; they taxed the clergy

Abuses of papal power in Germany

(and that means ultimately the laity) by a frequent levy of tithes on the pretext of a crusade against the Turks which never materialized; and they unflinchingly exacted annates or first-fruits. The impost called annates involved the surrender of one-half of his revenues during the first year of office by each new episcopal incumbent. The German diets of the second half of the fifteenth century never ceased voicing their dissatisfaction with the innumerable papal abuses by loud complaints (*gravamina*) dispatched to Rome, which, quietly pigeon-holed on their arrival, proved no more effective than if they had been messages from Mars. In this connection we must not forget that this was the period of the Renaissance group of popes, who, indifferent to spiritual appeals, desired money and ever more money to satisfy their political ambitions and their sumptuous patronage of the arts. Since such men had but little conscience where their pockets were concerned, they agreed to every shifty measure for replenishing the treasury which their unscrupulous financial advisers might suggest. In an evil hour they agreed to a sale of indulgences in Germany on an unusually extensive scale.

Indulgences — the theory

Who would understand what is meant by an indulgence must be willing to have a look at the rather abstruse world of medieval theology and, more particularly, to scan the sacrament of penance.[1] The sacrament of penance dealt with acts of sin which God for his part forgave the sinner on contrition and confession. Absolution by the priest was the evidence of that forgiveness. However, there still remained the temporal penalty which the sinner must satisfy either in this world by acts classifiable as good works or in the next by enduring a purifying punishment in purgatory. It is here that the indulgence comes in. An indulgence is a remission of the temporal penalty by means of the Treasure of Grace, defined as the sum total of the merits of Jesus Christ and the great company of saints and martyrs. The Treasure of Grace came into existence because the ancient founders and confessors of the Christian faith offered much more satisfaction (that is, suffered much graver penalties) than their state of sin required. All such works in excess of what was needed to balance the account are called works of supererogation and comprise the Treasure of Grace. It is administered by the pope who may at his discretion apply it to the benefit of others lacking in good works. The document declaring the remission of the temporal penalty by a draft on the unexhausted and inexhaustible treasure of the Church is called an indulgence.

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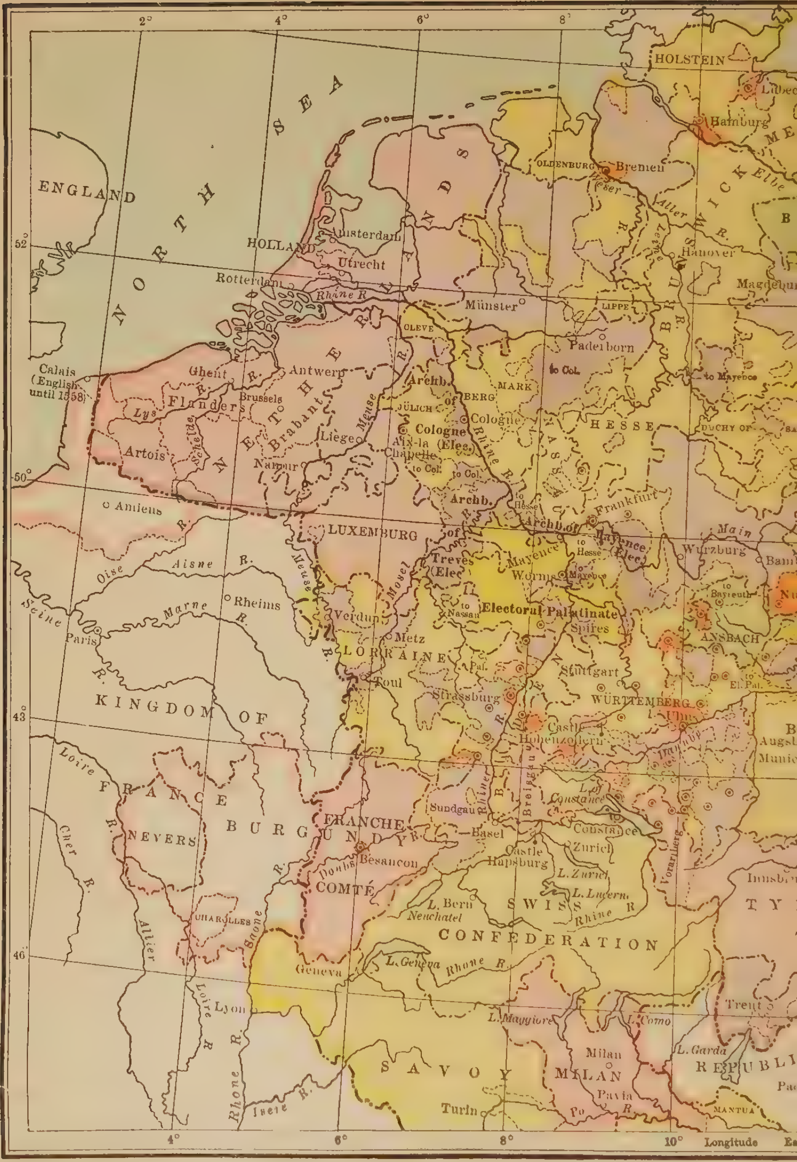
[1] See p. 16

The abuse of indulgences

Granted that the indulgence, considered in the light of theory, is for us moderns somewhat intricate and difficult, we must agree that it so closely conforms to medieval concepts that it would have aroused no criticism, had it not in its practical application lent itself to abuse. In the Middle Age the popes issued indulgences with a certain restraint and conscientiously applied the returns to legitimate Christian ends such as a crusade. But with the coming of the Renaissance and its pressing financial necessities the sale of the papal certificates was converted into a device for raising taxes. They were consigned to licensed venders who penetrated into every nook and corner of Europe, except where they were excluded by a strong civil power. Because the pope exercised more influence in Germany than anywhere else, the hawkers disported themselves with particular freedom in German territory with the result that they fanned the already dangerous anti-papal sentiment.

The rising anti-papal tide

In view of all these facts it is easy to understand the rising tide of national indignation directed against the pope. But unless we understand that this indignation, while possessed of a moral character, was also fed by political and economic considerations, we shall fail to grasp the nature of the hurricane released by Luther's challenge. By a remarkable coincidence all the forces of society were, at the beginning of the sixteenth century, focussing on the papal issue. While some groups, the simply and honestly pious of every social level, were offended with the pope because of his brilliant court and worldly policy, others, the growing mass of narrowly patriotic men, looked askance at him because he was a foreigner exercising more influence in their country than the emperor or the Reichstag. This latter group of passionate nationalists was recruited largely from the rising burghers; and the burghers possessed a further incentive to hostility in the vast sums of money said to be annually drained to Rome. To the town-dwellers of an age, the expanding energies of which called for capital, the steady stream of gold and silver pouring out of Germany across the Alps caused a veritable nightmare. In raising their voices to stop the exploitation they found sympathizers among all classes of the population including the clergy itself. It is useless trying to decide whether the economic or the moral motive predominated in the mounting



2°
4°
6°
8°
52°
50°
48°
46°
10°
Longitude
NORTH SEA
ENGLAND
HOLLAND
Amsterdam
Utrecht
Rotterdam
Rhine R.
NETHERLANDS
Calais (English until 1558)
Ghent
Antwerp
Flanders
Lys
Brussels
Brabant
Scheldt R.
Artois
Liege
Namur
Meuse
Amiens
HOLSTEIN
Lübeck
Hamburg
OLDENBURG
Bremen
Weser R.
Aller R.
Elbe
BRUNSWICK
Hanover
Magdeburg
Münster
LIPPE
CLEVE
Paderborn
MARK
to Col.
Archb. of Cologne (Elec.)
BERG
JÜLICH
Cologne
Aix-la Chapelle
to Col.
to Col.
HESSE
NASSAU
to Mayence
DUCHY OF
Archb. of Treves (Elec.)
Archb. of Mayence (Elec.)
Frankfort
to Hesse
to Hesse
Main
Würzburg
Bamberg
to Bayreuth
Nü
LUXEMBURG
Mosel
Mayence
Worms
to Mayence
to Nassau
Electoral Palatinate
Spires
ANSBACH
El. Pal.
Verdun
Metz
LORRAINE
Toul
Pal.
Stuttgart
Strassburg
WÜRTTEMBERG
Ulm
Castle Hohenzollern
Danube
Augsb
Munic
Rheims
Aisne R.
Oise
Marne R.
Seine R.
Paris
KINGDOM OF FRANCE
Loire R.
Cher R.
NEVERS
Allier
BURGUNDY
CHAROLLES
Saone
FRANCHE COMTÉ
Doubs
Besançon
Sundgau
Rhine R.
Breisgau
Basel
L. of Constance
Constance
Zurich
Castle Hapsburg
L. Zurich
L. Lucern
Rhine R.
Vorarlberg
Innsbru
TY
L. Bern
Neuchatel
SWISS CONFEDERATION
Geneva
L. Geneva
Rhone R.
Lyon
Loire R.
Rhone R.
Isere R.
SAVOY
Turin
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L. Como
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MILAN
Pavia
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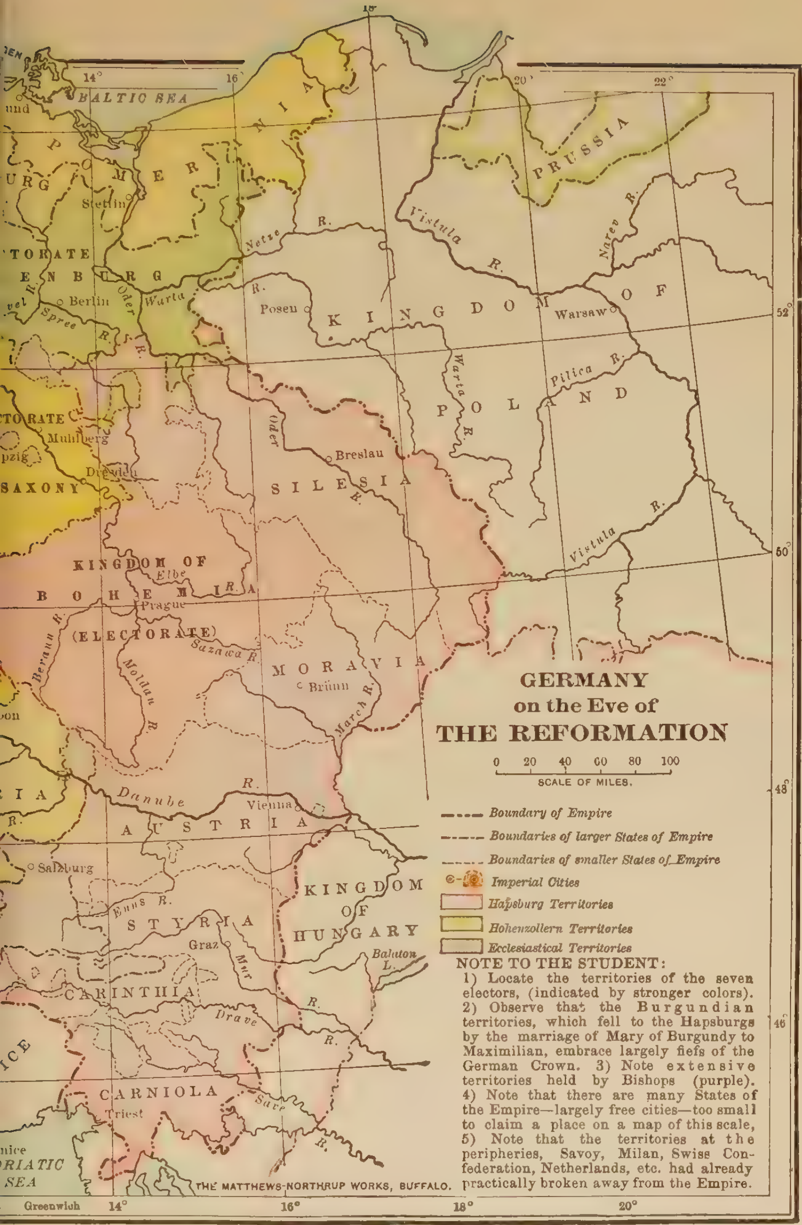

GERMANY
on the Eve of
THE REFORMATION

0 20 40 60 80 100
SCALE OF MILES.
Boundary of Empire
Boundaries of larger States of Empire
Boundaries of smaller States of Empire
Imperial Cities
Hapsburg Territories
Hohenzollern Territories
Ecclesiastical Territories
BALTIC SEA
POMERANIA
Stettin
BRANDENBURG
Berlin
Spree R.
Oder R.
Warta
Netze R.
Posen
KINGDOM OF POLAND
Warsaw
Vistula R.
Narev R.
Pilica R.
Warta R.
PRUSSIA
Breslau
SILESIA
Muhlberg
Dresden
SAXONY
KINGDOM OF BOHEMIA (ELECTORATE)
Elbe R.
Prague
Beraun R.
Moldau R.
Sazawa R.
MORAVIA
Brünn
March R.
Danube R.
Vienna
AUSTRIA
Salzburg
Enns R.
STYRIA
Graz
Mur
KINGDOM OF HUNGARY
Balaton L.
CARINTHIA
Drave R.
CARNIOLA
Triest
Save R.
ADRIATIC SEA
14°
16°
18°
20°
22°
52°
50°
48°
46°
Greenwich
THE MATTHEWS-NORTHRUP WORKS, BUFFALO.

NOTE TO THE STUDENT: 1) Locate the territories of the seven electors, (indicated by stronger colors). 2) Observe that the Burgundian territories, which fell to the Hapsburgs by the marriage of Mary of Burgundy to Maximilian, embrace largely fiefs of the German Crown. 3) Note extensive territories held by Bishops (purple). 4) Note that there are many States of the Empire—largely free cities—too small to claim a place on a map of this scale. 5) Note that the territories at the peripheries, Savoy, Milan, Swiss Confederation, Netherlands, etc. had already practically broken away from the Empire.

anti-papal sentiment or whether both motives were not merely subsidiary aspects of the new nationalism. The situation in Germany was complex as human situations always are, and it will suffice if we agree that, given the papal abuses, the Renaissance spirit, which was a spirit of criticism, was bound to create a protest which would seek reënforcement from the moral, economic, and every other resource at man's service.

German humanism turns to the origins of Christianity

Turning from the politico-religious to the intellectual aspect of Germany, we are confronted with the phenomenon of humanism. Originating in Italy and taking the form of a passionate search among the ruins of antiquity for a new foundation of life and knowledge, it spread slowly to the other regions of Europe and, of course, also to Germany. But, as was only natural, the German humanists modified the movement in accordance with their temperament and outlook. So completely did the Italians identify themselves with the new learning that they were tempted to cut loose entirely from their medieval anchorage; some of them actually abandoned Christianity and avowed themselves to be pagans. The Germans felt no such inclination. Barbarian forest-dwellers in the days of the Caesars, they had had no share in ancient Rome, which was as remote and unreal to them as the fabric of a dream. On the other hand, the Christian faith, received by them in the early Middle Age, had entered their souls and, as an unexhausted force, stimulated their deepest affections. Hence they put their own interpretation on the new learning hailing from Italy and, while accepting its classical mission, preferably and enthusiastically directed its energies into a Christian channel. Turning first to the Fathers, they penetrated beyond them to the Bible, until this occupation with the origins of Christianity filled them with a sense of the amazing chasm between the simplicity of the apostolic age and the papal and ecclesiastical grandeur which was dangled before their eyes and which in the form of innumerable exactions pressed on their country like an incubus. Let it not for a moment be imagined that they were suddenly persuaded that the existing structure of the Church was an unnatural growth; in fact, because of their devotion to custom and tradition, they yielded the ecclesiastical institution a full and willing obedience. None the less the accumulation of fresh knowledge about so many phases of the Christian past gradually produced a viewpoint which was very different from the blind credulity of their forebears.

Humanism gets a foothold in the universities

The German humanists were a relatively small body of men who served the usual provocative function of an intelligentsia. Since the universities, with certain notable exceptions, opened their doors to them, the ascendancy of the old barren scholasticism was gradually shaken. When men like Rudolph Agricola (d. 1485) and Conrad Celtis (d. 1508), who had gone to Italy to imbibe the new learning at its fountain-head, returned to their native land, they were received with enthusiasm by swarms of students who crowded to their lectures. Under these circumstances the familiar battle of conservatives and liberals was soon joined all along the line and early in the sixteenth century led to a memorable crisis. Its central figure was John Reuchlin in whom we encounter a typical expression of German humanism.

John Reuchlin and the quarrel over Hebrew studies

Like his predecessors, John Reuchlin (1455–1522) had made first-hand acquaintance with humanism by travel and study in Italy. An acknowledged master of both Latin and Greek, none the less by a preference which he shared with most of his German countrymen he turned enthusiastically to the Fathers and from them to the Bible. But no sooner had he plunged into the Christian sources than he became persuaded of the necessity of knowing Hebrew. Not only had this language been neglected, but, owing to the hatred commonly felt in the Middle Age for the Jews, the outcast people who had crucified the Lord, it was under a general and severe taboo. In 1506 Reuchlin performed an important scholarly service for all Europe by publishing a Hebrew grammar and lexicon. It immediately aroused a storm of reprobation among the old-time schoolmen, whose main German stronghold was the university of Cologne. As this university was in the hands of the Dominican order of friars, identified since the thirteenth century with the scholastic system, the petrified faculty uttered a cry of alarm and in violent language put themselves on record against the lifting of the Hebrew ban. At their summons the stalwarts of the old régime gathered to their flag, while the friends of the new learning rallied around Reuchlin. It was a miniature war, in which the combatants denounced each other in fiery pamphlets and which culminated in a number of trials for heresy preferred by the exasperated Dominicans against the bold champion of Hebrew studies. Appeased only to flare up again, the combat dragged along for ten years and, though tiresome in detail, possessed the merit of bringing the issue, which was, in substance, the freedom of learning, to the attention of every educated group in Germany.

The Letters of Obscure Men

What regularly determines the victory in a conflict of this sort, a conflict of minds, is the swing of public opinion. And public opinion, veering slowly toward Reuchlin, was finally almost stampeded into his camp by the *Epistolae obscurorum virorum* (Letters of Obscure Men, 1515–1517). The work was the product of a group of gay and emancipated spirits, champions of the new philosophy, and constitutes as telling a satire as the young and impertinent have ever aimed at their grave and stodgy elders. Taken at its face value, it was a collection of epistles written by students and admirers to one of the Cologne stand-patters; and the fun lay in having the bat-eyed correspondents, who blinked feebly at the new light, reveal by means of intimate communications, written without restraint and in an exaggerated version of the grotesque Latin current among the schoolmen, their secret viciousness and abysmal ignorance. True, much of the sport was in the nature of rude horse-play, but it did its work and fairly buried the old scholasticism under a tempest of inextinguishable laughter.

Erasmus

Although he stood with Reuchlin and smiled with characteristic malice at the broad humor of the Letters, Desiderius Erasmus (1467–1536) had no hand in their composition. In this remarkable scholar we meet the greatest figure of the humanistic circles of his generation not only in Germany but throughout Europe. Though born on the lower Rhine, in Rotterdam, he lived in turn in every country of Europe and not only professed himself to be a cosmopolitan but, what is much more rare, actually succeeded in suppressing in himself every trace of nationalism. Like all humanists, north and south of the Alps alike, he employed the Latin language as his medium of expression; and as this tongue was still the foundation of every educational system, he was enabled to reach the cultivated classes throughout Christendom. In the main he was a scholar, rarely competent in both the classical and patristic fields and winning golden opinions by his editions of the ancients and the Fathers; but his fame as an intellectual leader was enhanced by his activity as a reformer, for, aroused by the evils of the day, he did not scruple at times to desert his study and make an open attack on the false idols of the market-place.

Erasmus's most famous contribution to scholarship was a New Testament in the original Greek accompanied by a Latin translation which ventured to expose the numerous errors of the version of the Bible stamped with the official approval of the Church and known as the Vulgate. The Vulgate dated back to the fifth century and was regarded by pedantic theologians as sacrosanct. While the New Testament of Erasmus illustrates the common effort of northern scholars to put Christian learning on a sound foundation, regardless of what tradition was upset and whose withers were wrung, it betrays the equally important attitude of this group toward the Scriptures as the true and supreme fountain of faith. "I long," he wrote in explanation of his occupying himself with the fundamental Christian documents, "that the peasant should sing the Scriptures to himself as he follows the plow, that the weaver should hum them to the tune of his shuttle, and that the traveler should beguile with them the weariness of his journey." This is the subtle evangelical note, sounded by him and Reuchlin and the whole body of the northern humanists steadily, if with no set and conscious purpose, against the prevailing ceremonious ecclesiasticism. Magnified by the succeeding generation to a vast cry, it became the trumpet blast before which the walls of Jericho went down.

His Christian scholarship

We have already noted that though Erasmus was in the main a quiet scholar whose chief thought was personal tranquillity, he lived enough in the world to be moved to speak out against its evils. His sharp intelligence put him, in the literary satire, in possession of a weapon which he wielded unsparingly and to the round applause of critics and reformers the world over. In his most famous production in this kind, the Praise of Folly (1509), he presents Folly as a woman adorned with cap and bells and engaged in boastingly recounting her innumerable earthly triumphs. Her merry discourse becomes a fierce lashing of the vile customs of monks, the ignorance of schoolmen, the venality of the clergy, the ambition of kings, and the gross superstition of the masses, in sum, a biting exposure of all the hoary evils of the age.

The Praise of Folly

The Europe which cheered to the echo this attack on its social and political inheritance was already, even though it might not be conscious of the fact, in the throes of a mental revolution. To the humanists, champions of the new outlook, the name of Erasmus became a battle-cry; and when presently Martin Luther made his appearance and went a step farther by flinging his challenge directly at the Church, he counted, not unnaturally, on Erasmus's support.

He proved himself mistaken, not only in the single Erasmus but, to a considerable extent, in the whole older generation of humanists; for, though they regarded him at first not without favor, as soon as he definitely broke with pope and Church, they drew back in alarm. Why? Partly because they were timid scholars with a temperamental aversion for the heat and dust of the arena, but in still greater measure because, as they viewed the situation, they had preached not revolt but reform. In particular Erasmus, their honored chief, had cherished, futilely perhaps but earnestly, the dream that the increasing spread of knowledge would automatically reduce the evils of the world. His whole life-work was, on its moral side, an advocacy of reasonableness and toleration, and, instead of joining the ranks of violence and revolution, he resolutely turned his back on the Lutheran movement and sulked in his tent. Protestant writers, who, on this account, have often angrily berated Erasmus as a white-livered knave, fail to do justice to his fundamental conviction that the only reforms which are ever worth while come through gradual enlightenment; on the other hand, there is undeniably a modicum of truth in the pithy summary of the situation credited to a Catholic contemporary: Erasmus laid the egg; Luther hatched it. To bitter, partisan Catholics Erasmus was quite as great a criminal as Luther.

Erasmus does not accept the Lutheran revolt

Martin Luther was born November 10, 1483, in a village of Thuringia at the foot of the Harz Mountains. His ancestry for many generations back had been hard-working peasants, and much of peasant sturdiness and simplicity, with much of peasant obstinacy and superstition, remained characteristic of this son of the soil to the end of his days. By personal sacrifices his parents managed to send young Martin to school and later, to the university of Erfurt, where he prepared himself for the law; but in the year 1505, during a thunder-storm which overtook him on the highway and filled him with wild terror he made the vow to become a monk. It was a characteristically medieval act inspired by a sense of sin and the need of salvation. He joined the Augustinian order of friars at Erfurt and took his duties so seriously that a distinguished clerical career opened before him. In 1507 he was ordained a priest and, immersing himself in his theological studies, he was in 1512 promoted to the doctorate and, shortly after, called to the professorship of theology at the university of Wittenberg. This institution had been recently founded by the Elector Frederick of

Martin Luther

Saxony at the seat of his government. Luther immediately became a leading professor, largely because in the spirit of the new learning he based his instruction not on the medieval schoolmen but on the living Christian sources, the Fathers and the Bible.

Luther's inner agony and its solution

But these externals of Luther's career do not touch the substance of the terrible inner problem which agitated him throughout his early manhood nor do they explain how it happened that he became a reformer and altered the course of human history. To him, as to every true and sincere Christian, the supreme concern of life, before which everything else shrank to nothingness, was the question of salvation. The medieval Church had arrived at a solution which represented an amazingly delicate adjustment between faith and good works, that is, between simple surrender to God's love and the conscientious performance of the many holy acts enjoined by the sacraments. Neither one way nor the other sufficed by itself; you traveled each in turn according to the need of the hour and, so proceeding, met your reward in heaven. Luther tried the traditional Catholic combination, or, according to his Catholic critics, committed the error of trying works too exclusively; in any case he felt crushed by an agony of doubt touching his future fate until the certainty came to him like an illumination from on high that God accepted all who surrendered their stubborn will into His hands. By faith and faith alone did sinful man win his way to peace and forgiveness. In this the humble friar originated nothing new and never claimed he did; in fact he owed his trust in the way of faith to his discovery of it first, in the writings of St. Augustine, the great Latin father, and later, in the epistles of the impetuous Apostle Paul, in whom Luther detected a remarkable spiritual kinsman. Faith had therefore high and highest authority behind it, as the Church itself in no way denied. Only faith as the *sole* pillar of the edifice of salvation — that was not a position which a good Catholic, heir of an unbroken and authoritative tradition, could accept.

We must, if we would understand all that followed, hold to the view that bitter and tormenting doubts wrung Luther's soul for many years. By the time he became professor at Wittenberg he had begun to see the light, but his full position was not formulated till some time afterwards, in fact not till he had engaged in battle with the Church. It is highly characteristic that Luther found himself and grew to his full stature in the heat of conflict. Moreover, that the battle occurred at all, taking on something of the inevitableness of a natural event, was the result of his fiery personality, aided and abetted by his having achieved a personal religion, bringing him into so direct a relationship to God that the whole elaborate mediatory apparatus of the Church became a mere embarrassment. Luther was slow to see this sweeping consequence of his position, but he suspected it sufficiently to show signs of a growing impatience at any interference with the free flow of his spirit. Unescapably the time came when the Church, scenting an enemy, defended its ground. Thereupon his doubts, receiving wings from his wrath, brushed the clergy aside, only to find that behind the clergy rose the holy sacraments, with the administration of which the clergy was entrusted. We now begin to have an inkling of what it meant that so whole-hearted and uncompromising a character as Luther followed an individual line of development. He had, in opposition to the custom of his day, achieved a purely personal religion conferring the confident assurance of salvation through faith and faith alone; and with nothing but this conviction as his weapon he was gradually led to attack the majestic and historic edifice of the Church based on faith indeed but also on the equally significant foundation of clergy, sacraments, and works.

Implications of Luther's doctrine: faith and faith alone

Luther was still far from seeing all the above implications of his position, he was still searching St. Augustine and St. Paul for their teaching about faith, when there occurred the event which flung him into the center of the world's interest and inaugurated the movement which Catholics call the Protestant revolt and Protestants the Reformation. In 1517 a Dominican friar, Tetzel by name, appeared on the confines of Saxony to sell indulgences and Luther came forward to protest against the abuses with which they had become tainted. He showed his still conservative viewpoint in that he raised no objection against the ecclesiastical doctrines on which indulgences were based.

Luther challenges a vendor of indulgences

We have seen that indulgences were letters of pardon issued by the pope, and that, rightly or wrongly, the Germans had come to suspect that they were a financial device to minister to the scandalous luxury of the Roman court. Apparently Luther's protest against the indulgence hawked by Tetzel was mainly inspired by the report that among other exaggerations the Dominican did not scruple to lure purchasers by telling them that it was not only the penalty which was remitted but the sin itself. His protest took the form of ninety-five points or theses, which, in the scholastic manner still fashionable, he proposed to argue in learned debate before a university audience.

The reverberation of the ninety-five theses

Composed, according to usage, in Latin, they were affixed by him to the door of the castle church of Wittenberg on October 31, 1517. They produced a tremendous reverberation, were translated into German, and in a few weeks known throughout the land. Since they were, in the main, abstrusely theological, their popularity can be accounted for solely on the ground that they sounded an anti-papal note and therefore appealed to that anti-papal sentiment which, as we have seen, had procured a general lodgment in Germany.

The critical period from 1517 to 1520

That Luther was surprised by the tumult he had raised is certain, for he was still at the time a good son of the Church and not consciously opposed to the pope. His thoughts, born of keen spiritual agony, had revolved solely about the question of salvation and had neither faced the many implications of his new convictions nor the purely historical issues involved in the evolution of the Church. But since the ninety-five theses loosed a torrent of discussion, he was swept off his feet, hurried into investigations he had hitherto neglected, and moved to broaden the basis of his criticism. The three years from 1517 to 1520 constitute an extraordinarily important interlude when there was still some hope that a compromise might be effected which would restrain the audacious friar from taking an irrevocable step. But Luther's fundamental impetuosity was as inimical to long drawn-out debate as to spineless formulas framed to skillfully evade the issue. Besides, the Catholics who broke into the discussion were as obstinate as he and, with flint striking flint, caused the sparks to fly in every direction. A debate, into which he was drawn at the university of Leipzig with a certain Dr. Eck (1519), proved particularly decisive for his revolutionary development, owing to the fact that during his preparations for the contest he arrived at the conclusion that the papacy was not evangelically instituted but the result of a gradual historic process. As for the pope, Leo X, his attitude toward the distant northern tempest was typical of the cultured Italian gentleman of the Renaissance: he mildly wondered why the faithful in Germany were showing such excitement over "a squabble of monks." Nevertheless, as head of the Church, he was sensitive to every attack upon its position and by characteristically cunning diplomacy tried to lure Luther to Rome, where he would have had him in his power. But the agents whom he dispatched to Germany were haughty and unskillful, and their attempts suffered shipwreck not only on Luther's unflinching stand but also on the resolution of his prince, the Elector Frederick of Saxony, to protect him to the utmost.

The issue is war!

When, amid all these agitations, three years had passed, Luther had succeeded in clarifying his views and in a number of ringing pamphlets [2] boldly attacked the pope, the clergy, and the sacraments themselves. The bold step meant war, war to the knife! Leo X did not misread the sign and, abandoning futile negotiations, issued a bull declaring Luther a heretic and threatening him with the usual consequences unless he recanted. The friar met the challenge with a dramatic counter-blast. Amid a concourse of applauding Wittenbergers he consigned the papal judgment to the flames and to leave no doubt as to the revolutionary meaning of his act he threw in the books of Canon Law which recorded all the immunities and privileges accumulated by the Church in the Middle Age. The breach was complete. It remained to be seen for which side the German people would declare.

The accession of Charles V

Germany had just passed through the throes of an imperial election. In January, 1519, the Emperor Maximilian had been gathered to his fathers, and after a particularly spirited contest, in which the kings of Spain, France, and England appeared as imperial candidates, the choice of the seven electors fell on the king of Spain, who assumed the crown under the name of Emperor Charles V. But let no one imagine that Charles owed his election to his occupancy of the Spanish throne. It was due exclusively to his being the head of the house of Hapsburg and the most powerful prince of Germany. In the year 1520 he left Spain for the Low Countries to travel thence to Aachen, where he was crowned with the usual elaborate ceremony. Then he called a diet at the city of Worms on the Rhine. Many matters demanded his attention but all were overshadowed by the conflict which raged around Luther. The Wittenberg professor had just been condemned by the pope. It was incumbent on emperor and diet to declare their stand with reference to the papal sentence.

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[2] These pamphlets, containing the gist of early Protestantism, are very important. They bore the titles: Address to the Christian Nobility of the German Nation; On the Babylonian Captivity of the Church; Concerning Christian Liberty. They have been made accessible in English by Wace and Buchheim under the title, Luther's Primary Works.

The sovereign who confronted his German subjects for the first time at Worms was a lad of but twenty-one years. He had passed his life in the Netherlands and in Spain, where he had been brought up as a good Catholic who might acknowledge the existence of abuses in the Church, but who, in the main, gave it an unhesitating allegiance. Therefore he, personally, was prepared to dispose of Luther without more ado. But there were certain considerations which could not be overlooked. So large a section of the German princes and people were secret or open supporters of Luther that to condemn him unheard might cause an armed insurrection. Accordingly, Charles agreed to have him summoned to Worms for a public hearing under a special pledge of safety. Luther's friends besought him not to walk into the lion's mouth, reminding him of the fate of Hus at Constance. "I would go even if there were as many devils there as tiles on the house-roofs," he answered. As the devil and his cohorts were to him not a figure of speech but a reality, it was a characteristically fearless reply. On April 17, 1521, he appeared before the diet.

Charles summons Luther to Worms

The scene is one of those historical spectacles which dramatize a world conflict. The friar, whose audacity had given voice to the latent opposition of a people, was confronted with his supreme civil judge, the emperor, who sat upon a throne encircled by a brilliant gathering of ambassadors, princes, and bishops. As he let his eye travel over the faces of the throng, he encountered all gradations of expression, ranging from deep devotion through indifference to fierce hatred. Would he recant the heresies he had uttered? Had he met this demand of the emperor, he might have won forgiveness and the fire he had lighted have been extinguished. But he insisted that he should be proved wrong by the words of Holy Writ. That was the crucial issue: for him the authority of the Bible had replaced the traditional authority of pope and Church. "Here I stand. I can not do otherwise. So help me God. Amen." If these were not his exact words, they concisely state that right of private judgment which he claimed and which was to become the common basis of every form of Protestantism. To cow this man was out of the question, especially as Worms was seething with his partisans. Permitted to depart in accordance with the imperial promise, he was seized on the highway by servants of his prince, the Elector Frederick, and carried secretly to the castle of Wartburg in the Thuringian forest. There let him lie concealed, was the thought

Luther before the diet

of his protector, until the crisis be over and he might once more show himself without danger.

Luther condemned by imperial edict

It did not take Charles long to come to a decision. He had nothing but abhorrence for a movement which threatened the spiritual authority of the Church and the unity of Christendom. Moreover, his attention at that moment was fixed not on Germany but on Italy, where the predominance won by his Spanish predecessors was again in question. In dealing with this sovereign we must never forget that he had interests in the most widely separated regions, in Spain, the Netherlands, Germany, Italy, and America. In Italy the king of France had recently renewed the Franco-Spanish struggle for ascendancy with the successful seizure of Milan (1515). From this vantage-point, from which he threatened the Spanish control of the peninsula, Charles was firmly resolved to oust him. Clearly in such an enterprise an alliance with the pope would prove helpful. But unless he gave support to the papal bull against Luther how could he hope for papal assistance against France? Accordingly, on May 26, 1521, Charles published the edict of Worms, which, not without a measure of deceit, he had wrung from the diet and which pronounced the ban of the empire against the heretic. In the hope that he had thus disposed of a dangerous religious crisis Charles turned his attention to other matters, more particularly to the French war and the reconquest of Milan.

The edict against Luther not executed

But the Reformation had already acquired too great a momentum to be stopped by an imperial gesture. If Charles could have remained in Germany to see personally to the execution of his decree against Luther, or if the civil power in Germany had not substantially lain with the princes, who, from the nature of the case, were divided in their sympathies, the history of the Reformation might have been different. As it happened, Charles remained away from Germany for the next decade, and the princes and imperial cities, left to themselves, found agreement impossible in the face of the strong national support behind Luther. For to most of his countrymen he was since Worms a hero sent from heaven. Consequently the hostile decree remained a dead letter and the party of reform, encouraged by the vacillation of the central government, grew so strong that, by the time Charles saw fit to return to Germany, it could defy him as well as the pope.

Religious changes effected by Lutheranism

It is important to understand what in the crucial decade of Charles's absence from Germany took place wherever the party of reform succeeded in gaining a foothold. To Lutheran enthusiasts it appeared imperative at a very early stage to proceed from opinion to action. The result was that some of the most familiar aspects of medieval Christianity began gradually to disappear. Monks and nuns renounced their vows, resumed their civil status, and in many cases married. Luther himself set an example by marrying (1525) Catherine von Bora, a former nun. Monastic and other ecclesiastical property was appropriated by the state and was devoted partly to the maintenance of the new religion, partly to the increase of the revenues of the prince. Further, the pope and hierarchy were set aside and their authority flouted, while in accordance with the evangelical tendency characteristic of the new doctrine many medieval practices such as indulgences, pilgrimages, worship of the Virgin and the saints were condemned as misleading works and abandoned. At the same time the religious service was materially altered. The impressive mass, conceived to be idolatrous, was more and more simplified until it had been stripped to the bare bones of a service composed of prayer, song, and sermon. Since the priesthood was no longer believed to be a privileged class, a necessary link between God and man, the communion in both bread and wine was conceded to the laity. Finally, Latin was driven from the service and replaced by German.

As the German kettle boils over Luther banks the fires

With an unparalleled ferment seizing on the whole country, visionaries and fanatics of every kind with a ready cure for the ailments of society rose to the surface and found willing converts. Not only religious panaceas but political and social as well were shouted from every pulpit and platform. Such sweeping radicalism has manifested itself in connection with every great upheaval in history and has regularly proved the greatest enemy of the cause of moderate reform. As the alarmed Luther, confronted with these aberrations, deeply knew, it was moderate reform that he wanted, moderate *religious* reform; not the least hankering manifested itself in his mind in favor of the indiscriminate overthrow of the whole vast body of tradition. As he interpreted the grave crisis, to strive for the millenium here and now was to abandon the practical program of Christian reorganization and to invite certain shipwreck. Let us therefore admit that it was but natural that he should presently have put on the brakes and done his best to defend himself against the imputation of being an anarchist by vigorously shaking off the extremists. In attempting to plumb his mind we should also remember that, overwhelmingly concerned with salvation, he refused to occupy himself for long with social and political problems and never acquired more than a meager understanding of them. His exclusively religious outlook made him desirous to carry through his movement by detaching it from every issue save his own and every leader save himself. It is possible that this sane if narrow decision saved the Reformation; but it is more than possible, it is highly probable, that Luther's extremely limited contacts with life helped sap the vigor of his movement by turning it too soon and too completely into the single channel of a reform of a moderate and exclusively religious character.

Luther drives the prophets from Wittenberg

The first place at which the seething German kettle overflowed was at Wittenberg itself. Within a few months of Luther's condemnation at Worms this hearth of the reform movement threatened to pass over into the radical camp. Fanatics, calling themselves prophets, appeared in the town, inviting the people to rise in their might and break and burn the Catholic images and altars. Men of standing, including Carlstadt, one of Luther's colleagues on the Wittenberg faculty, did not scruple to join the disturbers. Luther lay concealed in the Wartburg, where he was turning his enforced leisure to account by the memorable task of translating the Bible into German; but the Wittenberg situation looked so serious that with his usual promptness he rushed into the arena and successfully rallied the people to his banner. The prophets fled, and though they continued their iconoclastic preachments elsewhere, Wittenberg, saved, became the citadel of the true, the moderate Lutheranism (1522).

Uprising of the Rhenish knights

Simultaneously another revolution, involving a purely political and economic program, broke out among the petty knights of the Rhine region. This order of small landlords, theoretically directly under the emperor, had been ruined by the capitalistic development of the rising towns and was in consequence threatened with absorption by the more powerful princes. Resolved to utilize the general ferment to improve their status, they found an energetic leader in Franz von Sickingen and a literary champion with a really national outlook in Ulrich von Hutten. But, wretched medieval survivals with no footing in the modern world, the knights were, in spite of Hutten's enthusiasm, incapable of conceiving a program of national scope and fought only for their selfish ends. In a short war (1522–1523) they were crushed, not by the emperor but by the Rhenish princes, lay and ecclesiastical — an interesting and decisive indication of whither the German constitutional movement was tending.

The rebellion of the peasants

Shortly after, a far greater disturbance than that of the knights shook the very foundations of society. Since the Lutheran ferment spread to every class it was clear that the humble tillers of the soil would not be immune. Serfs, attached to the manors of the nobility and the Church, they had in recent decades frequently registered a protest against their hard lot by rising in insurrection. Not only had all their rebellions been cruelly suppressed, but their burdens had been multiplied by increased rents and services as well as through the seizure by the lords of the woods and pastures once owned by the villagers in common. With the expansion of trade characteristic of the Renaissance the old medieval simplicity was passing, and we need not think of the lords as necessarily harder of heart than their forebears if they tried to meet the higher cost of living by squeezing a larger return from their peasants. An economic adjustment attends every period of change, bringing an unusual pressure to bear on all classes alike. Such considerations do not alter the fact that the peasants dwelt in a deepening gloom, into which the wild hopes universally aroused by the Reformation fell like a ray of light. Not that the abused husbandmen responded particularly to the religious message of Luther, although it doubtlessly reached the hearts of many. Preëminently they were agitated by the conviction spread by innumerable visionaries of an era of social justice looming just beyond the horizon. In this mistaken hope they rose and armed themselves as best they could, first (1524) in the extreme south on the borders of Switzerland. Thence with surprising swiftness the revolt spread northward till all Germany between the lake of Constance and Thuringia was aflame. By the spring of 1525 armed hordes of peasants wandered over the land, killing the lords who ventured to resist them, burning castles and monasteries, and joyfully expecting the new age which was to rise phoenix-like from the ruins they had wrought.

Coolly considered, the great peasant insurrection was a midsummer madness and never had a chance of achieving success. The numerous bands of marauding rebels were uncoördinated; they were poorly armed; their leaders were insignificant men, all of them ignorant and deluded, some few vile and ready to betray the cause. They put forth several programs, some of which, like the famous Twelve Articles, demanded the restitution of the appropriated common lands, the abolition of excessive rents and services, and other perfectly reasonable items, while even the most extravagant were extravagant only for the sixteenth century and would sound like commonplaces on the lips of a present-day socialist. Having taken the road of force, the peasants were obliged to defeat the country's constituted authorities and at the same time persuade the alarmed urban classes that they possessed the constructive talent necessary to give the country a better organization. The test came when the outraged princes brought their forces into the field. The showing of the peasants was lamentable: unable to face the shock of arms, their phalanxes dissolved in a wild scramble for safety leaving the individuals to be butchered by the thousands by the ruthless conquerors. It has often been observed that no conflict unchains the beast in man more swiftly than the war of social classes. The hideous peasant war of 1525 is a case in point.

Ferocious suppression of the peasant revolt

Luther's attitude toward this great upheaval is illustrative of his determination to keep clear of extremes. While the peasant movement was still no more than the rumbling of a distant drum and before the era of violence had set in, he issued a pamphlet which was, in the main, a call to the lords to do justice to their offended serfs. But the battle once joined, a battle in which the peasants threatened the whole existing order of society, he sided with the princes without hesitation. If, in the light of his set purpose, such a decision was entirely comprehensible, it was unpardonable that in a second pamphlet on the peasant movement he should have given free rein to his hot temper and in language of unsurpassed coarseness have spurred on the princes, who certainly needed no spurring, to trample their adversaries in the dust. The tragic end of the peasant uprising stifled most of the visionary hopes entertained in connection with the Reformation. That in itself was perhaps no loss; but it was an irreparable injury to the general development of Germany that Luther, by tying his movement to the victorious chariot of the princes, broke with those popular forces which alone would have been able not only to renew Germany politically but also to assure the periodic freshening of the Reformation stream.

Luther against the peasants

While Germany was seething with these troubles, its absentee ruler, Charles V, was occupied with his many other interests and chiefly with the war with France. In fact, war with France was a leading feature of his reign and long prevented him from giving more than casual attention to the German problem. There were in Charles's time four wars between France and Spain, all concerned with the control of Italy. These wars occurred as follows: first war, 1521–1526; second war, 1526–1529; third war, 1536–1538; fourth war, 1542–1544. Toward the end of his life Charles conducted a fifth war against France which will be treated in due time and which differs from the others inasmuch as it was precipitated more particularly by the German situation.

The four wars of Charles V with Francis I

The first two wars were really a single war of almost a decade since they were broken by only a short and insincere peace. The military developments need not detain us. Suffice it that, in spite of all that King Francis I could do, the struggle went steadily in Charles's favor. In 1525, at Pavia, in northern Italy, a great battle was fought which proved a French disaster and led to the capture of the king. He was carried a prisoner to Madrid and there signed a peace (1526), by which he surrendered all his pretentions to Italy and, in addition, ceded the duchy of Burgundy, once held by Charles's Burgundian ancestors, to his Spanish rival. Released on the strength of a solemn oath that he would execute the peace, Francis none the less renewed the struggle as soon as he had crossed the Pyrenees and again touched the soil of France.

Defeat and capture of the French king at Pavia

The French king was encouraged to take this stand by the sudden friendliness of Pope Clement VII, Henry VIII of England, and other lesser potentates, chiefly of Italy. These rulers, alarmed by the completeness of Charles's victory, feared his universal ascendancy and swung instinctively to the weaker side to redress the balance. But the allies were neither energetic nor harmonious and failed to disturb Charles's grip upon the situation. Therefore the emperor was free to single out the vacillating pope for vengeance. In the spring of 1527 a combined army of Spaniards and Germans descended upon the Eternal City and took it by assault. The Spaniards were mercenaries, the Germans Lutherans, and between them the famished hordes, breaking all bonds of discipline, put the ancient

The pope turns against Charles and is punished with the sack of Rome

capital of Christendom to such a sack as no words can adequately describe. To superstitious Protestants the catastrophe took on the character of a divine punishment visited on the papacy for a long succession of misdeeds, while even faithful Catholics were inclined to regard the cruel pillage as a not unfitting conclusion to the selfish political game so passionately pursued by the whole group of Renaissance popes.

The peace of Cambray, 1529

As for Clement VII, one of the least worthy sons of the Florentine house of Medici and as unspiritual a man as ever wore the triple crown of St. Peter, the chief thought that came to him as, from the castle of St. Angelo, he stared at the ruins wrought by his policy, was that he was defeated and must come to terms with the all-powerful Charles. He opened negotiations, and although his allies continued the conflict yet a while, a general peace was at length arranged by the treaty of Cambray (1529). In return for a reconfirmation of the French retirement from Italy coupled with the payment of a money indemnity, Charles agreed to give up his claim to the duchy of Burgundy. Italy was his: that was the upshot of the ten years' struggle.

Charles, master of Italy, is crowned emperor at Bologna

In the very year of the peace Charles visited the peninsula in order to set the Italian house in order and had the satisfaction of being fawned upon by the pope together with all the company of the petty princes as master of the land. With Naples and Milan definitely Spanish and secured by Spanish garrisons, he straddled the peninsula like a colossus and overawed the pigmy powers at his feet. True, whenever France renewed the ambition which first drew her to Italy, the pope and his Italian compeers did not fail to rattle their chains in sign of mute sympathy, but it is clear that by 1529 fate had conclusively pronounced in favor of Spain. To put the final touch upon his victory, Charles, yielding to medieval precedent, had himself crowned emperor by the pope. The great pomp occurred at Bologna, in the month of February, 1530.

The affairs of Germany 1521–1530

Encouraged by an unequaled triumph, Charles, after an absence of nine years, resolved once more to look into the affairs of Germany. For almost a decade the policy formulated by the condemnation of Luther at Worms had remained unfulfilled. In the emperor's absence the power in Germany indubitably rested with the princes, and if they chose to connive at ecclesiastical changes there was no one to say them nay. In a diet held at Speier, in 1526, the paralysis of the central authority regarding religion was correctly expressed in a decree which permitted the estates to act in matters of faith as each could answer to God and to the emperor. It was a qualified recognition of the new Lutheran church. Three years later (1529) Charles had become reconciled with the pope, and with his fortunes mounting to the zenith, sent a peremptory command to a new diet, again convened at Speier, to revoke the concession of 1526. As the Catholic princes still commanded an overwhelming majority, the behest was complied with and Lutheranism outlawed. But the adherents of the new faith were no longer minded to yield, even at the risk of the emperor's displeasure. They drew up a document which declared with unusual fervor that their duty to God and conscience took precedence over their duty to their sovereign. On the strength of this ringing protest the reformers were for the first time welded into a party under the name, destined loosely to embrace all groups which successively fell away from the papacy, of Protestants.

Renewed condemnation of Lutheranism at the diet of Augsburg, 1530

Such was the decidedly taut situation which Charles confronted at a diet, called to meet him at the city of Augsburg (1530). Though his mind was even more completely made up than at Worms, he was, as then, persuaded that he would have to grant to the opposition the courtesy of a hearing. Asked to put their position in writing, the Protestants commissioned Melanchthon, a friend and fellow-worker of Luther's but a man of a more gentle and conciliatory disposition, to formulate the beliefs which represented the crystallization of opinion thus far attained by the secession from the Catholic Church. In a document which received the name of the Confession of Augsburg Melanchthon made a moderate and even conservative statement of the new tenets. So greatly did it appeal to his brothers in the faith that it became and has remained to this day the fundamental creed of the Lutheran church. True to his assumed role of judge, Charles listened to the Protestant defense and then, supported by the Catholic majority, firmly announced his decision. The innovators were given a respite of six months before action would be taken to bring them back by force into the Catholic fold. Would the movement collapse in the face of this threat? Thoroughly aroused, leading delegates of the Protestant estates called a meeting at the little town of Schmalkalden in Thuringia and organized a league for mutual protection (1531). It meant the resolution to stand by the Protestant cause, if necessary by meeting force with force.

Civil war adjourned

But just as a religious war seemed unavoidable, an event happened which adjourned it. In 1529 the Turks, who had established a vast Mohammedan power in the Near East on the ruins of the Byzantine Empire and other Christian states, had, in pushing westward up the Danube, reached the city of Vienna. Only the heroic defense made by the citizens themselves had saved the capital of Austria and eastern gate of Germany from capture. But, nothing daunted, Sultan Solyman resolved to renew the attack, and the rumor of a new and vaster Turkish expedition turned the concordant thoughts of emperor, princes, and people to the basin of the Danube. In need of Protestant support, Charles decided to adjourn action against the heretics and in a truce signed at Nürnberg (1532) agreed to refer the religious differences to a General Council of the Church. Such a Council had long appeared to him as the likeliest means of restoring the unity of Christendom, especially as the Protestants had frequently declared and now repeated that they were prepared to submit their case to this ultimate court of appeal.

Charles's many political difficulties keep him from crushing Lutheranism

Marching against the Turks with the forces of a united Germany behind him, Charles was enabled to make a display of power before which the Turks fell back without venturing a battle. On his return he found other interests of his wide dominions demanding his attention. Spain and his Italian provinces had long suffered from the depredations of the Mohammedan pirates established along the Barbary coast of Africa and encouraged by their powerful co-religionists at the other end of the Mediterranean, the Turks. It was indispensable to take up the problem of their punishment if Charles wished to keep the southern waterways open to Christian commerce. But once committed to an attack on the pestiferous corsairs of Tunis and Algiers, he was involved in enterprises requiring many years of labor and engulfing untold quantities of ships, men, and money. Besides, the slightest African mishap was sure to be taken advantage of by his enemies, Francis I and Sultan Solyman, either singly or in conjunction. To an occasional association, nay, even to a firm and lasting alliance with the infidel Turks, the French king had not the slightest objection, provided it would put a quietus on his hated rival of Spain. Thus, to the scandal of old-fashioned Christians a Franco-Turkish alliance, aimed at the emperor, was concluded and became operative in 1535. When in this year Charles returned from Tunis, where he had scored a great but temporary triumph over the confederated pirates, he encountered a diplomatic situation which developed into another French war (1536–38). No sooner had this been settled than he was obliged to launch another naval expedition against the Algerine corsairs, who, as usual, were strengthened by aid from Sultan Solyman. And, finally, from 1542 to 1544 he was obliged to fight a fourth war with Francis I. This war, concluded by the treaty of Crespy, served but to confirm that Spanish hold on Italy which a lifetime of effort on the part of Francis I had not succeeded in shaking.

Charles again faces the Lutheran issue

This rapid summary of wars which shook the whole structure of Europe will once more make clear that Charles, owing to the vast extent of his dominions, had too many irons in the fire. He was an intelligent and conscientious ruler, rarely restrained for so powerful a man. But though he had a temperamental preference for adjourning an important decision, to a program once adopted he held fast with the silent stubbornness of a tenacious nature. This trait will explain why, on his return to Germany in 1544, when, much as in 1530, he was for the moment disembarrassed of all his other difficulties, he took up the Lutheran schism, resolved by hook or by crook to put it at last out of the world. By the agreement of 1532 the threatening religious war had been avoided by referring the contentious issues to a General Council of the Church, still considered, as throughout the Middle Age, to be the highest ecclesiastical tribunal. Since 1532 Charles had been tireless in his effort to persuade the pope to convene such an assembly. The Holy Father, firmly opposed to a parliament only too likely to encroach on his prerogative, had employed every diplomatic device at his disposal to block the imperial request. The African campaigns, the French wars, even the Schmalkadic League were welcomed by the pope as checks on the too universal power of the emperor, but by 1545 Charles had triumphed over all obstacles and Pope Paul III, bowing his head, summoned a Council to meet in the Alpine city of Trent. It was too late. By 1545 the Protestants had passed beyond the stage of experimentation and were no longer willing to find their way back to mother Church on any terms. In the face of their refusal to recognize the Council, Charles, who had really never expected any other result, resolved to settle the issue on the battlefield.

Final estimate of Luther

Just before the outbreak of hostilities Luther died (February, 1546). Believing that God in His wisdom ordered the affairs of men and yet denying that He ordered them through the mediation of the pope, Luther had been brought to the belief that the Lord's highest earthly representatives were the various civil monarchs and that obedience to the particular ruler God had given him was every Christian's plain and undebatable duty. This doctrine of civil submission, as it has been called, made Luther a very uncertain supporter of the Schmalkaldic League formed to protect the new faith, if necessary by force of arms. However, with the aid of a little casuistry, his favorite political doctrine could be given an anti-imperial turn. By representing the true civil government in Germany to be vested not in the emperor but in the princes, it was possible for Luther to arrive at the position that under certain circumstances war against the emperor was justified. Inclined to quibble where the party interest was concerned, without a trace of talent for politics, and subordinating all life to the concepts of theology, the Wittenberg reformer has in these untheological times lost something of the glamour which he possessed for the earlier generations of Protestants. Nevertheless his simplicity and rude, vibrant sincerity still set him apart among the born leaders of men, lending him an authority which is heightened by his native gift for music and poetry. He was no mean performer on the lute, while the hymns which he contributed to the new church have a solemnity and strength unsurpassed among Protestant productions. We can now see that much about Luther was distinctly medieval, but, even so, his contribution to modern mentality is undeniable, for the appeal from pope and Church to the higher authority of the Bible was tantamount to the assertion, in matters of faith and conduct, of the right of private judgment. True, this right was not consistently asserted, but, once given to the winds, it could not again be recalled. Slowly gaining supporters, it served to fortify that individualism which was born in the Renaissance and which in the course of time led to the challenge not only of the universal Church but of every kind of traditional authority.

The first war of religion in Germany, usually called the Schmalkaldic war, broke out in the year of Luther's death (1546). The Protestant forces, commanded by the leading evangelical princes, John Frederick of Saxony and Philip of Hesse, acted without plan or energy. An additional difficulty resulted from an internal Protestant division. While some princes weakly remained neutral, Maurice of Saxony, a cousin of the Elector John Frederick, actually turned traitor and, for the price of his relative's electorate, gave military help to Charles. In consequence Charles was able to outmanoeuver his opponents and to end the war with one stroke at the battle of Mühlberg (April, 1547), in which he crushed the Saxon army and took the elector himself prisoner. At once all resistance broke down, leaving the emperor master of the situation.

The Schmalkaldic war, 1546–47

What now? Charles's plan was to reëstablish the unity of the Church, but, though victorious, he was wise enough to see that he would have to proceed with a certain moderation. He therefore had passed by the diet an ecclesiastical document, called the *Interim*, which, while asserting every essential Catholic position, contained a few concessions to the Protestant viewpoint. This he imposed as law on all the Protestant estates of Germany until the Council of Trent, which, under orders from the pope, had adjourned its sessions, should reconvene and render final, authoritative sentence. Imposed by force, the Interim gave the false impression of an achieved reconciliation. Under the surface, however, a sense of wrong filled the Lutherans and, slowly mounting, became an irresistible force. Maurice of Saxony, made elector in place of his deposed cousin, was as unscrupulously eager to keep his booty as he had been to acquire it. A deft intriguer, he secretly united the disgruntled Protestants around his person and did not hesitate to spin his web as far as the court of France, where Henry II now held sway. It redounded to the advantage of the able plotter that Charles in the course of his reign had identified himself more and more with his kingdom of Spain, becoming in essence a Spanish national sovereign. While this made it impossible for him to project himself sympathetically into the German situation, it had the further drawback of alienating his German subjects and inclining them more and more to look upon him as a foreign interloper. Blinded by his Spanish outlook to the vigor of the national resistance, he pursued a policy calculated to exalt his prerogative at the expense of the estates and bound, in consequence, to arouse the hostility of the Catholic as well as of the Lutheran princes. By the year 1552 he stood practically alone in Germany with the princes solidly arrayed against him. Taking the lead among them, the wily Maurice delayed to drop the mask until he had received the full

German rising and defeat of Charles

assurance of French support. Then he pounced suddenly on Charles, obliging him to flee for his life southward over the Alps. Almost over night and without a battle the sweeping victory of 1547 had been turned into an equally sweeping defeat.

The Peace of Passau and the attempt to retake Metz

Reluctantly admitting his discomfiture, Charles empowered his brother Ferdinand to sign the preliminary Peace of Passau (1552), which permitted the reëstablishment of Protestantism on the pre-war basis. Then, with the German civil war composed, he turned with all his strength on France. Henry II, coöperating with the Protestant leaders, had invaded Germany from the west and seized the three bishoprics of Metz, Toul, and Verdun. Metz was a fortress on the Moselle and the key to western Germany. As, in Charles's view, this could never be left in French hands, he organized an expedition which tried to retake Metz but failed (January, 1553). France was not to be dislodged from the new vantage ground. The conquest affected in 1552 marks the beginning of an era of French encroachments on German territory destined to continue uninterruptedly for several centuries.

Charles abandons the conduct of German affairs

His failure at Metz, taken in connection with the collapse of his German program, broke Charles's spirit. He retired from Germany, first to the Netherlands and thence to Spain, with the fixed, pessimistic resolve to throw off the burdens of office. Not till 1556 did he fully carry out his purpose; but from the time of his departure from Germany he left the conduct of German affairs entirely in the hands of his younger brother Ferdinand, who, more than two decades before, had been designated by the electors as his successor in the imperial office. The first task confronting Ferdinand was to convert the preliminary arrangements of Passau into a definitive religious peace. At a diet held at Augsburg in 1555 this was accomplished in the famous document known as the Peace of Augsburg.

The Peace of Augsburg, 1555

To the philosophically minded student perhaps the most memorable feature of the Peace of Augsburg is that it marks the abandonment of the unity of the Church, the central concept of medieval Christianity. By the side of the old Church the law henceforth recognized a heretical departure from Catholicism called Lutheranism and theologically defined by the Confession of Augsburg of 1530. To the student of German politics it may seem equally important that the legalization of the new faith signified a fresh victory of the territorial principle over the central power. It will be recalled that when Lutheranism first arose there was no question but that it belonged to the province of Charles to deal with it, in coöperation of course with the diet. But the princes had shielded the movement, and when Charles failed in his effort to suppress it, he thereby disastrously lowered the imperial prestige. The proof is furnished by the fact that the Peace of Augsburg declared that religion was primarily a territorial and not a national matter; and it confirmed this principle by giving to every estate the right to choose between the two legal religions and to impose its choice upon its subjects.

No toleration in the modern sense

Clothed in the Latin formula, *cujus regio ejus religio* (religion pertains to the territorial government), this privilege of choice between two legal religions must not be confused with modern individual toleration with which it has nothing to do. The conceded choice, narrow to begin with, pertained only to rulers and not to their subjects, who, if they were Catholics, might be evicted from Protestant regions and vice versa. Indeed a fresh wave of intolerance may be said to have inundated Europe with the coming of the Reformation, since the theological fury of the Lutherans reacted on the Catholics and made them more rigidly doctrinal than they had been in the immediately preceding centuries. It would be difficult to prove that Lutheranism or any other form of Protestantism directly and intentionally promoted toleration in the modern sense; and yet it is clear that indirectly Protestantism helped considerably to bring about the triumph of this precious principle, since by emphasizing the right of private judgment it tended so greatly to multiply dissident faiths that in the end the idea of a uniformity enforced by penalties had to be given up as unrealizable. In 1555 individual toleration was still so far from the comprehension of men that not a voice was raised in its behalf.

Ambiguities of the peace of 1555

With Lutheranism legalized it was easy to settle the question of former ecclesiastical property within the Lutheran territories. To all such property appropriated at the date of the treaty of Passau (1552) the Church was obliged to surrender title. But as nothing was said concerning property in Lutheran states which might be seized after 1552, there was the prospect of renewed wrangling wherever the Lutherans took over Catholic lands which for one reason or another had thus far been spared. A much more serious ambiguity marked the settlement of the issue of the prince-bishops. A prince-bishop was a bishop who was also a temporal ruler, and backward Germany was burdened with a goodly number of these feudal survivals. With regard to them the Lutherans contended that they were to have the usual right of choice between Catholicism and Lutheranism, while the most the Catholics would concede was the right of choice for their own persons. As, in the Catholic view, the bishoprics themselves were inalienably Catholic, the bishop who turned Protestant was at once to resign in order to permit a Catholic successor to be appointed in his place. This view was laid down in an article of the peace called the Ecclesiastical Reservation; and although the Protestants clamorously voiced their objection, it ended by being incorporated in the treaty. Since within a few years after the Peace of Augsburg had been signed a number of bishoprics, in spite of the Ecclesiastical Reservation, passed into Protestant hands, the Catholics nursed a serious and fairly justified grievance against their rivals. This and other difficulties finally led to the renewal of the religious struggle. Instead of being a peace, as it claimed to be, the Augsburg agreement settled nothing satisfactorily and was at best a truce.

Division of Charles's heritage

Charles V saved himself the humiliation of putting his signature to the Peace of Augsburg by abdicating the crown, a step which, long meditated, he finally took in 1556. Two years later the man who had overshadowed Europe died, a modest recluse, in the cell of a Spanish monastery. *Sic transit gloria mundi.* Ever since Charles's accession to the empire his brother Ferdinand had exercised rule in the strictly Austrian lands; and as early as 1530 he had been named as Charles's successor to the empire. Thus Ferdinand became the founder of a second, a younger Hapsburg line, established in the German provinces of the house. The older line was continued by Charles's son, Philip, who was endowed with Spain (and her colonies), the Netherlands, and the Italian possessions. Henceforth until the extinction (1700) of Philip's progeny, we have to reckon with a Spanish and an Austrian branch of the house of Hapsburg.

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CHAPTER VI

THE SPREAD OF THE REFORMATION AND THE COUNTER-REFORMATION OF THE CATHOLIC CHURCH

The Reformation invades western Europe

The movement of protest and revolt inaugurated by Luther spread rapidly through the northern, the Teutonic, area of Europe and even made threatening inroads on the Latin countries, Spain, Italy, and more particularly, France. This startling phenomenon may be accepted as proof that the cry for reform of the Church was more or less universal. However, no matter where the Protestant movement made its appearance, it regularly met with resistance, though of a varying intensity. In some countries, such as Italy and Spain, it was promptly and utterly suppressed. In others, such as France, it waxed strong enough to oblige the monarch to come to terms with it, while in still others it won the civil government to its side and completely replaced the old faith. We shall now follow the movement of reform on its journey through western Europe, prepared to take particular note of the new aspects it assumed due either to local conditions or to the influence of a strong personality, and ending our survey with a scrutiny of the effect on the Roman Church of the successful attack on its universal dominion.

Sweden breaks away from the Scandinavian union

Nowhere was the success of the Reformation more sweeping than in the Scandinavian north. Toward the end of the Middle Age the three Scandinavian powers, Denmark, Norway, and Sweden had become united under one king by virtue of the celebrated Union of Kalmar (1397). The concentration was more effective in name than in fact, since the king's residence in Copenhagen gave the government a Danish slant which aroused a frequent resistance in Norway and an almost uninterrupted opposition in Sweden. When, in the sixteenth century, King Christian II tried to reduce the recalcitrant Swedes by force of arms, he excited a revolution (1521) which, under the capable guidance of a Swedish nobleman known to fame as Gustavus Vasa, was crowned with complete success. In 1523 Gustavus Vasa was invited by a meeting of the Swedish estates to assume the kingship in place of the deposed Christian II. He thus founded, together with the independence of his country, a royal house, the house of Vasa, destined to be identified with some of the most brilliant pages of Swedish history. Norway made no serious effort to follow the example set by its eastern neighbor. In fact, it fell even more completely than before under Danish rule, continuing in this state of subjection until the beginning of the nineteenth century.

The Scandinavian social-political situation favors Protestantism

Although the Swedish war for independence had nothing whatever to do with the Reformation, the disturbance which it caused throughout the Baltic area greatly favored the spread of Protestant opinions. Swedish and Danish students, returning from Wittenberg, preached the Lutheran innovations to the citizens of the larger towns and before long members of the two reigning houses and many leaders of the nobility as well fell under the influence of the new teachings. While it would be invidious to deny that conviction played a considerable part in these conversions, indubitably greed and ambition were by no means negligible factors. As in Germany, the sovereign who adopted Lutheranism stood to gain the immense Catholic properties, to which he would automatically fall heir in case Catholicism was proscribed. Since neither the newly fledged king of Sweden nor his Danish contemporary boasted other than meager and uncertain revenues, the temptation of each was necessarily great to strengthen his position by absorption of the landed wealth of the clergy. An element not to be overlooked was the envy and even hatred which the Church had excited throughout the impoverished north on the score of an excessive opulence and display. Consequently a policy of clerical spoliation was likely to meet with considerable popular approval, especially if the powerful nobility were won for the project by the shrewd proffer of a share in the booty.

The Scandinavian countries join the Lutheran camp

These statements present no more than a very generalized picture of the politico-religious agitation astir in Scandinavia in the crucial decades during which Lutheranism gained an ineradicable foothold in Germany. It would hardly seem to have been so much a question in the Scandinavian countries of an irresistible popular movement as of revolutionary measures enthusiastically championed by a group of genuine religious converts and resolutely carried through by an interested ruling class. Admittedly the awakening national sentiment contributed to the relatively easy success of Protestantism, for, here as elsewhere, a native church divested of foreign influences made a mighty appeal to emotions deep-seated in every human breast. In sum, as early as 1527 Lutheranism had become effectively established as the state church of Sweden; and in the course of the succeeding decade Denmark with dependent Norway definitely broke with Rome by bringing its religious life into conformity with the Confession of Augsburg. Scandinavia — Sweden, Denmark, Norway — represents the one considerable conquest made by Lutheranism outside of Germany.

Origin of Swiss independence

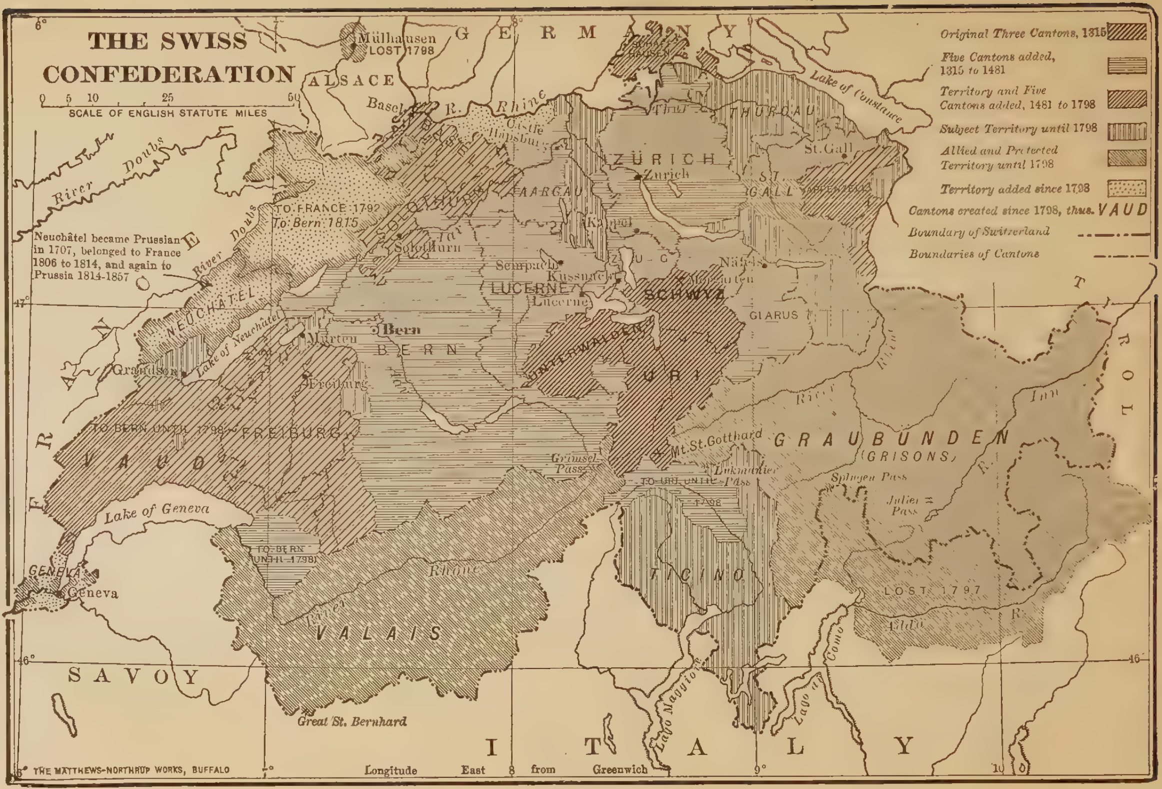
Turning next to Switzerland, we must, in order to grasp the crisis created by the Reformation, have at least a general knowledge of the political situation. The Alpine region familiar to us as Switzerland was in the Middle Age an integral part of Germany (the Holy Roman Empire). The sturdy peasants and herdsmen of the almost inaccessible inner valleys had always maintained a considerable measure of Germanic independence and naturally offered resistance when, in the course of the thirteenth century, the neighboring count of Hapsburg attempted to oppress them with dues and subject them to a typical feudal rule. In 1291 the men of the three cantons, Schwyz, Uri, and Unterwalden, surrounding the picturesque lake of Lucerne, formed a defensive alliance and with their solid peasant masses heroically and repeatedly beat off the onslaughts of the feudal hosts led against them by their enemy, the count of Hapsburg. In later generations their surprising victories crystallized in stirring legends, which, connected with such leaders as William Tell and Arnold Winkelried, still have the power to move the human heart. Victories and legends alike have served as a nursery of that liberty with which the fascinating story of Swiss independence begins and around which all its succeeding chapters are woven. For over two hundred years the house of Hapsburg clung to its dream of conquest, only to have it shattered on something stronger than dream, on the resolute will of the men of the mountains to be free. As late as the last decade of the fifteenth century Emperor Maximilian mobilized the whole imperial power in order to enforce the claim inherited by him in his capacity of count of Hapsburg; but this final effort too proved vain and in a new treaty signed at Basel in 1499, he was forced to acknowledge the freedom of the Swiss not only from the house of Hapsburg but to all intents also from the Holy Roman Empire.

The success of the three original cantons fired the enthusiasm of their neighbors and presently prompted the adjoining communities of peasants, as well as the two large towns of Zurich and Bern with their dependent villages, to apply for admission to the league. There thus arose the Swiss Confederation, including before the last struggle with Emperor Maximilian as many as ten cantons and mounting to thirteen on the eve of the Reformation. However, the new and growing state never got beyond the phase of a loose association chiefly for defense against present and prospective enemies. The central agency of the Confederation was a diet composed of representatives from the thirteen cantons and strictly limited to the right of discussing peace and war owing to the fact that the strong passion of the local governments for independence would not permit them to divest themselves of their traditional powers. On this feeble framework the very successes of the Confederation put an almost impossible burden. In the course of their many victories the Swiss had conquered from the Hapsburgs and other feudal lords considerable territories, called common bailiwicks, which it fell to the lot of the Confederation to administer. But how could so weak a government maintain its rule in the common bailiwicks if ever there arose even a slight difference of opinion; and how could it possibly survive the buffeting of a fierce religious storm?

The Swiss form a loose federation

The test of the Swiss union came with the Reformation, first championed in Switzerland by a native son, Ulrich Zwingli by name, who always maintained that he had arrived at his religious opinions independently of Luther. Zwingli was born on January 1, 1484, in a village not far from the lake of Constance, and was therefore only a few weeks younger than the stormy petrel of Wittenberg. He came of an influential burgher family and received an excellent schooling which he crowned by attending the universities of Vienna and Basel. In both of these institutions humanism had come to the fore and Zwingli gave himself not only to the study of the classics but quite as enthusiastically, in accordance with good Erasmian precedent, to the mastery of the sources of the Christian faith. Ordained a priest in 1506, he was launched on his career by having the small parish of Glarus committed to his care. An even, balanced temper saved him from the religious crisis that troubled the youth of Luther and gave him a joyous confidence in the intellectual promises of humanism. At the same time, in his capacity

Ulrich Zwingli



THE SWISS CONFEDERATION

Neuchâtel became Prussian in 1707, belonged to France 1806 to 1814, and again to Prussia 1814-1857

0 5 10 25 50
SCALE OF ENGLISH STATUTE MILES
Original Three Cantons, 1315
Five Cantons added, 1315 to 1481
Territory and Five Cantons added, 1481 to 1798
Subject Territory until 1798
Allied and Protected Territory until 1798
Territory added since 1798
Cantons created since 1798, thus. VAUD
Boundary of Switzerland
Boundaries of Cantons
GERMANY
ALSACE
Mülhausen LOST 1798
Basel
R. Rhine
Castle Hapsburg
SCHAFFHAUSEN
THURGAU
Thur
Lake of Constance
St. Gall
ST. GALL
APPENZELL
ZÜRICH
Zurich
AARGAU
Kappel
BASEL
SOLOTHURN
Solothurn
TO FRANCE 1792
To Bern 1815
River Doubs
Doubs
FRANCE
NEUCHÂTEL
Lake of Neuchâtel
Grandson
Murten
Bern
BERN
Freiburg
FREIBURG
TO BERN UNTIL 1798
VAUD
Lake of Geneva
GENEVA
Geneva
TO BERN UNTIL 1798
Rhone
VALAIS
Great St. Bernhard
SAVOY
Sempach
Kussnacht
LUCERNE
Lucerne
ZUG
SCHWYZ
Morgarten
Näfels
GLARUS
UNTERWALDEN
URI
Grimsel Pass
Mt. St. Gotthard
Lukmanier Pass
TO URI UNTIL 1798
TICINO
Rhine
GRAUBÜNDEN (GRISONS)
Splugen Pass
Julier Pass
Inn
R.
TIROL
LOST 1797
Adda
Como
Lago di Como
Lago Maggiore
ITALY
6° 7° 8° 9° 10°
47° 46°
Longitude East from Greenwich
THE MATTHEWS-NORTHRUP WORKS, BUFFALO

of free-born Swiss, he made acquaintance with the democratic system of government, becoming imbued with that virile patriotism which is the product of political responsibility.

Zwingli, humanist and democrat, adopts religious reform

Humanism and democracy, conceived as twin lode-stars, shaped Zwingli's labors and determined his fate. They explain why he began his public career not as a religious but as a social reformer intent on persuading his countrymen to break with that mercenary system of warfare by virtue of which they sold their bodies to the highest European bidder. He wanted his people to be too proud to fight for any but a national cause. So far as ecclesiastical abuses were concerned, he was, like Erasmus, content to drive them from the world by ridicule. Suddenly, around 1519, he swung his concentrated attention to religious reform, moved more perhaps than he could ever be brought to admit by the example of Luther. Once embarked on his new course, he took over practically all the doctrinal positions of his Saxon contemporary. However, when it came to the problem of ecclesiastical organization he followed a wholly independent line. We have seen that when in Germany the rule of the Church by pope and clergy was rejected, the control of the new, the Lutheran church was vested in the princes for the simple reason that they represented the existing civil power. As a result the Lutheran church became identified with and subservient to the secular lords, the princes. In Switzerland, where the civil power was exercised by magistrates elected by the people, a new and Reformed church would have to operate under the established authorities subject to the provision of as broad a measure of self-government for the individual religious communities as might prove workable. To this system Zwingli, the born republican, subscribed enthusiastically, thus favoring a form of church government much more responsive to popular currents than that of Germany. From his general position it also followed that Zwingli, far from feeling any aversion for politics as Luther did, regarded their practice not only as the plain duty of the citizen but as the necessary condition of a healthy and successful religious transformation.

Zwingli brings the Reformation to Zurich

As already said, Zwingli did not actively take up religious reform till 1519, in which year he was called to the city of Zurich, the most vigorous and thriving community of the whole Confederation, to take pastoral charge of the central church, the Great Minster. Luther had recently hurled his bolt against indulgences and Zwingli, taking the same ground, was, exactly like the German friar, soon moved to broaden his criticism. In a surprisingly short time he had freed himself from the bonds of tradition and, breaking every connection with Rome, steered straight at independence. By 1525 his persuasive tongue had so completely swept the Zurich townsmen off their feet that he was enabled to set up his Reformed church with the consent and under the protection of the town council.

Zwingli, Luther, and the Lord's Supper

That, administratively, the Zwinglian church was to the Lutheran church just emerging in Germany as republicanism is to monarchy has already been remarked; let us note that, in point of doctrine, the two faiths, in spite of a general agreement, exhibited slight, though by no means negligible, differences. The most important variation unquestionably regarded the Holy Eucharist or Lord's Supper. To the Catholic Church the Holy Eucharist had become the central mystery of Christianity and Luther, after first questioning the Catholic teaching, had in his conservative way ended by reverting to it. The orthodox position briefly was that the bread and wine of the service are changed into the actual body and blood of Christ by a miraculous process called transsubstantiation. True, Luther somewhat modified the traditional teaching, but his doctrine, usually called consubstantiation, hardly, except for professional theologians, differed by a hair's breadth from the Catholic position. To a certain rationalist tendency in Zwingli, a tendency which prompted him to test everything by the evidence of the senses, transsubstantiation and its little Lutheran brother, consubstantiation, were of a piece with every other medieval superstition, and he contemptuously tossed them on the scrap-heap together with fasts, pilgrimages, worship of the saints, and other so-called works. So sweeping an elimination of mystery from life and faith enraged Luther, who, miles removed from rationalism, had not even identified himself with Erasmian humanism, except where its positions happened to accord with the deep, religious demands of his nature.

The Marburg conference

It was natural that so long as Protestantism was weak and exposed to attack efforts should be made to draw the Lutheran and Zwinglian forces into an alliance. In 1529 when Charles V, having just brought his war in Italy to a triumphant conclusion, was preparing to return to Germany to stamp out heresy by force, the outlook for the reformers became suddenly very black. In consequence Philip of Hesse, a Lutheran leader endowed with political understanding, urged the closing of the Protestant ranks, and as a preliminary measure brought Luther and Zwingli together in a conference at his city of Marburg in order to persuade them to iron out their doctrinal differences. Matters went smoothly enough until the Lord's Supper was broached. On this rock the meeting suffered shipwreck for the reason that Luther would not make the least concession to Zwingli's rationalism, and Zwingli, for his part, though ready to retain the Lord's Supper as a feature of his church service, refused to regard it other than as a purely symbolic act commemorative of an actual occurrence recorded in the gospels. Thus on the theological inflexibility of the two Protestant champions the plan of consolidating their movements came to naught. It was a piece of good luck that Charles, on coming to Germany, found himself diverted from his purpose by unforeseen circumstances, chiefly connected with the Turks, and that on this account he was obliged to adjourn his slaying of the serpent of heresy. But the disagreement between Luther and Zwingli, because the modern mind is inclined to regard it as mere hair-splitting, deserves an additional word of elucidation. The medieval development had identified the Church with sublime mysteries which, pouring an extraordinary glamour around life, had converted the individual existence, as has been aptly said, into a Christian epic. A humanism, inclining toward a cold, rationalist outlook, might eventually succeed in finding new and more acceptable formulas of living than those upheld by the Church, but it was highly improbable that mankind would suddenly and of one accord surrender a familiar and cherished body of traditions in exchange for an invitation to fare forth on an uncharted sea. Luther's position was evidence that great masses of men would long continue to value the emotional exaltations of faith above the chill satisfactions of reason.

Religious war followed by the Peace of Kappel, 1531

From Zurich, its center, the Zwinglian movement spread into the adjoining Swiss areas, particularly into the towns which, here as elsewhere, proved to be the chief carriers of Protestantism. When Bern adopted his cause (1528), it looked to the sanguine Zwingli as if all Switzerland must ultimately fall like ripe fruit into his lap. But the five forest cantons, representing the original nucleus of Schwyz, Uri, and Unterwalden plus the two neighbors, Zug and Lucerne, clung to their ancient faith. In addition they were opposed to Zwingli's social reforms, which, by condemning the profitable mercenary service, threatened their well-being. Exactly as might be expected, it was over the subjected territory, the common bailiwicks, that the quarrel between the two groups finally came to a head. Dominating the federal diet, the five forest cantons planted their officials in the common bailiwicks and rigorously suppressed all Protestant teaching by the use of force. Against this Zwingli, hesitatingly backed by the Protestant cantons, protested with the result that civil war became inevitable. In the first clash in 1529, Zwingli by expeditious action won a bloodless victory and carried his point. In consequence each community of the common bailiwicks was conceded a free choice between the rival faiths. However, on the renewal of the struggle in 1531 the forces of Zurich were badly routed at Kappel (October 11) and the undaunted Zwingli himself slain. The defeated Zurichers had to sue for peace which, signed before the year was out at Kappel, cleared the atmosphere. The issue of the common lands was of course settled in the main in the Catholic interest, but the authority of each cantonal government to adopt the religion it preferred was freely recognized. The Kappel solution of the religious conflict closely resembles the one afterwards found by Germany and laid down in the Peace of Augsburg (1555) under the formula *cujus regio ejus religio*. That is to say, Switzerland, like Germany a weak federation, was obliged to leave the thorny religious issue to the local governments. Consequently each canton made its own choice between Catholicism and Protestantism, thereby giving to the religious map of Switzerland the same checkered appearance as marks Germany and characteristic of both of these countries to the present day. A constitutional effect of the religious factionalism was that the already feeble central government was for many generations to come reduced to complete impotence.

The city of Geneva made famous by John Calvin

The Switzerland of the Reformation, though essentially a German state, had, by virtue of its westward expansion, already come to embrace a number of French districts. The territory of the Confederation stretched toward the lake of Geneva, at the western end of which lay, completely surrounded by the territories of the duke of Savoy, the city of Geneva. This French city, controlling the headwaters of the Rhone, was an important mart of trade and had a peculiar political régime which will be presently explained. By an amazing chain of circumstances Geneva, shaking off, early in the sixteenth century, its bondage to the duke of Savoy, established a free republic together with Protestantism, and immediately after became the home of an exile from France by the name of John Calvin. Not only did the alien Calvin become completely identified with Geneva, but breathing new life into the Reformation movement, he carried it much farther afield than Zwingli or even Luther had been able to do. Through Calvin the Reformation became militant and, effectively transcending national boundaries, developed an impetus which carried it to France, the Netherlands, Germany, Hungary, Great Britain, and ultimately across the Atlantic Ocean to America.

Geneva wins its independence

At the beginning of the sixteenth century Geneva had a form of government suggestive of the transition from medieval to modern conditions. Though the city, as an active community of merchants, had acquired a certain measure of self-government, it was still subject to its feudal lord, who was also bishop of Geneva. As in the course of the preceding century, the most powerful secular lord of the neighborhood, the duke of Savoy, had insinuated himself into the government as the lieutenant, in civil affairs, of the bishop, the town enjoyed the perilous luxury of a three-cornered rule. However, the unstable equilibrium might not have been destroyed, if the duke of Savoy, abetted by the bishop, had not formed the ambitious plan of bringing the town wholly into his power. This stirred the citizens' latent love of liberty and, rising in revolt, they attacked the conspirators with so much vigor that they drove them from the town. By 1536 Geneva had become a free republic recognizing no superior under heaven.

Geneva becomes Protestant

However, the victory of the Genevans would have been impossible without the help of the near-by Swiss cantons and particularly of the large and war-like canton of Bern. Since Bern was Protestant, it introduced Protestant preaching into Geneva and largely by its influence persuaded the citizens to adopt the Reformation. They took this decisive step (1536) immediately after gaining their independence. No sooner had the double revolution been effected than Calvin appeared upon the scene.

Calvin

John Calvin, a Frenchman by birth, saw the light of day at Noyon, in Picardy, on July 10, 1509. He received an excellent education in the classics, chiefly at the universities of Paris and Orleans. Originally intended for the Church, he switched at Orleans to jurisprudence, to which study, it may well be, he owed that clearness and precision which are the characteristics of his ripened thought. His steady and profound devotion to the great thinkers of antiquity may have helped to strengthen these outstanding mental traits.

Calvin's Institutes

Though a son of the sixteenth century might love the classics and give himself to the pursuit of law, he could not, more especially if he had the passion for righteousness which distinguished Calvin from birth, avoid being drawn into the religious whirlpool. While pursuing his studies Calvin came into touch with the circles in France which were nursing the seeds of the Reformation, and when the intolerant government of Francis I inaugurated an attack on heresy which brought many leading men to the stake, Calvin was obliged to seek safety in flight (1534). He settled in the Swiss city of Basel which some years before had adopted the Zwinglian reform, and here he published in 1536 his famous treatise *Christianae Religionis Institutio* (The Institutes of the Christian Religion). The Institutes, greatly enlarged in subsequent editions, constituted the most scientific and critical attempt that had yet been made to reconstruct the church of Christ on the basis of the evidence supplied by the New Testament. A positive achievement of profound scholarship, it was at the same time a daring exposure of the elaborate additions to the apostolic structure made by the medieval Church. No book had yet come from the Protestant camp combining so much historical information and method with such invincible logic. Some months after the publication of his great work Calvin paid a visit to his native France and on his return journey stopped for a night's rest at Geneva.

Calvin settles in Geneva

The Protestant faith, only recently adopted by Geneva, was still an exceedingly frail plant. The real difficulty was that the citizens, having turned Protestant largely on grounds of political expediency, had not felt the uplifting force of a great moral experience. The leading preacher of Geneva, Farel by name, was aware of the evils of the situation and wrestled with them tirelessly. When the news was brought him that the famous young author of the Institutes had arrived in town, he called upon him at his inn and warmly solicited his aid in the great work of inner evangelization that still remained to be done. Calvin, enamored of the quiet life of the scholar, at first refused, but Farel plied him with such vigor that he at last agreed to make the sacrifice and plunge into the world of action.

The work on which Calvin now entered lasted, with the exception of a short setback and exile, till his death in 1564. By sheer force

Calvin establishes a theocratic state

of will and ascendancy of genius he made himself the commanding figure within the city walls and with the consent of the citizens ruled their destinies like a dictator. His plan, one of the most audacious ever formed by man, was to realize in Geneva the original church of Christ outlined in the Institutes. Let us be clear that it was this evangelical edifice which wholly filled his mind. As for the political government to be set up, its particular form did not matter much in Calvin's view, provided its magistrates were imbued with the sense of their Christian mission. He was therefore ready to take over the democratic régime already established at Geneva, provided it would accept the obligation to work in close association with and even subservience to his church to the end of producing as nearly perfect a Christian commonwealth as possible. Instead of separation of church and state, the much vaunted ideal of the present age more perfectly realized in the United States of America than anywhere on the older continent, he demanded the same intimacy and reciprocity between the two institutions for which the Middle Age had striven. According to him the state which governed temporal man and the church which ministered to his immortal spirit could not disjoin their labors if God's great purpose in regard to man was ever to be realized. This is a theocratic ideal substantially identical with that of the great medieval doctors, the reason for the agreement being that exactly like them Calvin held life to be worthless in itself and valuable only when lived under God with a constant view to salvation. Where Calvin and the scholastics differed — and the difference constitutes an unbridgeable chasm — was on the question of the means to a common end. While the medieval teachers exalted the Catholic Church as the divinely created instrument of salvation, the French reformer swept this vast intermediary structure aside with a single sweep of his arm and brought the individual face to face with God. The church in his view, the real but invisible church, was the body of believers throughout the world divided for practical purposes into separate units and guided by clergymen who preached and prayed, but who were completely impotent to promote by as much as a hair's breadth the salvation of the sinner.

Although Calvin's theocratic ideal possesses a decided interest, we are obliged to admit that it was his theories touching the meaning and application of Christianity which have chiefly impressed themselves on the world. His three major contributions belong to the respective fields, first, of church government, second, of morals, and third, of theology. We shall discuss them in turn and begin by noting that, regarding point one, he championed the democratic principle. He did this because democracy seemed to be the system of the primitive church, in which every believer was equal to every other and all the believers together constituted a working, self-governing unit. By identifying itself with this principle Calvinism made a popular appeal which was absent from Lutheranism from the moment the Wittenberg reformer committed his movement to the control of the princes. Without the least doubt it was the democratic kernel of the Calvinistic system which was responsible for winning the hearts of the middle classes in so many European countries and which, by winning the middle classes, tied up the Genevan reform with those vigorous social and economic elements destined to be the carriers and exponents of the modern movement of progress. In short, a democratic church stirred the imaginations of all self-governing groups and greatly promoted democracy throughout the world.

Calvinism identifies itself with the democratic principle of government

A second memorable feature about Calvinism is the extraordinary emphasis which it put on conduct. According to the Genevan leader the conversion of the individual to the Reformed faith ought infallibly to mean a life lived on a plane of high endeavor in the consciousness of God's active and incessant grace. Hence the true Christian divorced himself from all weakness and frivolity and gained his daily bread and guided his relations with his fellow-men in the spirit of simple duty and dignified austerity. Without doubt Calvin is the first Puritan and his Genevan code of morals the source and model of all Puritanical codes whatever. But, cognizant of the frailty of the flesh and brought face to face with the backsliding and misdemeanors of his fellow-citizens, Calvin was unwilling to trust to pulpit exhortation to hold sinners to the narrow path. We must conceive him as a man of the grimmest resolution and, as such, a willing believer in the most drastic measures. He therefore created as an executive organ for his moral code a commission, called the consistory and made up of six ministers and twelve elders. The consistory was in substance an ecclesiastical or moral police and was empowered to arrest and bring to trial any man, woman, or child charged with failure to comply with the Genevan standard of conduct. The punishment imposed was carried

Calvin the father of Puritanism

out by the civil authorities, which furnishes an excellent illustration of how, in the Genevan system, state and church interlocked. The records of the consistory, which still exist, show that children were whipped for being disrespectful to their parents, men pilloried for blasphemy, and money fines and imprisonment meted out for dancing, card-playing, the singing of profane songs, and non-attendance at church. Of course, heresy and blasphemy were particularly heinous offenses and in several instances led to the infliction of the death penalty either by the sword or the lighted fagot. A community subjected to a rigid standard of behavior by supervision and penalties may become welded into an irresistible mass, but it will necessarily learn to stifle that spontaneous human sympathy and to extinguish those simple joys which under other systems have proved invaluable elements of life. As in the case of every other code of ethics put forth by man, the law of compensation provides that the credit and debit accounts of puritanical Calvinism are in perfect balance.

Calvin and predestination

The third feature of Calvinism destined to be historically important belongs to the province of theology and touches the Genevan scholar's conception of God. He made the might and majesty of the Creator so unapproachable and all-inclusive that it completely overshadowed the universe. No Christian system has ever been set forth which reduced man to such total insignificance, made him so entirely a helpless worm. From this position it followed for Calvin, a reasoner who with characteristic firmness stood by every consequence of his logic, that sinful man could not contribute an atom's weight to his own salvation either by the good works recommended by the Catholic Church or by the faith extolled by Luther. God alone could save and His saving was a pure act of mercy. But since God is eternal and omniscient He must know and has willed, even before birth, whether a soul shall be saved or lost. Familiar under the name of election by grace or predestination, this teaching has proved a rock on which the waters of discussion have dashed themselves to spray for many centuries down to the present hour. To men of a different temper from the austere Calvin, to tender-minded men throughout the ages, the doctrine that man is as utterly unimportant and God as rhadamanthine and implacable as predestination implies has proved extraordinarily repugnant. It was freely predicted, even in Calvin's lifetime, that discouragement would seize upon the adherents of this creed and that something akin to oriental fatalism would paralyze their wills. Rarely has a prophesy been more completely disproved by the facts, for history reveals that the Calvinistic form of Protestantism is associated with a remarkable display of human activity. What the belief in election by divine grace may have to do with an unexampled activism is a metaphysical problem beyond the scope of this book.

Relation of Calvinism to Zwingli-anism and Lutheran-ism

Calvin tried to bring the Lutheran and Zwinglian churches into union with his own. In this he scored a partial success, since in 1549 the Zwinglians signed with him the consensus of Zurich which established for Switzerland a single Reformed church. The Lutherans, however, by refusing to budge from their conception of the Eucharist secured the perpetuation of the Protestant division. For the moment at least that misfortune hardly checked the astonishing vitality of Calvinism. From Geneva as a center and with the aid of an academy for the training of pastors, to which Calvin gave an unremitting attention, it radiated a missionary zeal unique among Protestants and excelled, among Catholics, only by the Jesuits.

The papacy and the Reforma-tion

The reform movement of which Luther, Zwingli, and Calvin were the protagonists could not possibly have achieved success, if it had not appealed to a conviction, which had been gathering strength for over a century, that the Church was corrupt in head and members. To all such criticism the popes not only had turned a deaf ear but by a resourceful diplomacy had nullified every attempt to produce a reform by constitutional means. The failure of the General Councils of Constance (1414–1418) and Basel (1431–1449), assembled amidst the hopes of Christendom to inaugurate a new era, was due and due solely to the popes, jealously resolved to maintain their absolutism against the claims of a reforming parliament. Issuing with unshorn powers from the conciliar crisis, the Roman pontiffs plunged into the Renaissance and gave themselves whole-heartedly to worldly joys and schemes of temporal power. While many of the Renaissance popes by befriending humanism and patronizing the arts exhibited a spirit which elicits applause, it is also true that, practically without exception, they proved themselves morally so obtuse that the universal laxity of clerical manners and the scandalous financial corruption under their eyes failed to disturb their equanimity. Popes of this character would not be able to cope effectively with the northern revolt because they would be impenetrable to its moral fervor. They would continue to loiter in the pleasant gardens of the Renaissance and refuse to face the hard realities beyond the Alps. However, with the spread of the Protestant disaster certain more conscientious members of the papal court would feel alarm and raise their voice in favor of conciliating criticism by the abolition of some of the more flagrant scandals. In measure as this sentiment gained ground, it invaded even the college of cardinals and in the election of 1534 registered a first, if partial, success in the elevation to the curial chair of Paul III (1534–1549). Although this pope was undoubtedly a Renaissance product, still he showed a genuine concern for the evils of the Church and, intermittently at least, attacked the problem of the hour. For a few decades therefore the decision trembled in the balance until, with the election of Pope Paul IV (1555–1559), the papacy definitely and forever turned its back on the Renaissance and took up the urgent question of saving what was left of the universal Church. Under these circumstances began that famous movement of Church reform by Church action known as the Counter-Reformation.

The Catholic reform begins in Spain

Although the Counter-Reformation did not acquire its full momentum until the popes had put themselves at its head, let it be clearly understood that its energies had begun to accumulate long before the middle of the sixteenth century. Any attempt at a systematic presentation of these slowly gathering forces must start with the ecclesiastical reforms carried out in Spain under state direction and at the express instigation of Ferdinand and Isabella. These sovereigns entrusted the work to the learned and devoted Cardinal Ximenes, who in a lifetime of courageous service cleansed the Augean stables of the Spanish clergy. He renewed the spiritual life of the monastic orders; he brought the parochial clergy back to a sense of their obligations as guides and comforters of the people; and he established schools and seminaries which were made obligatory for all candidates for the priesthood and which put an end to the abysmal clerical ignorance so vigorously scourged by the humanists. It is true that the Spanish revival identified itself with scholasticism and was distinguished by a rigorous orthodoxy; it is no less true that it shaped for itself as its mightiest weapon the Inquisition and practised a fierce intolerance; but, in spite of these darker phases of the movement, Spain experienced a genuine renewal of religious life manifested by an energy which poured at last over the national boundaries and passed like an electric current through the paralyzed body of the universal Church.

Evidences of Catholic revival: Theatines and Capuchins

One of the most conspicuous evidences of every religious renewal in the Middle Age had been the voluntary association of men and women in ascetic orders whole-heartedly devoted to some form of Christian service. Not only in Spain but in the other Catholic countries too, in measure as they caught the Spanish spirit, this medieval phenomenon was repeated with the result that organizations animated with the purest Catholic zeal came into spontaneous being and multiplied rapidly. Only the most important can be here enumerated. As early as the reign of Pope Clement VII a handful of ecclesiastics in his own capital of Rome founded the order of the Theatines (1524). Undeniably influenced by the Spanish example but certainly no less by the chilling blasts that blew from Wittenberg, they resolved that, above all, the parochial clergy must be aroused to a new sense of its duty. The Theatine order was planned, therefore, and rose to fame as an association of priests, who, turning away from idleness, ignorance, and self-indulgence, pledged themselves to the highest ecclesiastical ideals. Far more widely effective was a new order of friars, the Capuchins. Founded some two years after the Theatines as a reformed branch of the ancient Franciscans, the Capuchins practised simplicity and kindliness and, moving freely among the common people from whom they sprung and whose language they spoke, they became an important link in the chain of influences that kept the Italian masses loyal to the Church. However, as world forces, both of these rather local orders were completely overshadowed by the Jesuits. The Jesuits are unthinkable except as an expression of the narrowly concentrated Catholic fervor of Spain.

Loyola founds the order of the Jesuits, 1540

The Jesuits, or Society of Jesus, as the order is officially called, were founded by Ignatius Loyola. Loyola was a Spanish nobleman, who, as was natural in one of his birth, followed the profession of arms until during convalescence from a wound received at the siege of Pampeluna (1521), he chanced to read certain holy books dealing with the lives of Jesus and the saints. His high-strung and exalted nature was so fired with this reading that thenceforth he knew no other ambition than, in imitation of the early martyrs, to dedicate his life to the Church. His first efforts were wildly extravagant and ineffective. He eventually saw that he needed to put himself in possession of a solid body of knowledge and at thirty-three years of age began the study of Latin, philosophy, and theology. While attending the university of Paris, he made the acquaintance of some kindred spirits who in 1534 solemnly bound themselves to him and to one another in the service of Christ and the Church. It is fascinating to linger on the strange coincidence that Loyola and his Protestant antipode, John Calvin, were students at Paris together and may have rubbed elbows on the same class-room bench. The group of seven companions (for that was the original number), welded into a unit by the inspired leadership of the Spanish nobleman, presently departed for Venice in the hope of crossing the sea to the Holy Land. When the outbreak of a new war with the Turks made the plan impossible, they contented themselves with taking the road to Rome to the end of gaining the papal blessing for their society. In 1540 Paul III officially authorized the order and at the same time approved its purpose and organization as sketched in Loyola's petition. In both these respects the Society of Jesus proved so different from the religious orders that preceded and followed it that it must be ranked as a highly original creation.

Jesuit mission work

As recited in the charter of 1540, the objects of the Society were in the main three: (1) mission work in any part of the globe but more particularly in Protestant lands; (2) preaching and directing the conscience; and (3) educating the young. Since the Society experienced an almost phenomenal growth, it was already by the time of the death of the founder (1556) a factor to be reckoned with; and before it celebrated its fiftieth anniversary it boasted thousands of members together with some hundreds of colleges and houses distributed everywhere over Catholic Europe. And this enormous establishment remained with an indeed rare consistency dedicated to its original purposes, among which mission work held a conspicuous place. Not only did their Catholic enthusiasm carry these strange zealots to the ends of the earth, to India, China, and Japan, as well as among the Redmen of America, but it led them to display a particular energy in Protestant lands, where at the height of their power they scored many a triumph. Their practice was to single out for attention ruling families and officials in the highest walks of life and the conversion in the seventeenth century of the elector of that country, Saxony, which had been the cradle of the Reformation, and of the Scottish Stuarts on the British throne, shook the northern world with a sudden alarming sense of Jesuit missionary power.

If their missionary labors measure the courage and death-defying devotion of the Jesuits, their preaching and confessing illustrate their intellectual subtlety or, as their enemies phrased it, their trickery and dishonesty. So successfully did they exhort the faithful from the pulpits of their churches and so delicately did they direct their lives from the confessional that they were in eager demand in an age of religious doubts and convulsions. Practically without exception the Catholic sovereigns of Europe promoted Jesuits to the service of their private chapel, enabling them by this intimate intercourse to wield a wide though indefinable political influence. However, their most impressive service belonged without question to the field of education. Wisely aware that youth is the impressionable age, they gave their attention to the multiplication of schools and colleges and by virtue of their zeal and energy carried their instruction to a high degree of excellence. It was in part by championing better educational methods that Protestantism had won its victory, especially among the upper classes. To this Protestant movement the Jesuits opposed their own, carrying it through on a much more extensive and unified plan. The proof is furnished by the fact that by the seventeenth century the Jesuit colleges had acquired a very high reputation for efficiency in Italy, France, the Spanish Netherlands, and Catholic Germany, while in countries like Portugual and Spain they completely monopolized the educational field.

Jesuit preaching and education

Devotion, be it ever so sustained, can not by itself explain these remarkable achievements; they were due in no small part to an organization, which, although only gradually perfected, was implicit from the start in Loyola's conception. As was natural for an old soldier, he took the army as his model. Hence, establishing gradations of authority culminating in a commander-in-chief or general, he welded his machine together with the spirit of an iron military discipline. On being accepted as a novice a youth learned first and foremost complete subordination. As his best aid to this end he was made to live with and under the "Spiritual Exercises," a devotional book composed by Loyola and wonderfully adapted to the suppression of every trace of an individual will in the interest of the order. After a novitiate of two years' duration the youth became a scholastic. *Scholastics* took the course in arts and on graduation were permitted to qualify as teachers in their turn. Specially endowed scholastics were invited to study

The Jesuits organized as an army

theology and after a prolonged and successful application might hope to become priests and to be elevated to the rank of *spiritual coadjutors*. Individuals unsuited to serve either as teachers or priests were classified as *temporal coadjutors* and served the order to the best of their ability as laymen. They represented the lowest Jesuit rank, with the scholastics and spiritual coadjutors set above them in the order named.

The inner governing group and the general

Although these three classes embraced the bulk of the membership, they had no claim to the government of the Society. This was reserved to the "Professed of the Four Vows," a select body promoted from the spiritual coadjutors and composing the Society in the strict sense of the word. All Jesuits of whatever grade took the three vows sanctioned by monastic usage of chastity, poverty, and obedience, but the Professed added a fourth vow (hence their name) of special and unalterable obedience to the pope. Even the Professed, however, were not so much a parliament as a general staff. They might advise the supreme general whom they elected to office for life, but they were absolutely at his will and pleasure, once he was installed in office. In the fourth vow resides the special significance of the order for the political history of the Counter-Reformation. The Jesuits conceived of themselves and, in fact, were the militia of the pope and first, defensively and finally, offensively waged perpetual war with heretics and infidels for the glory of the Church — *ad majorem gloriam ecclesiae.*

There remain for consideration three agencies with which the Church completed its armament in preparation for the war with its enemies. They are the Inquisition, the Council of Trent, and the Index.

The Roman Inquisition

We have seen that the Inquisition, conceived as a special board for the investigation and suppression of heresy, was intermittently employed throughout the Middle Age, sometimes locally by the bishops, sometimes more universally by the popes. One of the most famous instances of its papal use is in connection with the suppression of the Albigensian heresy at the beginning of the thirteenth century. In the following century the spread of humanism had discredited violence in matters of faith and had caused the discontinuation of the Inquisition until the Spanish government, faced by the special problem of the Jews and Moors, petitioned the popes for its resumption. In consequence, under Ferdinand and Isabella, the famous Spanish Inquisition was set up in complete independence of Rome and operating as much and more in the civil than in the ecclesiastical interest. Naturally when Pope Paul III began to look about in order to strengthen the Catholic defenses, he was much impressed with the work done in Spain and in 1542, in compliment to the Spanish tribunal, issued a bull establishing a papal Inquisition which claimed universal authority. A central board of cardinals sitting at Rome was empowered to hear cases and pass sentence, acting at the same time as a court of appeal from inquisitorial courts to be set up in the various European territories. As heresy, besides being a sin, was also accounted a crime, the inquisitors were privileged, in consonance with the practice of criminal courts throughout Europe at this time, to put the accused to torture in order to extract a confession of guilt. This circumstance, together with the fires which were presently lit at Rome, explains why the Roman Inquisition soon spread a terror hardly inferior to that connected with its Spanish exemplar.

The Roman Inquisition limited largely to Italy

Although it was the ambition of Paul III and his successors to give the new institution a jurisdiction as wide as that of the Church itself, they did not achieve their purpose. The Spanish government politely notified Rome that in the future as in the past it intended to do its own heresy-hunting and almost all other Catholic states answered in the same vein. Not that they were averse to persecution or, as we shall see, failed to practise it, but they were averse to increasing the pope's power by authorizing an infringement of the national jurisdiction. In point of fact the new Roman Inquisition never exercised any notable activity outside of Italy. Over Italy, however, it was completely effective and had no small part in stamping out not only the new seeds of heresy but also many of the fair plants which had grown up under the shelter of humanism. It is not enough to explain the historic eclipse of Italy by pointing to the Spanish political conquest; it was caused even more by the fact that the Italians, tiring of their splendid Renaissance audacity, succumbed also spiritually to Spain.

It will be remembered that the Lutheran schism had no sooner made its appearance than a General Council of the Church was proposed as the natural and certain remedy. Emperor Charles V was won over to the plan and from an early date importuned the pope to call together the parliament of Christendom. But the pope hesitated. The Councils of Constance and Basel, sitting in the first half of the fifteenth century, had threatened his absolute control by championing a policy which would have lowered him to the rank of a mere constitutional sovereign. It was only with the greatest difficulty that he had defeated these plans and preserved the power which he considered to be his by divine right as the successor of St. Peter. However, stubborn as was the opposition of the popes of Luther's day to Charles's policy of a General Council, Charles was a very powerful man and could not be systematically flouted. Sometimes he was almost omnipotent and on such occasions the pope had to make at least a show of acquiescence. At last in 1542 Paul III issued the call for a Council to be held in the city of Trent on the southern slope of the Alps, but found occasion to adjourn it before a single session could be held. In 1545 Pope Paul and in 1551 his successor went through the same comedy, except that the sessions were formally opened on these occasions and a limited amount of business transacted. When finally, in 1552, the emperor was defeated by the German Protestants, he reached the conclusion that his conciliar remedy for the heretical poison was a failure and, resigning the imperial crown, retired to Spain to die in monastic seclusion.

Charles V advocates the calling of a General Council

Simultaneously with the disappearance of Charles from the scene the whole Catholic outlook dramatically changed. The spirit of reaction triumphed, conciliation was rejected, and under Jesuit inspiration the whole Church drew its ranks closer together, committing its destinies into the hands of its traditional leader, the pope. No longer fearful of a Council under these altered circumstances, Pope Pius IV (1559–1566) issued a new call which resulted in the famous and concluding session of Trent of 1562–1563. With the trouble-breeding Protestant question eliminated from discussion, for this fighting body met to the battle-cry of "no surrender," the Council was able to perform a notable work. In response to the new moral fervor manifested by the clergy it began by correcting some outstanding abuses. Thus it enforced episcopal residence, condemned pluralism (the practice of holding several benefices at once), and established seminaries to bring the clergy to a higher educational level. Then it rolled up its sleeves to attack the real issues between itself and Protestantism, the issues of doctrine. Without a shadow of equivocation the Council took its stand on tradition, reaffirming the labors of the scholastic doctors and restating in terms of medieval continuity every doctrinal posi-

The Council of Trent, 1562–1563

tion which Luther and his allies had attacked. Moreover, by laying a formal anathema on every contrary opinion, not only were the remaining bridges between the old and the new faith broken down but any plan to build bridges in the future was frustrated in advance. In short, "the Canons and Decrees of the Council of Trent," under which name the official acts were published, constitute a declaration of war; and from a purely military viewpoint they recommend themselves as a precise staking off of the ground which Catholicism was prepared to defend in the coming struggle. In that combat the Protestants were to learn that the lack of a common ground, due to their bitter doctrinal divergences, was a heavy handicap.

The papal absolutism

A result of the Council, surprising in view of the reluctance of the popes to call it together, was that the papacy emerged from the ordeal with added prestige, for, the Council settled, though not in express words, the ancient constitutional issue as to whether the final authority in the Church rested with the pope or with the general assembly of Christendom. Though the papal absolutism had mounted steadily since the early Middle Age, it had always remained in dispute and was invariably challenged by the Councils whenever they met. Even in the Council of Trent there was a party of bishops who took their stand on the old platform of conciliar supremacy; but the papalists, ably assisted by the new champions of the pope, the Jesuits, won an undisputed victory. It was not the smallest service that Jesuit energy and discipline rendered its avowed lord and master. It would hardly be too much to say that the Council of Trent practically surrendered the historic conciliar claim and affirmed the absolutism of the pope in matters of government as well as of faith. Sufficient evidence of this assertion would seem to be supplied by the fact that the next ecumenical council did not meet till the nineteenth century (1870), when the final touch was added to the supremacy of the pope by the declaration of his infallibility.

The Index

Before adjourning the Council of Trent empowered the pope to draw up a list of forbidden books (*Index Librorum Prohibitorum*). Long before this act an occasional pope or a Catholic university had taken cognizance of the flood of dangerous matter released by the new invention of printing and had attempted to bank it up by publishing the names of authors whom good Catholics should eschew. These haphazard efforts were now to be replaced by a careful attempt to put, as it were, in quarantine all writers and writings not strictly orthodox. The commission to which the work was entrusted brought out the papal Index of 1564, to which additions were afterwards made as occasion served. It was arranged in three categories, the first of which listed tainted individuals, so-called heresiarchs, who were condemned *in toto;* the second named individual dangerous works; and the third indicated forbidden passages within books otherwise sound. Wherever, as in Italy, the Index became effective, it must have contributed to the darkening of the intellectual skies. But many Catholic countries, doubtless to the advantage of the free play of ideas, refused to enforce it, and even a learned Jesuit was found, who, a white crow in a black flock, significantly hinted that the best way to discredit bad books was to write better ones.

Reformation and Counter-Reformation extinguish the Renaissance

In looking back over the movement in the Church which we have been describing, we would seem to be fully justified to speak of it as a Reformation inasmuch as it improved the manners and morals of the prelates, gave birth to new and highly disciplined orders, and raised the level of learning and devotion among the secular priests. But it is also clear that by breaking with the spirit of criticism and returning to the prison of medieval tradition the Counter-Reformation turned its back on humanism and the Renaissance. Of course, it might be argued that Protestantism had preceded Catholicism in declaring war on the Renaissance by reviving theological controversies and resting its case ultimately not on reason but on faith. In whatever ratio the responsibility for the phenomenon may be distributed, around the middle of the sixteenth century the promise of a liberated human spirit implied in the Renaissance was, temporarily at least, obscured by an era of religious strife between churches prepared to assert their respective theories of salvation not with the persuasions of the mind but with the drawn sword of the fanatic. By virtue of that blind and passionate struggle it might even come to pass that mankind would be permanently deflected from the advance indicated by the line of the Renaissance movement. But if something of the Renaissance freedom should be saved, enough to stimulate at some later time the courage of men to resume the great interrupted adventure of the fifteenth century, it would hardly be due to either Protestants or Catholics but rather to those rare individuals who, priests of the human spirit rather than of any church, were content to nurse the sacred flame outside the warring camps.

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THE POPES

Leo X (Medici), 1513–21
Hadrian VI, 1522–23
Clement VII (Medici), 1523–34
Paul III (Farnese), 1534–50
Julius III, 1550–55
Marcellus II, 1555
Paul IV (Caraffa), 1555–59
Pius IV, 1559–65
Pius V, 1566–72
Gregory VIII, 1572–85

CHAPTER VII

SPAIN UNDER EMPEROR CHARLES V AND HIS SON, PHILIP II; HER WORLD EMINENCE AND HER DECAY

Ferdinand (of Aragon) *m.* **Isabella** (of Castile)
d. 1516 *d.* 1504

Joan (*d.* 1555) *m.* Philip of Hapsburg (*d.* 1506)
Catherine *m.* { 1 Arthur, prince of Wales / 2 Henry VIII of England

Charles I (1516–56) *m.* **Isabella** of Portugal
(Emperor Charles V)

Philip II (1556–98)

Philip III (1598–1621)

Philip IV (1621–65)

Charles II (1665–1700)
(The Spanish line of Hapsburg becomes extinct)

Charles pursues an imperial rather than a Spanish policy

When the grandson of Ferdinand and Isabella, Charles, who in 1516 mounted the throne of Spain, was, in 1519, elected to the Empire and became Emperor Charles V, the Spanish nation had cause to mourn rather than to rejoice at this increase of dignity; for, having duties henceforth in Germany, the monarch could no longer give an undivided attention to his Spanish task. In fact his interests which, besides Spain and Germany, embraced also the Netherlands and Italy, obliged him to abandon a narrowly national viewpoint and to broaden his policy till it assumed continental dimensions. Charles was by nature neither exceptionally energetic nor ambitious. Even as a young man he was taciturn, wary, and patient, but having once made up his mind to a particular course he was inclined to stick to it with singular tenacity. When a series of remarkable coincidences put him at an early age in possession of a large part of Europe, far from having his head turned by the abundant favors of fortune, he faced his responsibilities with, on the whole, extraordinary deliberation and gradually elaborated a policy expressive of his position. We have glanced at this policy in the chapter dealing with the German Reformation and found that it involved a conception of himself as arbiter (not master) of the states of Europe, held together by a single faith of which the universal Church was the divinely appointed custodian. Charles's views represented a survival of an ancient medieval dream which he brought nearer to realization than any emperor since the passing of the Saxon Ottos. None the less in the end his dream failed, most conspicuously no doubt in Germany where Charles experienced the heavy sorrow of having to concede the protection of the law to a hateful heresy.

Philip pursues a Catholic rather than a Spanish policy

Since for the support of his imperial pretentions the emperor depended largely on Spanish resources and Spanish soldiery the conclusion seems justified that his failure to identify himself exclusively with the particular interests of Spain was disadvantageous to that country. Moreover, he left a perilous heritage to his son Philip, who, without becoming emperor, identified himself as fully as ever his father had done with the Catholic faith. As we shall see, he did not hesitate to stake all the resources of Spain on the struggle against the rising tide of Protestantism. While Philip was, above all, in character much more of a Spaniard than Charles, and while by championing the Catholic Church father and son gave their country a universal significance it might otherwise have missed, the fact remains that they put a burden on the Spanish people under which it in the end calamitously broke down.

The brilliance of the two reigns followed by darkness

The reigns of the emperor and his son, covering almost the whole of the sixteenth century, constitute an extraordinarily brilliant episode during which the history of Europe seems to revolve around Spain. With Philip's demise (1598) there is an eclipse so sudden as to bewilder the observer and so deep as to have remained substantially unbroken to our own day. We are forced to conclude that beneath the surface splendor a slow dry-rot was at work which, when it at last broke through the crust, produced disaster. An examination of the domestic situation, to which we shall now turn, will bear out this deduction. Beginning with the reign of Charles (1516–1556), we shall examine the internal developments of Spain with a view to getting some light on the amazing Spanish collapse.

The growth of absolutism

And first, the movement toward absolutism merits attention. We have seen [1] that Charles inherited a growing royal power which, exercised against the lawlessness of feudalism, had been the source of considerable social benefits. But, strong monarch that Charles was, in both of his kingdoms of Castile and Aragon he had to reckon with a parliament or cortes which controlled the purse and even insisted on being heard in legislative matters. In Castile, the real heart of Spain, there occurred early in Charles's reign a constitutional crisis. Angered by the sovereign's too arbitrary procedure, the cities of Castile, constituting the most active element represented in the cortes, revolted with the general plan of gaining more consideration for their wishes. As the movement was poorly coördinated, the royal forces were able to stamp out the fire (1522) so completely that Charles was left in a position to dictate the terms of peace. In consequence, some cities were, by way of punishment, deprived of their right of representation in the cortes, while all of them had to admit a royal appointee (*corregidor*) in their midst and to accept other serious curtailments of their municipal liberties. It was a body-blow aimed at popular government. Although the cortes of Castile was not deprived of its right to meet periodically and vote the taxes, henceforth that body was no better than a broken reed, lost heart, and became utterly subservient to the executive. In fact, following the rout of 1522, the once proud Castilian cortes degenerated to the level of a royal rubber stamp. As for the Aragonese cortes, it was made of sterner stuff than its Castilian counterpart and obliged Charles strictly to respect its financial and many other rights. Its turn to be humiliated did not come till the reign of Philip, who seized (1591) a convenient pretext to overrun Aragon with a Castilian army and to break, if not the Aragonese constitution, at least the will of the Aragonese people to use the cortes against the royal pleasure. Undoubtedly the line of movement in Spain throughout the sixteenth century is toward absolutism and away from constitutional practices; and in such a development of the purely arbitrary power of the crown we may detect a decline of public health ominous for the Spanish state.

Another cause of deterioration already noticeable under Charles but cumulatively effective under his successors carries us into the field of economics. The Spaniards were not a numerous people nor was their country naturally rich. Besides, owing perhaps to the warm climate, they were characterized by a certain physical indolence. When the trans-Atlantic discoveries under Ferdinand and Isabella and the projection into world politics due to Charles lifted the Spanish people with dramatic suddenness into the first place in Europe, the necessity arose of increasing the country's productiveness if the rapidly rising expenses of the government were to be successfully met. The peninsula was a land of agriculture and sheep-raising with few and relatively unimportant manufactures. Instead of the economic activities being at once stimulated to more intensive life, they at first about held their own with the exception of sheep-raising, which has the drawback of involving a very destructive use of land; and after the middle of the century economic production visibly and definitely declined in practically every line. The reason is not far to seek. In large measure at least it may be ascribed to an unbelievably inept system of taxation. Since the clergy and the nobles, being privileged classes, were tax-exempt, the task of finding the national revenue fell almost exclusively upon the towns, the method adopted being to lay a burden of ten per cent on every commercial transaction. This senseless tax, called *alcabala*, had of course the effect of totally discouraging trade, that is, it shut off the air by which the urban classes lived. As for manufactures, which early in the sixteenth century were greatly stimulated by the rising demand for goods among the Spanish colonies across the seas, a complete ignorance of the laws of political economy led the government to burden the factories of silk and woolen textiles with so many regulations that the young enterprises were suffocated under a mountain of red tape. A stationary productiveness, on the one hand, and ominously growing government expenses, on the other, define a situation which simply obliged the monarch to become so extortionate as gradually to drain the wealth of the country. For a time, it is true, the steady economic enfeeblement remained hidden from view. The silver mines of Mexico and Peru poured a stream of bullion into the country which everybody fallaciously took for wealth and which did indeed enable the government to hire mercenaries and purchase military stores, that is, to engage in expenditures which were required by the exigencies of foreign policy, but which signified pure

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[1] See p. 77.

The bad economic situation

waste. In the long run the Spanish bullion regularly passed into the hands of commercial and industrial people, like the Dutch and English, who were able to supply the goods which the Spaniards wanted but which either through native indolence or stupid government interference they failed to create. In fact the paradox might be ventured that the American metal poured into the Spanish coffers was rather a curse than a blessing, since it had the evil moral effect of confirming this southern people in the fatal delusion that a nation can become rich without work.

The Inquisition

From this analysis of the maladies of Spain the Inquisition must not be omitted. Established, as we have seen, under Ferdinand and Isabella, it retained its tragic effectiveness under Charles, who never wavered in his support of its main purpose. That was to persecute the two alien groups, the Jews and the Moors, until every trace of infidelity had disappeared from the land and the nationalist dream, "one people, one king, one faith," had been realized. We should not forget that the intolerance of the sovereign and the ruling classes was shared by the common people, who not only willingly bowed their necks to a secret and insufferable tyranny but who to testify to the hatred they felt for men of another blood and opinion crowded to the public executions, called *autos-de-fe* (acts of faith), at which the victims perished in rows by fire, as to a merry-making or a bull-fight. As the descendants of the Moors (usually called Moriscos) proved particularly difficult to uproot, there was in the eyes neither of Charles nor of his successors any reason for relaxing the royal vigilance against them. Occasionally the fanatic treatment to which these hunted groups were exposed caused them to break forth in a rebellion which in so far eased their fate as, instead of perishing singly by rack and fagot, they fell in multitudes by the avenging sword. When toward the end of Charles's reign the Lutheran opinions gained a foothold here and there, the Inquisition, rejoicing at the discovery of a new group of enemies, threw itself upon the Protestant heretics and stamped them out root and branch. Not in many pages could one exhaust the evils, moral, economic, and intellectual, which flowed from the terrible system of oppression represented by the Inquisition. Suffice it to remark that a people which suffers the misfortune of having the free play of its spirit paralyzed by the terror emanating from a secret and invisible government can not long continue to carry the torch of civilization.

The last thirteen years of his rule Charles spent away from Spain closely occupied with German affairs. His failure to quell the Protestant movement broke his spirit and he resigned his crowns in 1556, Spain with Italy and the Netherlands to his son Philip, Germany to his brother Ferdinand. Philip II (1556–1598) found himself on his accession at the head of territories hardly less extensive than those which Charles had governed; and as he did not become emperor he had, from the Spanish point of view, the advantage over Charles of fixing his residence in Spain and of presenting himself to the world in dress, speech, and manners as a Spaniard. As such, his policy, although it was not so much dedicated to Spanish as to universal Catholic interests, aroused so little opposition that he came to be regarded by his people as a truly national king.

Philip an out-and-out Spaniard in feeling and carriage

Every historical personage has two aspects, depending on whether he is looked on with favor or disfavor. To his devoted Spaniards Philip II was a circumspect and estimable ruler, while for the other peoples of Europe, more particularly of the Protestant north, he was the darkest tyrant and the most persistent enemy of light the age produced. The modern historian can not adopt either of these partisan views. He sees in Philip a severe, formal, and narrow-minded man, who was animated by the Catholic fervor traditional among his people and his family, and who had acquired from the sad experiences of his father a perfect horror of religious diversity. Hence his guiding thought, while there was life in him, was to maintain the Catholic faith by repression of heresy through the Inquisition, where he had the power; by war, where war had become inevitable. Contemporary Protestants shuddered as they identified Philip with the horrors of the Inquisition. While from their angle their aversion was fully justified, it should not be forgotten, especially as it throws a penetrating light on this age of religious conflict, that there was not a feature of his reign of which he was more proud than of the Inquisition since, by means of it, he was doing God's will and securing the triumph of the divinely instituted Roman Catholic Church. However, apart from this one spark of religious enthusiasm, Philip's joyless nature was as foreign to elation as the head of a bank. He passed his days and his nights over state affairs. Every document had to go through his own hands. Historians who have examined his papers declare it incredible that so much matter should have been written by one man in

The character of Philip II

one lifetime. In fact, work was his failing, for work with him degenerated into a rage for minutiae and ended by enfeebling his grasp of essentials. Out of business hours this ogre of the Protestant mythology was a tender and devoted husband and father. Even his worthless son, Don Carlos, whose mysterious death in prison has been the cause of violent and frequent defamation of the royal name, he is now admitted to have treated with an exemplary forbearance.

Philip's world position due to the identification of himself with the Counter-Reformation

This very ordinary man managed to loom like a titan on the stage of European politics for the simple reason that he stood forth as a party champion in a clash of world importance. At the very time that Philip succeeded to the throne of Spain the Counter-Reformation had at last organized its forces and was prepared to take the offensive against Protestantism, which had thus far met with little or no systematic opposition. Without doubt it accorded with Philip's fanatical devotion to the Church to put himself and his country at the service of this cause; but here again a judicious student will demur from the emotional Protestant view which presents him as the evil-minded and persistent aggressor in the Catholic-Protestant conflict of the second half of the sixteenth century and will without difficulty agree that this struggle was inevitable and as much forced on Philip by the logic of events as determined by his own Catholic impulses. Nothing will lend better support to this argument than the narrative account of his reign, for it shows that he slipped into the role of Catholic champion gradually and under the unescapable pressure of circumstances.

The French-Spanish war of 1557–59 followed by the peace of Cateau-Cambrésis

On Philip's ascending the throne it looked as if the chief concern with him as with his father would be the purely political program of maintaining the Spanish hegemony in Europe by a close watch on France. Within a year of Philip's accession, the French king, Henry II, showed that he nursed the same ambitions as his ancestors, for, in conjunction with Pope Paul IV, he began (1557) a war, the chief object of which, as on all previous occasions, was to wrest Italy from Spanish control. However, in this new struggle fortune again decided in favor of the Spaniard. France gained some notable successes, above all, she captured Calais from the English, who had come into the struggle on the side of Spain; but after suffering two capital defeats in the channel area, one at St. Quentin (1557) and the other at Gravelines (1558), she agreed to come to terms. By the peace of Cateau-Cambrésis (1559), except that France was permitted to retain Calais, no territorial changes of note were carried out. Therefore the real import of the treaty may be said to have been once more to acknowledge the Spanish domination of Italy. As this admission ran counter to the trend of French ambition, we may be sure that Henry II, like all his predecessors as far back as Charles VIII, would have returned to the attack as soon as the occasion served, if the wheel of fortune had not now taken a novel turn. When the peace of Cateau-Cambrésis was signed, France was already simmering with heresy and rebellion and Philip, for his part, was morbidly aware that throughout his Netherland heritage, Protestant opinion had gained a powerful foothold. By these circumstances the two kings were diverted from their political rivalry and concentrated their attention on the domestic problem under their eye. Thus Cateau-Cambrésis marks an epoch. It rings down the curtain on the long struggle between France and Spain, a struggle chiefly over Italy which had begun more than half a century before, in 1494, with the famous expedition of Charles VIII; and it inaugurates an era of religious wars which cover the rest of Philip's reign.

Heresy in the Netherlands develops into a general Catholic-Protestant struggle

The origin and development of the Protestant movements in France and in the Netherlands will be taken up in detail in later chapters. Here, where we are considering Spain, it will suffice to indicate the consequences which followed from Philip's mobilizing the Spanish resources against the Netherland heretics. Let us clearly understand that the Low Countries were not a part of Spain and that their association with that country was limited to the accidental circumstance that through a turn of luck (or ill luck) they owed allegiance to the same sovereign. There was therefore no reason why the Spanish state as such should concern itself with domestic happenings along the shores of the North sea; and as a matter of fact it did not do so. But Philip, as absolute ruler of Spain, could not be prevented from employing his Castilian soldiers and revenues to solve a problem that had arisen in another of his territories; and when in the course of the decade following Cateau-Cambrésis the Netherland situation culminated in an armed rising which Philip tried to stamp out with Spanish troops, the whole contemporary world became excited. In the eyes of the pope and his Catholic following Philip was doing nothing less than fighting their battle, while for Protestants, whether in Germany, France, or England, the Netherlanders were heroes defending a universal cause. Naturally both combatants took advantage of the wide appeal made by the struggle to summon all available help to their side. In this the rebels were, on the whole, more successful than the Spanish ruler, of whose excessive power even Catholics, nay, at times even the pope, continued to be fearful. Intermittently, it is true, but after all with much self-sacrificing fervor the Protestants of Germany and France and, most effectively of all, their co-religionists of England came to the aid of the hard-pressed sailors and merchants of the Netherlands. When we take up this struggle we shall see that it was, in large part at least, the help furnished the rebels by outsiders that balked every effort of Philip at their subjugation. Slowly and reluctantly Philip swung to the opinion that he would never master the situation on the lower Rhine until he had punished the leading supporter of his enemies. In what we may call the second phase of the conflict in the Netherlands he turned furiously on England.

Failure of the war with England

The gist of Philip's plan was to gather an irresistible navy in the harbors of Spain, an irresistible army on the Flanders coast, and by a well-timed coöperative action to overwhelm the island-kingdom in order to make it harmless to succor continental Protestantism. In 1588 the great stroke was ready and was inaugurated by the dispatch of the magnificent fleet, called the Armada, against the English coast. In our English chapter we shall recount how the proud Armada proved a miserable fiasco for a great variety of reasons, among which the superior skill and audacity of the English seamen merit the first place. Philip bore his defeat with dignified resignation. He spoke unaffectedly of the deep grief it caused him "not to be able to render God this great service." And as soon as his exhausted means permitted he returned to the attack. But the English, made confident by success, not only parried every blow but even pushed the war to the Spanish coasts, capturing the treasure-ships which brought to Spain the plunder of America. Clearly the sending of the Armada was the climax of the general religious war and its failure defeated Philip's plans and settled a number of matters in a sense deeply distasteful to the champion of Catholicism. Not that during the ten years that were still his after his descent on England he weakly folded his hands in his lap. But for the historical reviewer it is clear that by 1588

Philip's life-work had come to naught; that both the Netherland rebels and the Protestant north in general were safe from overthrow; and that declining Spain was about to be superseded as ruler of the seas by the Netherlands and England.

Philip's Mediterranean difficulties

It gives us the measure of Philip's difficulties and helps explain his failure in his war with Protestantism to recall to mind that he was heavily engaged at the same time on another, on the Mediterranean front. Here he had to meet the naval power of the Turks and their corsair allies of the African coast. We are aware that this same combination troubled the Emperor Charles throughout his reign, and that, if he occasionally carried the war to Tunis and Algiers, both his ships and his shores continued to be exposed to the depredations of the pirates. With Philip's advent the situation changed, if at all, for the worse because of the concentrated attention he was obliged to give to the developments in northern Europe.

The victory of Lepanto

At length, in 1571, Pope Pius V persuaded Philip to join hands with Venice, still a considerable naval power commanding the remnants of a colonial empire in the eastern Mediterranean, in a resolute effort to set a term to the audacity of the Mohammedans. The pope himself made a contribution of money and ships and Philip, for once liberating himself from the administrative red tape which so often choked his activities, rapidly assembled a great fleet in the waters of Messina. The supreme command over the allied forces was entrusted to Don John, the handsome and chivalrous half-brother of the Spanish king and his exact counterpart in temper and demeanor. As soon as everything was ready Don John sailed his Armada eastward to find and fight the enemy wherever he might be. Sighting him in the gulf of Lepanto, off the western coast of Greece, the enthusiastic prince poured into his men his own unconquerable spirit. Dressed in white velvet trimmed with gold he had himself rowed between the lanes of galleys, crying exhortations to his men: "Christ is your leader. This is the battle of the Cross." In the combat that followed (October 7, 1571) the young commander's dash and courage contributed notably to the outcome, which was the greatest victory that had yet been won by any Christian force over the apparently invincible Turks. Of the two hundred galleys engaged on either side a squadron of only forty Turkish vessels managed to escape. The rest with all their men and armament were either sunk or captured. It was a by no means minor source of pleasure that 12,000 Christian rowers were freed from Moslem slavery.

Decline of Ottoman power after Lepanto

Great was the exultation of the Christian powers and great and justified the satisfaction of the Spaniards who had made the main contribution to the brilliant victory. But its consequences fell far short of what was expected at the time. Torn violently apart through jealousy, the Christian allies by failing to follow up their triumph permitted the Ottoman sultan to rebuild his fleet and resume the domination of his home waters. After his one magnificent spurt Philip returned to his familiar bureaucratic jog-trot and starved his navy in so short-sighted a manner as to incapacitate it for further offensive fighting. In 1573 the disgusted Venetians signed a peace with the Turks on the best terms they could get, and though the war between Spain and the sultan dragged on, no further battle of any consequence took place. The Algerine corsairs continued to be a pest that weighed heavily on the commerce of Spain and Italy and perpetual vigilance toward them was an inalterable necessity of the situation; but the Turks, by renouncing an active policy in the western Mediterranean, ceased henceforth to lend encouragement to their African allies. The fact is, and it caused all Europe to heave a sigh of relief, that from approximately the date of the battle of Lepanto, the over-swollen Ottoman power entered definitely on a decline. That chronological succession does not however argue that the former event was the cause of the latter. Such an opinion would be hardly tenable in the light of the fact that the Turkish naval power recovered from the blow of Lepanto and forced Christian Venice to sign a peace (1573) which marked a further depression of its fortunes. Let us indeed agree that the Ottoman empire declined, but let us not make the mistake of ascribing that significant event to any but the actual causes. These, in the main, are undoubtedly to be found in the internal situation of the realm. About the time of Lepanto terrible domestic evils began to make themselves felt in administration and finance, spreading a corruption through Turkish public life that was like a consuming cancer. Simultaneously the sultanate, which, possessed of absolute power, could alone have cured these ills, fell into the hands of a succession of imbecile rulers, who, shut up in the imperial seraglio, thought only of their own pleasures and sat idly by while the ship of state drifted on the rocks. We shall in the future hear of an occasional recovery of the Ottoman state, but beginning with the last quarter of the sixteenth century, we may think of it as having effectively shot its bolt and as ceasing therewith to be the nightmare of Christian Europe.

The acquisition of Portugal, 1580

Perhaps the most unqualified success associated with the reign of Philip was his winning of Portugal. The acquisition of this kingdom had, in the interest of peninsular unification, been an ancient object of the Spanish kings, but they had wisely refrained from the attempt to effect it by force of arms. Frequent marriages between members of the two reigning houses had fostered a dynastic intimacy, of which Philip took full advantage when, in 1580, the death of King Henry without direct heirs opened the question of the succession. While there were aspirants to the Portuguese crown with as good or a better claim than Philip, the Spanish ruler was close at hand with an irresistible army and by acting swiftly took possession of the throne before the opposition could gain momentum.

The union with Portugal ephemeral

Owing to the considerable trade and numerous colonies of Portugal its absorption greatly strengthened the Spanish position in the world; but it was not long before Philip discovered a fly in the ointment. Conscious of their separate nationality and intensely proud of their achievements during the Age of Discoveries, the Portuguese accepted the yoke of their greater neighbor unwillingly and never ceased to exhibit dangerous signs of restiveness. True, they organized no systematic rebellion against Philip II, but quietly nursing the precious memories of independence, they let the decline of Spain run its destined course. Some forty years after their first Spanish master's death they at length revolted and won back their freedom under a new royal house, the house of Braganza (1640). Thus ended in disaster what in Philip's lifetime was celebrated as the successful consolidation of the peninsula.

Intensification of the domestic evils under Philip II

On turning to the domestic situation under Philip we find there is little to add to the story of the country's ills under his predecessor except to say that they became steadily more deep-seated and incurable. In the face of the waxing absolutism the cortes of both Castile and Aragon, although they continued to be summoned from time to time to vote the taxes, paled to helpless, constitutional wraiths; the Inquisition completely dominated the social and intellectual life and fiercely made it its business to pounce upon and extinguish every spark of dissidence or originality as soon as it appeared; and the productiveness of both city and countryside declined until to a visitor from the busy north the Spanish people gave the impression of being a nation of idlers and beggars. Nor is this the end of the disheartening tale. In measure as misery spread the taxes mounted due to the high-flying foreign policy of the sovereign and his ceaseless embroilments with enemies in every part of Europe. Up to the very last year of his life Philip was engaged in sucking up as with a sponge the wealth of Spain with the result that when the ruler died who in the eyes of credulous Europeans was, owing to the bullion of America, as fabulously rich as Croesus, there was not enough money in the treasury to meet the most immediate wants of the royal household. The Inquisition, absolutism, insane administrative principles, and a spendthrift Catholic imperialism may be confidently named as the ills which engulfed Spain in her ruin.

The rapid decline of Spain after Philip II

The successor of Philip II, his son Philip III (1598–1621), was an utterly incapable man, the tool and puppet of his favorites. In 1609 he was forced to bend his pride so far as to sign a truce for twelve years with the Netherland rebels, thereby virtually acknowledging their independence. Thus did the seed sown by the emperor and his son begin to ripen under their successors. During the long reign of Philip IV (1621–1665) the shadows still further deepened, and in consequence of disasters suffered in the Thirty Years' War and its aftermath, the wretched country sank definitely to the second and third rank among European powers. How in the course of the Thirty Years' War France resumed the struggle for the supremacy in Europe interrupted by her religious difficulties and how, under the leadership of the great Cardinals Richelieu and Mazarin, she completely reversed the decision of Cateau-Cambrésis (1559) we shall see in due time. Let our last word on this swift review of Spanish glory and decay be that by the middle of the seventeenth century the decline of Spain was patent to the most superficial observer.

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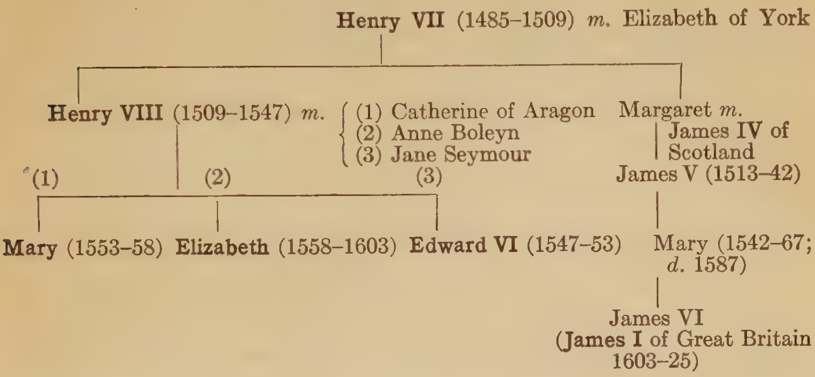
CHAPTER VIII

TUDOR ENGLAND: FROM THE ACCESSION OF HENRY VIII TO THE DEATH OF ELIZABETH


Henry VII (1485–1509) m. Elizabeth of York
Henry VIII (1509–1547) m.
(1) Catherine of Aragon
(2) Anne Boleyn
(3) Jane Seymour
Margaret m.
James IV of Scotland
(1)
(2)
(3)
James V (1513–42)
Mary (1553–58)
Elizabeth (1558–1603)
Edward VI (1547–53)
Mary (1542–67; d. 1587)
James VI
(James I of Great Britain 1603–25)

The Revival of Learning comes late to England

It was during the pacification effected by the first Tudor monarch, Henry VII, a pacification in the course of which the civil rage loosed by the War of the Roses was gradually spent, that the Revival of Learning gained its first foothold in England. English travelers and scholars, returning from the continent and, more particularly, from Italy, communicated their humanistic enthusiasm to their countrymen until first, the university of Oxford and later, the sister institution at Cambridge became active centers for the promulgation of the new ideas. While the literature of the ancients was taken up with avidity, in accordance with the tendency generally exhibited among the peoples of northern Europe a preference was shown for the Christian learning which centered about the Bible and the Fathers. Throughout the Germanic area, let us recall, the Renaissance was as much and more a Christian than a classical movement, and England was no exception to the rule. On this account the great Dutch scholar, Erasmus of Rotterdam, was given an eager welcome when in 1499 he paid a visit to the circle of Oxford humanists. Erasmus was the spirit incarnate of northern scholarship and during the six visits he paid his English friends between the years 1499 and 1517 he gave and received a stimulus which had the happiest consequences for the cause of letters. Innumerable as were the famous Dutchman's English contacts, his best friends as well as the leaders of the English movement were Colet and More. A review of their intellectual interests will serve as the best possible introduction to the prevailing mood of English humanism.

John Colet

After travel in Italy, John Colet (1466–1519), the son of a wealthy London merchant, settled at Oxford where he soon distinguished himself by lectures on the New Testament combining a sound learning with the deep sentiments of Christian piety. It is significant of his reforming fervor that, like so many scholars of the continent, he was drawn to the apostle Paul, in whose simple, burning faith he detected an unconscious protest against the priestly elaborations and the financial abuses of the contemporary Church. His moral enthusiasm made him a master of pulpit eloquence and so great did his fame as a preacher come to be that he was called to London as dean of St. Paul's cathedral. Not content with his exacting duties in the capital, he resolved to crown his life's labors with the foundation at his own expense of St. Paul's school for boys dedicated to the principles of the new learning (1512). Here Latin and Greek, taught in a fresh way, crowded out the barren studies of the schoolmen, while Christianity was taught not in the form of a round of mechanical ceremonies but as a spiritual message pointing the true way to salvation.

Sir Thomas More

A similar moral passion informed the thought and life of Sir Thomas More (1478–1535), friend and intimate of both Colet and Erasmus. Brought up in the humanistic circle of Oxford, he became a barrister, and adopting a public career, was at an early age elected to the house of Commons. His distinguished qualities did not escape King Henry VIII, who drew him into his service, and advancing him from post to post, raised him in 1529, on the disgrace of Cardinal Wolsey, to the office of Lord Chancellor, the highest dignity in the realm under the sovereign. His public service and tragic end belong to the political history of the times which we shall presently take up.

More's Utopia

At this juncture we are concerned with More's place in the English Renaissance and may agree that, though he promoted the cause of learning at every turn, his fame rests chiefly on a single volume, the well known Utopia. Written in Latin and published in 1516, the Utopia is composed of two parts to meet a clear-cut double purpose. While Part One is a sweeping criticism, social, political, and religious of the England of his day, Part Two unfolds the picture of an ideal commonwealth, Utopia, the kingdom of Nowhere, in which the wrongs and abuses of contemporary society are remedied and men live together in those conditions of labor and peace enabling them to enjoy the best gifts of life. The Utopia is a dream, like Plato's Republic, and offers lively witness of a heart that is torn by the sufferings of humanity. It is properly conceived as a socialist tract, the first ripple of a stream of protest destined in the following centuries to swell to the dimensions of a mighty flood. Unqualifiedly it denounces the ruling classes and their institutions and sketches a new communistic order where men are equal, peaceful, moderately laborious, and — happy. While the program, taken as a whole, is wildly impracticable, it should not escape our attention that it contains a number of humane suggestions which have gradually been turned into realities by the increasing enlightenment of society. Since More's day we reserve the term Utopia for every essentially unrealizable vision of a reconstructed world.

The English Reformation in its first phase a political rather than a religious movement

Exactly as in Germany these English humanists helped prepare the way for social and religious reform; but, also like their German congeners, when the movement called the Reformation came, they protested against its violence as well as against its theological tendencies and, generally speaking, repudiated it wholly or in part. The outstanding difference between the English Reformation and its German counterpart is that, instead of the former being carried through under the leadership of an English enthusiast, it was, at least in its earliest phase, championed by the ruler of the land who, animated by little or no interest in religious reform, was set on scoring a political victory over the pope. Indeed it is doubtful whether King Henry VIII did anything whatsoever for the Reformation considered as a spiritual movement, although he certainly promoted it indirectly by carrying through the separation of his country from the Roman allegiance. How that separation came about is the kernel of Henry's reign which we shall now proceed to examine.

The accession of Henry VIII

Henry VIII mounted the throne in 1509 in succession to his father, Henry VII, from whom he inherited an authority hardly short of absolutism. He was not yet twenty years old, a youth of attractive presence, skilled in gentlemanly sports, such as riding and tennis, condescending with all people, free-handed and fond of pageantry, and altogether the idol of his nation which received him with acclamations of joy. Not least exultant over his coming to power were the English humanists, for Henry had been brought into the circle of the new learning by his tutors and was reputed to look upon it with favor.

Breach between Henry and the humanists

The joy of the humanists over the accession of Henry was not destined to last long. The king, indeed, distinguished various members of the learned group by offices and emoluments, but he soon showed that he did not seriously share their reforming zeal and that he was bent on following his own lead. Beneath the king's smooth exterior appeared a stubborn will which with the passing of the years tended more and more to indulge exclusively its selfish purpose. A despot by nature, Henry became ever more despotic by habit and success.

Henry's foreign policy

Throughout his reign Henry's main purpose was to make himself and his country a decisive factor in European politics. His father had sat quietly at home, perfecting the administration and amassing a considerable treasure. The son saw at once that with France and Spain holding each other in check and engaged in permanent enmity over Italy, there was a splendid opportunity for an ambitious sovereign who felt free to throw his weight into the scales for either party. It is true that the French-Spanish controversy hardly touched the interests of England; still, an English ruler of the sixteenth century could not forget that, less than a hundred years before, a warlike predecessor had been crowned king of France, and that from the port of Calais on the French coast, the last stronghold on the continent which floated the English flag, a descent could be made at any time upon Paris. That Henry therefore kept a sharp lookout across the channel requires neither apology nor explanation. If in the perpetual warfare between France and Spain England threw in her lot with Spain, she might reasonably hope to have restored to her a part of France. This speculation determined Henry's general attitude. But though leaning by preference toward Spain, contingencies might arise which would make it advantageous for him to comport himself for a time as the ally of France. In that case he could demand some convenient territory in payment for his services or, if territory was refused, he might let himself be placated with a handsome subsidy of ready money.

Such in outline was Henry's shrewdly calculated foreign policy, modified, however, by one factor — Scotland. Henry VII had inaugurated a policy of reconciliation with Scotland, which he hoped would lead in the course of time to a complete union. In this expectation he had married his oldest daughter, Margaret, to the Scottish king, James IV. But matters did not progress as favorably as he had planned. The enmity between Scots and English was bred too deep in the bone to be easily eradicated, and the Scots, suspicious for centuries of their more powerful neighbor, had looked so steadily toward France for aid and protection that they could not be easily persuaded to abandon the habit. A war of England with France had generally in the past brought Scotland into the field with the object of making a diversion in favor of France along the English border; and this traditional alliance, which caught England between two fires, was usually maintained during the reign of Henry VIII. Thus the king was obliged to wage frequent war with Scotland, but only in moments of intense resentment did he forget what we may name the Tudor policy, with reference to the northern kingdom, of reconciliation and ultimate union.

Relations of England and Scotland

After these general remarks we can dispense with following in detail the intricate game which Henry played upon the diplomatic chessboard of Europe. He joined the pope and Spain in the Holy League of 1512, the object of which was to drive France from Italy. When Emperor Charles V in 1521 renewed the war against France, Henry again fought shoulder to shoulder with Spain, until the great victory of Pavia and the capture of the French king frightened him with the specter of a universal Spanish domination and drove him for a time into the arms of France. Late in his reign, in 1543, he joined the emperor once more in an attack upon Francis I, in which the chief English success was the capture of Boulogne. During these wars Scotland was very troublesome and several times invaded England, though with small effect, since at Flodden (1513) and at Solway Moss (1542) her armies were crushingly defeated. To sum up we may say that Henry won small profit for England from his diplomacy and wars, but that he had the purely personal satisfaction of playing a leading role in international politics.

Henry's wars

The favorite adviser of Henry in the early period of his reign was Thomas Wolsey. Wolsey was a commoner by birth. Taking orders as a priest, he rose rapidly by virtue of his talents from post to post, until the king's favor won for him the archbishopric of York and at the same time put him at the head of the civil administration of the realm in the capacity of Lord Chancellor (1515). No man in his day accumulated more offices and power. His civil position he filled honorably on the whole, proving himself an able administrator and exercising a check upon the king's martial inclinations; but his immersion in political affairs led him to neglect his spiritual functions and filled him with a sense of importance which induced him to order his life on a scale of munificence altogether out of keeping with the English conception of a churchman. Spurred on by the criticism of the humanists, Wolsey undertook to consider and remove some of the abuses of the English Church, but he was still far from being committed to the humanistic program when Luther's theses against Indulgences (1517) made the Reformation the question of the hour. The development of the English attitude toward the greatest contemporary issue constitutes the most interesting aspect of Henry's reign.

Wolsey

Henry, despot and natural lover of authority in every form, followed Luther's first attack upon the papacy and Catholic doctrine with instinctive aversion. In fact, such was his resentment that he did not disdain to descend into the lists in person against Luther, and in 1521 published a vehement pamphlet, wherein he defended both the sacraments and the papal supremacy. In return the gratified Leo X conferred upon Henry the title — still used by English sovereigns — of Defender of the Faith. Of such nature was the understanding between pope and king in Henry's early days. In another ten years the wind had veered and couriers were speeding from Rome not with messages of friendship but with bulls of excommunication. This radical and dramatic change was brought about by the peculiar circumstances of Henry's marriage and his suit for divorce.

Henry's attitude toward Luther

Henry's marriage deserves close consideration. The reader will remember that Henry VII, in pursuance of his plan to strengthen himself against the traditional French enemy, had sought to associate himself with Spain. The outcome of this political intimacy was a contract of espousal, by which Arthur, the prince of Wales, was married to Catherine, daughter of Ferdinand and Isabella. Shortly after the ceremony Arthur died, and as the desire for the alliance continued as before, the idea naturally occurred to the families concerned to marry Arthur's widow to his surviving brother, Henry,

Henry's marriage based on a papal dispensation

However, an obstacle to this project was offered by a law of the Church forbidding a man to marry his deceased brother's wife. In this dilemma Pope Julius II, when appealed to, had recourse to his dispensing powers, by virtue of which he could make a law non-operative in a particular case. He issued what is called a papal dispensation, and on the strength of this the marriage took place in 1509. Now it will be readily understood that if the pope, as Luther was affirming every day with increasing violence, was an impostor, the exercise of the dispensing power was a usurpation, the law remained inalterably the law, and Henry's marriage was illegal. In addition, therefore, to the natural inclination of a despotic mind to uphold the cause of authority everywhere and at all times, Henry had a very personal reason for wanting to see Luther put down and the sovereignty of the pope raised above reproach and challenge. Thus it happened that Henry crossed pens with Luther and became the Defender of the Faith.

Henry desires to be divorced

But time brings about surprising changes. Only a few years after Henry had broken a lance in behalf of the papacy, his attitude toward his marriage altered. After having for over a decade shown much attachment to his queen, he now thought he had weighty reasons for divorce from her. He had had several children by her, but only one child, Mary, had survived infancy, and owing to Queen Catherine's advanced years there was little hope of further offspring. Even if Princess Mary had not been a very sickly child, the king might reasonably feel that he was playing a dangerous game to stake the succession upon one fragile life. On dynastic grounds, therefore, Henry felt troubled and desired to marry again. But he had also an incentive of a more personal nature. The aging Catherine had long since lost her charm for him, and he was now madly infatuated with her young and charming maid of honor, Anne Boleyn. In 1527 he first whispered to his confidant, Wolsey, the word divorce.

Questions of marriage and divorce belonged, as we have seen, to the exclusive competence of the Church, and because marriage was a sacrament, the Church refused to countenance divorce save in certain exceptional circumstances. Henry professed to believe that his was the exceptional case, resting his plea on the contention that the dispensation granted for his marriage was legally defective. He wanted the reigning pope, who was the worldly-minded Clement VII, to acknowledge that defectiveness, thereby automatically cancelling his predecessor's dispensation and rendering the marriage null and void. This simple course Wolsey, who had meanwhile, in addition to his other dignities, become cardinal and papal legate, undertook with all his might to urge upon the pope, but without avail. Clement VII proceeded with extreme caution, partly perhaps from conscientious scruples, certainly because he did not dare offend the powerful Charles V, who as head of the Spanish house naturally stood by his aunt, the English queen. Clement would examine, he would not pronounce. In 1529 he agreed to send to England a legate, Cardinal Campeggio, who, together with Wolsey already on the ground, was to hold a legatine court and ascertain the facts. The king put aside his dignity so far as to appear before the two cardinals like a common suitor, but even this humiliating act profited him nothing, for the pope, still proceeding on his original plan of delay, suddenly transferred the case to Rome.

Henry desires the pope to annul the dispensation

Henry was furious at this crumbling of his hopes and in his rage to make a scapegoat of some one let fall the weight of his displeasure on the head of Wolsey. He stripped him of his civil honors and exiled him to the country; still unappeased, he had just ordered his arrest as a measure preparatory to his execution, when the great cardinal was stricken ill and died (1530). At the last he cast a regretful backward look upon his life, using to his attendants words which Shakespeare has employed almost literally in his play of Henry VIII: "Had I but served my God with half the zeal I served my king, He would not in mine age have left me naked to mine enemies."

Wolsey's disgrace, 1530

What to do now? Almost any other man would have given up, but Henry had the kind of autocratic will which grows terrible with opposition. If the pope could not be got to act in what the king considered a just and necessary case, he would repudiate the pope altogether and establish the English Church on a purely national basis. Further, he would no longer permit the Church to remain an independent power in the state, but would reduce it to subjection to the civil power, which meant, of course, himself. The officers of a church cut off from Rome on the one hand, and dependent on the king upon the other, could be trusted to settle the divorce question as the king desired. Upon this plan Henry proceeded, but not without frequent pauses in order to give the pope time to reflect upon the

Henry resolves to renounce the pope

dangers he was running. For the royal quarrel with the papacy was a matter of policy, not of conviction, and the king would have avoided it at any cost short of the sacrifice of the divorce. As the pope remained deaf to both the threats and pleas of Henry, the anti-papal enactments succeeded each other without interruption until every cable binding England to Rome had been slipped. Let us tabulate the leading steps in this procedure.

The assembly of the English clergy is called Convocation. In 1531 Convocation was summoned and a decree wrested from the clergy, declaring Henry Head of the Church; owing, however, to the qualms expressed by many of the members the qualifying phrase was added, "as far as the law of Christ allows." The next year the king destroyed the legislative independence of the clergy by requiring them to permit him to revise their statutes and to adopt no new laws without his consent.

Submission of the clergy

By these steps Henry had put the English clergy, so to speak, into his pocket. Now it remained only to repeal the laws by which Rome possessed a foothold in England. These laws being acts of parliament could be repealed only by parliament, which body Henry accordingly summoned and by mingled threats and persuasion bent to his will. In 1532 parliament abolished the payment to Rome of First Fruits, which, being the first year's revenues of ecclesiastical benefices, constituted the chief income that the pope drew from England. The next year followed a renewal in more sweeping form of the ancient statute prohibiting the taking of any legal case outside the kingdom. This gave to the English ecclesiastical courts the right to pronounce, and pronounce finally, upon the king's suit. And now longer delay was neither necessary nor possible. In February, 1533, Cranmer, a creature of Henry's and half a Protestant at heart, was made archbishop of Canterbury and primate of England; and three months later he pronounced the desired sentence of divorce in his own court. Henry had already without waiting for this action married Anne Boleyn and now proceeded with her public coronation as queen of England (June 1, 1533).

The divorce pronounced

When the pope heard of these doings he at last recovered his power of unambiguous speech and fulminated at Henry a bull of excommunication (July, 1533). But Henry was now secure and could meet the pope's wrath as an equal. In 1534 he had parliament pass a culminating act, the Act of

The Act of Supremacy, 1534

Supremacy, by which the last traces of connection with Rome were removed, and the king confirmed in the title already voted by the clergy of Supreme Head of the English Church, to which there was now attached no qualification whatever.

Henry suppresses opposition

Thus while the English Church became national by being cut off from Rome, it also transferred its allegiance and became subject to the crown. Naturally there were many who regretted these changes. If they thoughtlessly crossed Henry's path they were not likely to escape with their lives. His marriage with Anne Boleyn, the Act of Supremacy, and all that hung thereby could only be criticised at the risk of death. When Sir Thomas More, the humanist, although he had been Lord Chancellor for three years following Wolsey's disgrace and although he was the foremost living Englishman, refused to take the oath involving acquiescence in these high-handed measures, he was convicted of treason and hurried to the block (1535).

Henry makes Protestant concessions

From the first it was an interesting question how far Henry would depart from the accepted Catholic system and approach the Protestant theological position. In his own heart and mind he was as much a Catholic before as after the separation. The sole distinction between Henry then and Henry now was that he had taken, as regards England, the pope's place at the head of the Church. But to a certain extent he could not fail to be influenced by the Reformation, for the pope and the Catholic world had solemnly repudiated him, and at the height of the struggle with the pope he had fallen under the influence of a counsellor, Thomas Cromwell by name, who entertained secret Lutheran sympathies. A number of minor changes, redolent of Lutheranism, were therefore carried through. Every church was ordered to provide itself with an English Bible for general use, indulgences were condemned, pilgrimages forbidden, and a few miraculous images destroyed. But the most incisive innovation adopted was the suppression of the monasteries.

We have seen on several occasions that monasticism was the feature of the Church which chiefly invited the ridicule and criticism of the humanists. On this account, wherever the Reformation was victorious, monasticism was the institution which was first thrown overboard. Doubtless there was exaggeration in the tales of depravity circulated by such a virulent enemy of the orders as Erasmus; still, where there was so much smoke it is safe to assume there was some fire. Even during the chancellorship of Wolsey, long before the policy of separation was entertained, a number of smaller institutions had been discontinued; and when Cromwell now suggested a plan of suppression on a much larger scale the king gave his consent, prompted in part, no doubt, by the immense material advantage which would accrue to the royal exchequer from the confiscation of the extensive monastic lands. In pursuit of his bold plot Cromwell sent partisan agents through the land to investigate the monastic houses. Although their reports were steeped in gross exaggeration, they served the purpose of the unscrupulous minister, since on being presented to parliament, they moved that body, outraged by the thought of so much wickedness, to adopt the desired legislation. In 1536 a bill was passed ordering the suppression of the lesser houses — the exact provision was of all houses of less than £200 revenue — but Henry and his greedy henchman managed to include gradually the richer institutions as well by bringing personal pressure to bear upon the abbots. Before five years had rolled by monasteries in England were a thing of the past; and the houses and vast tracts of lands which had fallen home to the king had been either given to greedy courtiers, or sold to meet the royal necessities, or dedicated in a few honorable instances to the support of schools and churches.

The suppression of the monasteries

The English people accept the royal policy

As far as it is possible to ascertain the attitude of the English people toward the ecclesiastical revolution inaugurated by Henry, it would seem that in their majority they consented, though somewhat hesitatingly, to the separation from Rome because in England, as throughout the continent, the prestige of the papacy had in recent generations been seriously impaired. However, although they rallied behind the Act of Supremacy, they were, like Henry himself, essentially conservative and Catholic in spirit. Apart from a small band of reformers, influenced from the continent, they had little desire for any change in the familiar features of the Church. Therefore the suppression of the monasteries went beyond their wishes and in the backward counties of the north, where attachment to tradition was particularly strong, led to a dangerous revolt, known as the Pilgrimage of Grace (1536). Henry, as might be expected, put down the insurrection with vigor, but taking the hint which it conveyed, refused to go farther along the path blazed by the Lutheran princes of Germany.

For the rest of his life Henry was content to stand fast, force the acknowledgment of his supremacy upon his subjects, and keep the service and the doctrine of his Church free from the taint of Protestantism. From time to time, in order to remove all doubt, he condescended to inform his subjects what they were authorized to believe; and these pronouncements, such as the Ten Articles of 1536 and the Six Articles of 1539, contained very little to which a strict partisan of Rome might not have set his name. The Six Articles in particular were eminently Catholic, since they upheld the sacrament of the mass, auricular confession, the celibacy of the clergy, and, for good measure, made diversity of opinion punishable with death.

Henry's doctrine remains Catholic

Under such a régime there was no peace in England either for supporters of the pope or for adherents of Protestantism, and both these groups were vehemently persecuted. Thomas Cromwell himself, though his fall was coupled with other causes, could not be saved by a long record of faithful, if shifty, service when his support of the religious radicals became obnoxious to the king. In 1540 he was charged with treason and beheaded. The only safety for Englishmen lay in the quiet acceptance of the system which their masterful sovereign had imposed and which was substantially Catholic except for the separation from the venerable capital of Rome and the suppression of the monasteries.

Execution of Cromwell, 1540

A personal page in Henry's history demands at least passing recognition. It presents the story of his marriages. His brutal ruthlessness, which served him well in politics in so far as it enabled him to impose his will triumphantly on his environment, stands out in appalling nakedness in the tenderer associations of the family. We have already followed the tragedy of Catherine of Aragon to the coronation of her coquettish rival, Anne Boleyn. Anne Boleyn gave birth to a daughter, Elizabeth, and soon afterward was executed on the charge of unfaithfulness (1536). The next wife, Jane Seymour, died in childbed, leaving a son, Edward. The fourth wife, a German princess, Anne of Cleves, did not suit Henry at all and was married only to be immediately divorced (1540). As the fifth wife, Catherine Howard, proved unfaithful, her head too was severed by the axe (1542); and so room was made for a sixth, Catherine Parr, who managed, by dutiful submission, to outlive the royal Bluebeard.

His six marriages

Henry died in 1547. Before his death he had been granted by parliament the right to regulate the succession by will. Accordingly, he devised his crown to his son Edward, with the provision that it pass, on the failure of Edward's blood, to his daughters Mary and Elizabeth, in the order named. As Edward was but a boy nine years old, his father provided further, during his son's minority, a council of regency, at the head of which he put Edward's maternal uncle, the duke of Somerset.

The succession

EDWARD VI (1547–1553)

Henry was hardly dead when the council of regency met, and without regard to Henry's wishes practically resigned its powers to Somerset, who was authorized to assume the title of protector. This measure was of decided consequence because Somerset leaned toward the reforming party. As a majority in the council held similar opinions, Somerset had no difficulty in inaugurating an era of Protestant legislation, especially as he was heartily seconded in his policy by Cranmer, the archbishop of Canterbury. We have therewith touched upon the real significance of the rule of the protector. The English Church, which Henry had zealously kept free from theological innovations, was now definitely launched upon Protestant waters.

The Protector Somerset pursues a Protestant policy

If we admit that it was probably impossible to keep the English Church, following its initial breach with the Catholic world, exactly where Henry left it, we shall incline to defend Somerset against the charge of precipitate change which is frequently made against him. In any case his decision was, while keeping the Church national and uniform, to swing wide the door to Protestant influence. English was gradually substituted for Latin in the services; priests were allowed to marry; the use of holy water was discontinued; and all images were removed from the churches. Finally, to lend dignity to the conduct of the new services in English, there was published in 1549 the First Book of Common Prayer, which vindicates the sobriety of Somerset's policy, since Archbishop Cranmer, who is mainly responsible for it, modelled it closely on the ancient services of the Church.

Protestant changes

But Somerset's fall was at hand. Not because of discontent caused by these religious innovations, at least not in a marked degree, but owing primarily to prolonged economic misery, the peasantry of England rose in the summer of 1549 and threatened civil war. The troubles among the English peasants, who were freemen, bore little resemblance to the situation which provoked the German peasants, held in galling serfdom, to wage the bloody war of 1525. Instead of being bound to the land and laden with services, the English country folk were so little bound that they found themselves in large numbers driven off the land altogether by a curious procedure known as enclosure. The great English landlords had discovered that, owing to the steady demand for wool in the markets of the Netherlands, their returns were larger from sheep-herding than from agriculture. Therefore, by letting their lands run to pasture and enclosing them, with perhaps the addition of the common lands of which the whole village had once had the use, they threw thousands of peasants out of work and occasioned great misery. This conversion of agricultural land to pasture was not new in Somerset's day. It had been going on for several generations, and many were the laws by which the government had tried to stop the movement and give protection to the humble tillers of the soil. But economic causes, operating like forces of nature, are stronger than legislation, and the peasants had not been relieved. When in 1549 they rose, Somerset, who had a heart that beat for the oppressed, did not hesitate to declare his sympathy with them. The rest of the council, members to a man of the landlord class, waited until the army of the government had scattered the insurgent hosts and then proceeded to rid themselves of the traitor in their midst. In October Somerset was arrested and deposed, and although he was allowed to live for a while, his opponents did not feel perfectly secure until his head had been severed from his body. He was executed in 1552.

The agrarian revolution causes the fall of Somerset

The leader of the landlord party in the council which had caused the overthrow of the protector was Warwick, better known by his later title of duke of Northumberland. He became Somerset's successor as governor of the kingdom, without, however, assuming the title of protector. He was a clever, unscrupulous, ambitious man, who, although he had no particular religious convictions, became an enthusiastic advocate of Protestantism when he discovered that a majority of his colleagues were of that opinion. Not content with Somerset's moderate program, he allied himself with the religious radicals and gave free scope to their passions. Now first occurred violent scenes of iconoclasm in England, when the people, incited by the so-called "hot gospellers," entered the churches and indiscriminately broke

Northumberland introduces radical Protestantism

altars, statuary, and stained-glass windows. Now, too, came persecution of orthodox Catholics, although the government never entirely lost the tolerant quality impressed upon it by Somerset. In 1552 there was issued the Second Book of Common Prayer, which was again largely the work of Cranmer but differed from the earlier edition in the more Protestant color of many of its passages. The Forty-two Articles of Religion — a new confession of faith — followed, and therewith the reconstruction of Henry's national Church on Protestant lines was completed. An Act of Uniformity imposed the reformed Church upon the nation.

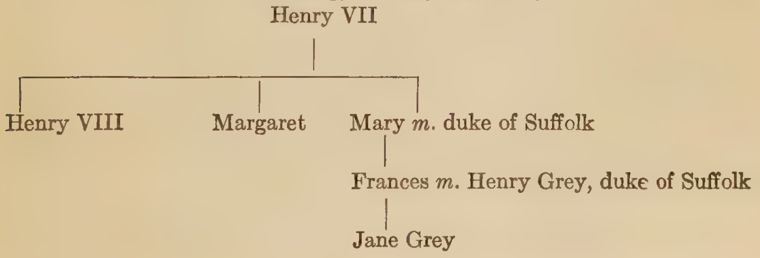
The boy king

The Protestant revolution of Edward's reign was, as we have seen, the work of Somerset and Northumberland. Nevertheless, the king, who was, as is frequently the case with feeble children, a boy of remarkable precocity, followed the religious changes with intense sympathy. When he was twelve years old the German reformer, Bucer, wrote of him: "No study enjoys his favor as much as the Bible." His favorite diversion was a theological discussion, which he would follow with a countenance whence every touch of childish grace had been banished by an unnatural austerity.

Edward changes the law of succession

Such a boy was only too likely to exhaust prematurely his low measure of vitality. Early in 1553 Northumberland perceived that Edward was dying. By Henry's will the succession would now fall to Mary, who, like her Spanish mother Catherine, was a devout Catholic. With his Protestant record, Northumberland had everything to fear from her, and in order to secure himself he played upon the young king's Protestant conscience with such skill that he persuaded him to devise his crown away from his sisters Mary and Elizabeth upon his cousin, Lady Jane Grey, who could trace her lineage back to Henry VII.[1] In Northumberland's eyes Lady Jane not only had the advantage of being a Protestant who would presumably sympathize with his

Genealogy of Lady Jane Grey.



religious measures, but as he had lately married her to one of his own sons, Guilford Dudley, he might hope through these young and inexperienced people to perpetuate his power. It was a base and despicable intrigue without a vestige of legality. For Henry's arrangement of the succession by will was in accordance with an express permission granted by parliament, but Edward, having been accorded no such power, signed an utterly worthless document. Northumberland was still completing the arrangements for his plot when, on July 6, 1553, Edward breathed his last.

MARY (1553–1558)

Public sentiment declares for Mary

Edward had hardly expired when Northumberland proclaimed Lady Jane Grey. But if he had any hope of carrying his candidate, he was soon disillusioned. The mass of the people saw through his selfish intrigue and rallied around Mary, their lawful sovereign. They hailed Mary gladly, because not only their sense of law and justice, but also their religious prejudices designated her as queen. For the majority of the people still leaned strongly toward the ancient Catholic usages and had little or no sympathy with the radical Protestantism carried through in Edward's reign. From Mary they expected the return of the mass and the other beloved practices from which they were not yet weaned in their hearts.

Downfall of Northumberland and Lady Jane Grey

The Lady Jane Grey was, in consequence of this unhesitating devotion of the English people to their rightful sovereign, crowned only to be deposed again. Northumberland, deserted by his followers, gave himself up and was beheaded. His death was a just punishment for his misdeeds, but unfortunately Lady Jane, the unwitting tool of an ambitious man, paid the same penalty. It is true Queen Mary felt compassion for her and delayed the execution, but a rebellion of the following year exasperated her to such a degree that in sudden alarm she gave her consent to her young cousin's death. The gentle and refined young girl, queen of England for nine agitated days, has always excited a pathetic interest. Not having of her own volition sought the crown, she could truthfully call the day on which she gave it back to the commissioners, who arrested her, the happiest day of her life.

It seems likely that if Mary had adopted a moderate Catholic policy, taking her stand upon the platform of her father, Henry, her reign would have met the wishes of her people. But Mary had nothing about her suggesting compromise. Her Spanish blood called upon her to be faithful, above all things, to her faith. She therefore planned nothing less than a return of England to the pope's fold — a full Catholic restoration. And that was a delusion. For however the English people were attached to the ancient worship, the Act of Supremacy, proclaiming the English independence of Rome, had the nation almost solidly behind it.

Mary plans a full Catholic restoration

The first acts of Mary's reign left no doubt about her policy. The parliament, obedient to a word from the throne, rescinded the religious legislation of Edward's reign, thus bringing the Church back to the condition in which it was at Henry's death. The mass was again celebrated in the Latin language, altars were set up, and the married clergy were expelled from their livings. So much was probably acceptable to the nation. But doubtful and impolitic measures followed. Urged on by Mary, the parliament next abolished all the legislation of Henry's reign pertaining to the pope, and ended by voting the unconditional return of England to the papal obedience. To crown this policy of recantation, Cardinal Pole, an Englishman of royal blood, who had been sent to England as the legate of the pope, in November, 1554, extended absolution to the nation and received it back into the papal fold. Even so, England had not been quite brought back to the religious status that obtained when Henry began his memorable conflict. There were still the alienated monastic lands. Mary in her honest zeal would have restored them to their owners, but here the parliament, made up largely of landholders who had profited by the spoliation of the Church, showed itself intractable.

England returns to the Catholic fold

If the uncompromising Catholic policy of Mary alienated many sympathizers, she hurt herself still more in popular estimation when she rejected marriage with one of her own countrymen and accepted the proffered hand of her kinsman Philip, son and heir of Charles V. Such a union could not but inspire vague fears of a foreign domination, and although every provision was made in the marriage contract to insure the independence of England, the country was nevertheless drawn into the Spanish system. In the summer of 1554 the marriage was celebrated, and although Philip proved himself afterward in his Spanish

Mary marries Philip of Spain, 1554

realm to be an unbending autocrat and fanatic, it must be set down to his credit that during his occasional visits to England he comported himself with much discretion.

The persecutions under Mary

Although the religious persecutions which gave the finishing stroke to Mary's dying popularity and won for her from bigoted Protestant enemies the terrible title of "Bloody Mary" date from about the time of her marriage, they can not be fairly ascribed to her Spanish consort. If Mary persecuted, the incentive was chiefly furnished by her own fiery enthusiasm. It was she who stimulated the parliament to reënact the old ferocious statutes against heresy and it was she who urged the bishops to carry them out. Soon the prisons were filled with the Protestant leaders of Edward's time, and soon, too, the fires of persecution were lighted over the realm. It is the period of the Protestant martyrs. Less than four hundred died by the fagot — a number inconsiderable compared with the slaughter in France or the Netherlands, but enough to rack the nerves of a people whose religious vacillation, as reflected in the legislation of the preceding decades, led them to favor a more gentle procedure. The stanchness of the victims in death contributed more toward establishing Protestantism than could have been done by the doctrinal fervor of an army of Calvinist preachers. It was even as Bishop Latimer said to Bishop Ridley at the stake: "Master Ridley, play the man; we shall this day, by God's grace, light such a candle in England as I trust shall never be put out." For the stout part they played Latimer and Ridley head the Protestant martyrology. But the persecution struck a more prominent, if not a more noble victim than these, in the person of the deposed archbishop of Canterbury. This was the celebrated Cranmer, who had served under two kings. Cranmer, the perfect embodiment of the religious irresolution of the age, flinched when the trial came and denied his faith. But in the face of death his courage came back to him. He thrust his right hand into the flame, and steadying it there, said resolutely: "This is the hand that wrote the recantation; therefore it first shall suffer punishment."

Her unpopularity

If Edward's violent Protestantism made his reign detested, Mary's violent Catholicism produced much the same result. She was at bottom a quiet, tender woman, whose intolerance was a habit of her age shared by Catholics and Protestants alike, and who found it hard to face the hatred her policy aroused. Besides, her marriage was unfortunate. She loved Philip, but Philip cared little for her and did not much trouble to hide his indifference to the sickly and ill-favored woman, twelve years older than himself. To crown her misfortunes, she allowed her Spanish husband to draw her into a war with France, in which Philip won all the honor and Mary suffered all the disgrace by the loss of the last French foothold remaining to England from its former large possessions across the channel, Calais (1558). Doubtless the loss of Calais was for England a benefit in disguise; she was thereby cut off from the continent and directed to her true sphere, the sea. But to Englishmen of that day the capture seemed an insufferable dishonor. No one felt it more keenly than Mary. "When I die," she is reported to have said shortly before her death (November, 1558), "Calais will be found written on my heart."

ELIZABETH (1558–1603)

The glorious reign of Queen Elizabeth

Elizabeth, Anne Boleyn's daughter and Mary's younger half-sister, succeeded to the throne on Mary's death, and inaugurated a reign which proved to be one of the most glorious in English annals. Under her, Protestantism was firmly established in England; the great Catholic sea-power, Spain, was challenged and defeated; and English life flowered in the poetry of Shakespeare and his contemporaries more exuberantly than ever before or since. To the national greatness to which England suddenly raised herself in the sixteenth century, Elizabeth has lent her name. She appeared to the English people, and still appears, mirrored in a great time; and their generous loyalty, which gave her in her lifetime the title of Good Queen Bess, has also encouraged them in the view that she was the fountain and the sum of all the glories of her day. Modern historians have modified this judgment. They have separated the woman from her time, and it is a very human Elizabeth who appears to the eye now that the curtain of the myths which concealed her from view has been withdrawn.

Elizabeth as woman and statesman

Elizabeth had few of the graces of womanhood and many of its customary weaknesses. Her vanity was so great that, though a very plain-featured person, she conceived herself to be a beauty of a particularly rare type. She could not live without flattery and flirtations, and accepting the compliments of the courtiers for true coin, allowed herself to be persuaded to dance and sing in her maladroit manner before a brilliant court of gentlemen and ladies, who could hardly hide their amusement behind their handkerchiefs. Her manners were rude, especially at the council board, and her ministers were frequently annihilated by language which would have done honor to the camp and the fishmarket. However, if Elizabeth failed to meet the stereotyped ideal of feminine perfection, she certainly possessed what are usually called masculine talents, for she had an inflexible will and an exceptional intelligence. Above all, she loved her country to the point of completely identifying herself with its interests. Her statesmanship, supreme of its kind, took the form of consistently promoting, though less by martial than by diplomatic means, the greatness of England.

Elizabeth's religion

One of the qualities by which she rendered England perhaps her greatest service her contemporaries would have been quick to condemn if they had been more clearly informed about it: she was lukewarm in matters of faith. Regardless of our theoretic view of this state of mind, we can not but agree that in the England of that day, shaken by religious passions, the sovereign's religious indifference was an undisguised blessing to the commonwealth. By reason of it Elizabeth was delivered from the destructive radicalism of both Edward and Mary, and being unusually disinterested, was peculiarly fitted to play her royal part of mediator between antagonistic faiths. Let us not forget that the sixteenth century was the century not only of the Reformation but also of the Renaissance. Elizabeth had been brought up to read Latin and Greek and was not unacquainted with the languages and literatures of the continent. It is, therefore, not so very strange that, like Shakespeare, Jonson, and the poets of her time generally, she gave more heed to the voices coming from Italy than to the messages of Luther and of Calvin. In sum, she is a Renaissance rather than a Reformation personality.

The Privy Council and the parliament

The chief organ of Elizabeth's government was the Privy Council, the advice of which she regularly heard before she arrived at a decision. In this body was gathered the best political talent which the country boasted. It is no small credit to Elizabeth to have exhibited such discernment in the choice of her ministers. Most prominent among them was William Cecil, Lord Burghley, who devoted a life of exemplary service to advance the twin causes with which England came to be identified: Protestantism and sea-power. But, though Elizabeth was willing to consult in her affairs the Privy Council, which was a body of her own choice, she was not inclined to grant much political influence to parliament, composed of the representatives of the people. Parliament remained, therefore, what it had been under the other Tudors, an obedient recorder of the royal will. During the queen's life the undivided sovereignty of England rested on her shoulders.

Elizabeth steers a middle course

As might be expected, the leading question of Elizabeth's reign proved to be the question of religion. Edward had followed a policy of radical Protestantism and Mary a policy of radical Catholicism; after these two uncompromising programs it was plain that extremes were dangerous. Elizabeth showed her sound judgment by steering deliberately and from the first a middle course. When her first parliament assembled in 1559 she had it pass a new Act of Supremacy, asserting the English independence of Rome and declaring the sovereign the highest authority in the realm in religious as well as in civil matters. This she had followed up by an Act of Uniformity which imposed upon every minister the forms of worship laid down in a new Book of Common Prayer. The new book was nothing but the second Prayer-Book (1552) of Edward's reign with some few revisions. The plan was to make the national Church thus reëstablished a rallying-ground for average men and women averse to the zealotry of either party. Such was Elizabeth's politic and shifty moderation that for a time even the pope nursed the fond hope of her return to the fold; but after waiting for ten years in vain, he lost patience and issued a bull excommunicating and deposing her (1570).

Her persecution political rather than religious

From that moment Elizabeth became definitely pledged to the Protestant cause and was forced into a more active hostility against Catholicism. As a result severe measures were passed against the adherents of the pope, but never in blind passion or without recognition of varying degrees of culpability. Catholics who refused to attend service in the national Church were visited with money fines, while heavier fines, culminating in imprisonment, were inflicted for saying or attending mass. Finally, those Catholics, whose enthusiasm led them to engage in political plots, were repressed by special treason bills authorizing the seizure and execution of conspirators and sufficiently elastic to strike down any inconvenient Catholic fanatic. Under this repressive legislation a considerable number of Catholics were put to death, and all of them, by the system of fines, were gravely molested; but compared with the contemporary persecutions in Spain, France, and the Netherlands, Elizabeth's methods may truthfully be said to bear an unmistakable imprint of moderation.

Elizabeth is the real founder of the Anglican Church

A church built on these broad foundations must have met the wishes of a majority of Englishmen for they gave it their adherence in increasing numbers, accepted its worship and government, and gradually forgot the Latin mass. Proceeding in her deliberate manner, Elizabeth could, therefore, gradually complete her structure by new legislation. The most important of the supplementary acts is the publication of a confession of faith under the name of the Thirty-nine Articles of Religion (1563). These, too, like the Book of Common Prayer, were based upon the enactments of Edward's time and mark a considerable departure from Catholic doctrinal tradition. The Acts of Supremacy and Uniformity, the Book of Common Prayer, and the Thirty-nine Articles are still in our own day the essential features of the Anglican or English national Church, which may, therefore, claim Elizabeth much more truly than Henry as its founder.

Puritans and Separatists

Throughout Elizabeth's reign the Roman Catholics decreased in numbers. But as they diminished, there rose into prominence another body of religious opponents, Protestant radicals, who were dissatisfied with what they called Elizabeth's half measures and clamored for a thorough Protestant revolution. These radicals, it soon developed, were of two kinds, Puritans and Separatists. The Puritans were the more moderate opponents, who, while accepting the national Church and attending its services, hoped to eliminate from it certain ceremonial features, such as the elaborate vestments of the clergy, which they despised as "Romish" trappings. Their demand for what they called a purer worship won them as a nickname, in the first instance, the party designation of Puritans. The Separatists, on the other hand (also called Brownists, after their founder Robert Brown), were radicals of the most thorough-going sort. The national Church with its bishops, its surplices, its ceremonies, was hardly better to them than the Roman Church, and they refused to attend it. As their propaganda spread, they were sharply persecuted, while the Puritans, who in the main yielded obedience and worshipped as demanded by the law, were left comparatively undisturbed.

On turning to the foreign developments of Elizabeth's reign we are immediately struck by the fact that they are so intimately associated with her religious policy that we are forced to conclude that one can not be understood without the other. Exactly as in matters of religion the whole tenor of her conduct in the foreign field was caution, a daring caution if one may venture the expression. In consequence, she remained for a surprisingly long time on reasonably good terms with both the pope and Philip of Spain. But in measure as her Protestant policy took a more definite shape, a coolness sprang up which the bull of excommunication of 1570 converted into open hostility. Turn as Elizabeth would in her shifty manner, there was now no way by which she could avoid being identified with the general Protestant movement. With the closing of the ranks effected by the Council of Trent (1563) the Catholic Counter-Reformation, waxing stronger every day, became more resolutely set on winning back the lost ground; and unless the Protestants closed their ranks in their turn, it was only too likely that their forces would be broken and routed. The great fact of the last quarter of the sixteenth century is that inexorably Catholicism and Protestantism were drawn into a world struggle, in which Philip of Spain eagerly stepped forward as the champion of Rome and Elizabeth with characteristic manifest reluctance became the paladin of the newer faith.

Caution the chief note of Elizabeth's foreign policy

Every event of Elizabeth's reign contributed to precipitate the inevitable struggle, notably the queen's relation with Scotland and Scotland's sovereign, Mary Stuart. Scotland had been England's foe for centuries. We have seen that Henry VII, with a view to a better understanding and possible union of the two countries, had married his daughter Margaret to James IV. But war was not thereby averted. James IV and James V both sympathized with France and both died while fighting England, the latter (1542) when his successor, Mary, was but a few days old. As the royal Scottish infant grew to maidenhood, owing to her descent from Henry VII, she came to be regarded as a possible eventual successor to the English throne; and when in 1558 Elizabeth, the last direct heir of Henry VIII assumed the scepter, the opinion was generally entertained that unless Elizabeth married and had children, the crown would in due course devolve on the Scottish queen. Nor should it be overlooked that to passionate Catholics, Mary Stuart had a claim that took precedence even over that of Elizabeth, since to them the daughter of Anne Boleyn was an illegitimate child. Out of this relation of the two women to the English throne sprang their

The affairs of Scotland

instinctive aversion for each other and the long and bloody drama of their rivalry, ending in Mary's death upon the scaffold.

Queen Mary sent to France when a child

When Mary succeeded to the throne of Scotland, she was, as has been said, a child in arms. Her mother, another Mary, of the French family of Guise, assumed the regency, and in order to withdraw her child from a threatening English control sent her over to France, where she was soon betrothed to the heir of the throne, who bore the title dauphin. Thus in spite of all the Tudors had been able to do, the interests of France and Scotland had become more closely knit than ever.

The Protestant movement in Scotland

Mary of Guise, as Scottish regent, soon met with the difficulties which beset every government in her time. Toward the middle of the century the voices of the Reformation began to be heard in the land. Conversions grew apace, and presently the struggle between the old and the new faiths was joined with the customary vehemence. But nowhere was it so brief and nowhere was the victory of the new teachings so decisive. Scotland was still a backward, feudal land, where the chief power rested with a lawless nobility. The clergy, too, had considerable wealth and power, but the religious indifference and luxurious living of the prelates had undermined the affections of the people. So slight was the hold of the Church on Scotland that the fiery Calvinist preachers, among whom John Knox (1505–72) was the leading spirit, had only to spread their propaganda for a few years in order to draw the common people completely to their side. When the nobility, lured by the bait of the rich Church lands, threw in their lot with the preachers, the success of the Reformation in Scotland was assured.

The regent calls in the French to put down Protestantism

The French gentlewoman who held the regency of Scotland viewed these developments with consternation. She had lost her hold on the country and could think of no other way of getting it back than by the aid of French troops. At her request France sent soldiers, who had put themselves in possession of a number of important places and were on the road to repressing the Protestant movement altogether at the very moment when Elizabeth had given a Protestant turn to English affairs by establishing her national Church. The wisdom of aiding the northern Protestants as a means of ousting France from Scotland was so obvious that Elizabeth resolved to send men and ships to their aid. These forces succeeded in bringing the French to terms, and by the treaty of Edinburgh (1560) the latter agreed to abandon

Scotland. As at this juncture, the regent fell ill and died, and as Queen Mary was still in France, the Protestants suddenly found themselves masters of the situation. In a parliament composed of the friends of Knox they abolished the papal supremacy, forbade the mass, and laid the foundations of a new church of their own (1560).

Calvanism dominates the government, doctrines, and service of the new church

The church that thus came into being only a year after Elizabeth had set up her Anglican establishment was based, like it, on independence from Rome; but this general Protestant feature apart, it bore little resemblance to its southern neighbor. John Knox, the chief organizing genius of the Scottish church, had sat at the feet of Calvin at Geneva, and was resolved to model it, as nearly as the differences between a small city-state and an extensive kingdom permitted, according to Calvin's theory of church organization. In consequence each congregation governed itself democratically, that is, was ruled by the pastor in connection with elected laymen called presbyters, while the national church, being the sum of the separate congregations, was ruled by a body of delegates representing the local groups and called the general assembly. Together with these self-governing features the doctrines and worship of Geneva were taken over by the new institution practically without a change. Because of the important place conceded to the presbyters (or elders) the new church came generally to be known as the Presbyterian Kirk of Scotland.

Mary returns to Scotland, 1561

Up to the time of this religious revolution the absent Queen Mary had not concerned herself much with the doings of rude and far-away Scotland. By the accession (1559) of her husband, Francis II, to the French throne she had recently become queen of France; and ever since the death of Mary Tudor (1558) she had, supported by a good part of the Catholic world, looked upon herself also as the rightful queen of England. But the year 1560 perceptibly darkened her outlook. The feeble sovereign, Francis II, died, and Elizabeth made herself tolerably secure at home. Scotland alone seemed to be left to Mary, and as Scotland needed its sovereign, she suddenly (1561) hurried thither.

When Mary landed in Scotland she was only nineteen years old and no better than a stranger. Add to this fact the circumstance that she was confronted by a lawless nobility, and, as a Catholic, was an object of intense suspicion to her Protestant subjects, and one has the elements of a problem that even a better and wiser person than Mary might not have solved. But though she proved unequal to the situation, she was a woman of many admirable gifts. Grace of body and spirit were joined to a nimble wit and a keen intelligence. The chance that tossed her to France had furnished her with a rare opportunity for development, for the court of the Valois had become the home of all the exquisite influences of the Renaissance, and the people she met there, the very air she breathed, tingled with the joy of living. She soon became the ruling genius of a bright circle and the hours revolved for her amid dancing, music, and poetry. Her contemporaries never tired of praising her beauty; but better than formal beauty, she possessed a subtle charm which appealed to the chivalry of men and raises partisans for her even in our day. Thus endowed, she was called to be a great queen, on one condition: she must subordinate her personal wishes to her duty as a sovereign. And here it was that she failed. Her cousin Elizabeth, who did not fail in this particular, proved herself thereby, if not the better woman, at least the greater queen. Comparing the two cousins, who inevitably force a comparison upon us standing as they do on the stage of history flashing challenge at each other, we are moved to subscribe to the familiar judgment: Elizabeth was first a statesman and then a woman, Mary was first a woman and then a statesman.

Her difficulties and character

Mary began well enough. She made no difficulties about the Presbyterian Kirk, merely reserving to herself as sovereign the right of Catholic worship. For four years Scotland enjoyed an unusual degree of peace. But in the year 1565 Mary married her cousin, Lord Darnley, and by that event she and all Scotland were plunged into troubles involving a succession of climaxes unique in history.

Mary marries Lord Darnley

Lord Darnley, who was hardly more than an over-grown boy, turned out to be proud, silly, and dissolute. He was no sooner married than he became the tool of the party of nobles opposed to Mary. They represented to him that if he did not enjoy full authority with the queen, it was due to one of Mary's foreign secretaries, an Italian, David Riccio. Darnley, egged on by the nobles, resolved to have revenge. One night while Mary was sitting at supper, the conspirators burst into the room, fell upon Riccio, and in spite of the queen's frantic efforts to save him dragged him from the chamber and slew him at the door

The murders of Riccio and Darnley

(1566). Much of what followed is uncertain. Certain it is that such love as Mary may have had for her husband was henceforth turned to hate. She planned revenge. For the moment Darnley and his friends held the reins in their hands and she was forced to resort to dissimulation. By cleverly feigning an affection which she did not feel, she brought her husband to his knees before her, separated him from her enemies, and quickly reacquired control. Thenceforth she took few pains to hide her loathing for the wretched prince. In February, 1567, the house where Darnley was staying just outside the walls of Edinburgh was shattered by an explosion of gunpowder and Darnley was found dead the next morning. We know beyond a doubt that the murderer was the earl of Bothwell, a dare-devil nobleman of evil repute who was in love with the queen, but we should also like to know whether or not the queen was his accomplice. Historical investigation has not yet supplied a definite answer to this question, but certainly by what followed the murder Mary has compromised her good name beyond help. Not only did she permit Bothwell's trial for the death of her consort to degenerate into a farce, but shortly after the earl's acquittal she married him.

The revolt against Mary

Obliged to defend her hasty nuptials, Mary alleged that in marrying Bothwell she had not consulted her free will but had yielded to violence. The apology has little inherent probability and was rejected with scorn by her subjects. Filled with horror and resentment, they revolted against her, and although she rallied repeatedly from defeat, by the year 1568 she found herself without further resources. Despairing of success without English help, she crossed the border to appeal to Elizabeth. She would have done better to have risked the perils of the sea, for she became her cousin's prisoner and won her release only after nineteen years by laying her head upon the block.

James VI king and Moray regent

Before we take up Elizabeth's conduct, let us take note that, tragic as Mary's fate was, her country profited by her downfall. Her infant son was crowned king as James VI, while her half-brother, the earl of Moray, assumed the regency. Moray represented the Protestant party, and his rule meant religious peace for Scotland on the basis of the complete triumph of the Presbyterian church.

It is not difficult to account for the harsh policy which Elizabeth adopted toward her royal cousin. In fairness to the English queen we must acknowledge that imperative considerations of state left no other course open. Looking out from London over Europe she beheld a perplexing situation. She saw Philip II in arms against the Netherlands, resolved, if necessary, to drown Protestantism in blood; in France she took note of a civil war, in which the Catholic party, in order to achieve its end, did not balk at such revolting measures as the massacre of St. Bartholomew; she was in frequent peril of her life through the plots of her own Catholic subjects who aimed to raise Mary to the throne; and she saw a threatening general concentration of the whole Catholic world for a supreme blow against the Protestant schismatics.

Explanation of Elizabeth's severity with regard to Mary

Under these conditions her conduct could not but be regulated primarily with reference to the Catholic movement now plainly mounting to a climax. By the beginning of the eighties, Philip, through his famous general, Parma, had gone far toward reducing the Netherlands to subjection, while through his alliance with the French Catholic party he so dominated France as to be reasonably sure that that kingdom would not strike him from the rear. He could therefore concentrate his attention upon the dangerous and elusive Elizabeth. But in measure as the blow from Spain became more imminent, the patriotism of her subjects mounted, causing them to rally with increasing enthusiasm about her throne. Without waiting for the Spanish attack, certain bold spirits, such as John Hawkins and Francis Drake, fitted out ships at their own expense and, ranging the Spanish main as pirates, plundered his most Catholic majesty's treasure fleet or burned his trans-Atlantic settlements. While Philip and Elizabeth, cautious spirits both, slow to decide for war, were still protesting friendship in official notes, their subjects had already engaged in combat on their own account. Only when, in 1585, the queen went the length of giving open and armed aid to the revolted Netherlands, did Philip resolve to show his hand. He prepared against England the greatest armament his means permitted.

Prospect of war between England and Spain

It was the rumor of Philip's invasion of England, coupled with the renewed activity of the English supporters of Mary, that cost the unfortunate queen of Scots her life. Probably it had little value for her, since, grown old and gray behind prison walls, she knew herself beaten. Elizabeth's ministers succeeded in convincing her that Mary was party to a conspiracy which a man by the name of Babington had directed against the life of the sover-

Execution of Mary

eign, and though hypocritically feigning reluctance, she signed her cousin's death-warrant. With the Spaniards about to descend on the country it was dangerous, nay, suicidal, not to scatter every Catholic nucleus and rallying-point within the kingdom. That at least was the settled view of Burghley, Walsingham, and the strict Protestant group which dominated the Privy Council. In February, 1587, Mary was executed at Fotheringay as a sacrifice to Protestant and national security.

The Armada 1588

The next year the war between Spain and England came to a head. Philip having at length got together over one hundred ships, celebrated as the Invincible Armada, despatched them toward the English coasts. The plan was that the Armada should sail first to the Netherlands and by putting itself at the disposal of the duke of Parma, who commanded the Spanish land forces, should enable that great captain to transport them to England. The island-realm was thoroughly alive to its danger. In the face of the foreign invader religious differences were forgotten and replaced by a flaming national enthusiasm, temporarily uniting all parties. In fact, the Armada, more than all the repressive legislative acts put together, weakened the English Catholic ranks, for, from the opening of the war, to be a Catholic meant to be a friend of Philip and but few Englishmen cared to expose themselves to so revolting an imputation. A navy filled with the spirit which is ready to do and die was put at Elizabeth's disposal. With such leaders as Lord Howard, Sir Francis Drake, and Sir Martin Frobisher, many of whom had spent a lifetime fighting the Spaniards on all known seas, the English were not likely to fail for want of bravery or skill. Nor were they likely to fail for want of ships. They mustered even more vessels than the Spaniards, which, although not so large as the galleons of the enemy, by virtue of their speed, the size and number of their guns, and the capable seamanship of officers and men held the Spaniards at their mercy. Hardly had the slow-sailing Spanish fleet appeared in the English channel (July, 1588), when the more expeditious English vessels fell upon its rear and flank. The injuries suffered by the Spaniards during a running sea-fight lasting eight days forced them to lie off Calais for repairs. Here a number of fire-ships sent among them drove them from their shelter into the arms of the English lying in wait outside the port, and in the ensuing combat they suffered so much additional damage that the expedition lost its last breath of offensive vigor. Finding the channel blocked behind him, the discouraged Spanish admiral tried to make for home by the coast of Scotland. But he encountered storms, even more devastating than the English; his ships were shattered miserably by waves and rocks; and only an insignificant remnant ever returned to Cadiz to tell the story of the great disaster.

Elizabeth's last years

England was safe, and more than England, the cause of Protestantism in the Netherlands and throughout Europe. The English admirals now transferred the scene of action to the Spanish coasts, and soon the disheartened Philip sued for a peace which his triumphant foe would not allow. As for Elizabeth, the overthrow of the Spanish Armada was the climax of her reign. Thenceforth her people identified her with the national triumph and worshipped her as the very spirit of England. But her private life slowly entered into eclipse. She was old, childless, and lonely. Her last attachment, of which the earl of Essex was the object, brought her abundant disappointment and sorrow. Essex had been put at the head of an army destined to subdue Ireland, which was just then agitated by the famous rising of O'Neill, but as he mismanaged his campaign and came home without leave, he was dismissed in disgrace. Full of resentment, he now engaged in a treasonable plot, for which he was arrested and executed (1601).

Her stunted affections

Elizabeth's relations to the handsome earl were hardly as romantic as historians of a sentimental turn have tried to make out. The tiny seed of romance implanted in her nature was suffocated at an early age by the accident which had tossed her to the throne. Obliged from that moment to regard marriage not as an end in itself but as an affair of state, she deftly fished, with herself as bait, in all the matrimonial waters of Europe only to remain single to the last. Since marriage with a foreign prince would have bound England to the interests of some other country, her refusal to wed promoted English independence, besides making possible the union of England and Scotland through the accession at her death of the son and heir of Mary Stuart. For this wise restraint in the public interest she sought compensation by numerous flirtations with her courtiers such as the earl of Leicester in her youth and the earl of Essex in her old age. But these by no means filled her life which, occupied with the ceaseless agitations of politics, was passed so largely with state business that there was left neither much time nor inclination for the cultivation of the affections. In her last phase she presents the tragic picture of a great and glorious queen who, amidst the acclamations of a grateful people, could not conceal that she was a lonely and embittered woman.

The progress of the age

Passing in review the whole Tudor period from the accession of Henry VII in 1485 to the death of Elizabeth in 1603, the observer is struck by the remarkable transformation effected in English politics, society, material well-being, and culture. The unchallenged authority of the sovereign coupled with the weakness of representative institutions is the outstanding political feature and defines the essence of the Tudor system. Largely through this vigorous Tudor leadership the nascent nationalism was so greatly stimulated that it welded the people into a single unit which, marshalled solidly behind Elizabeth, constituted the real secret of her strength. Full of a new confidence thousands of Englishmen ventured upon the seas in search of fortune and, on being thwarted by the maritime preponderance of Spain, began a buccaneering attack, which in due time dragged their reluctant government into a life-and-death struggle with the world power of Philip II. If at Elizabeth's death England had not yet replaced Spain as a colonial power, at least a way had been cleared which the succeeding generations would only have to follow with energy in order to gain an assured success. In short, the English, who, in view of their island position, had hitherto rather strangely neglected the sea, discovered that it was their true element, opening the possibility not only of adventure and colonial conquest but of an enriching trade with all the peoples scattered over the face of the earth. Already by Elizabeth's time a rapidly expanding commerce had greatly increased the wealth of the country and raised the standard of living especially among the gentry and merchants, while the court was distinguished by a splendor and luxury which recall Renaissance Italy and signify an open and complete break with the frugal tradition of the Middle Age.

The spirit of the age

But proud navies, numberless merchant ships, abundant trade, and a splendid court are only material manifestations of the underlying human spirit, which is the real achievement of any age. The Tudor spirit was the English version of the energy which poured itself through the occident with the Renaissance and signified the seizure of the earth as an untrammeled field of opportunity. Emboldened by this fresh faith, men conceived of themselves as gods with no perceptible limit to their progress along the upward line of realization of themselves and of their world. And when they turned to the arts, as men always do on having their imaginations set aglow, they perforce accumulated a varied and memorable creative product. However, while all the arts registered the stimulating effect of the new outlook, it was, as is well known, chiefly literature, and in literature more particularly the drama, which served as an outlet for the visionary hopes which poured like an electric current through the minds of men. In the plays of Shakespeare, Jonson, and their contemporaries we have the abiding imaginative expression of "the spacious times of great Elizabeth."

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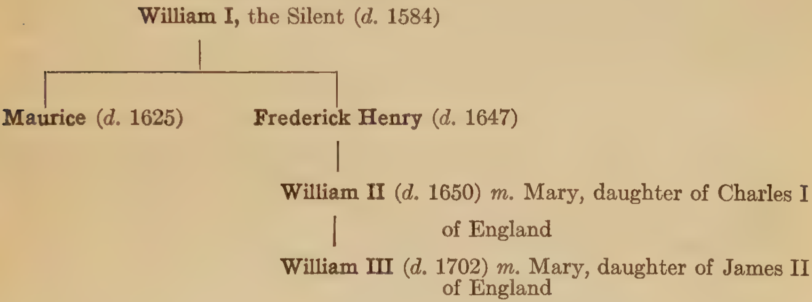
CHAPTER IX

THE REVOLT OF THE NETHERLANDS AND THE FOUNDING OF THE DUTCH REPUBLIC

Stadtholders of the House of Orange-Nassau



William I, the Silent (*d.* 1584)
Maurice (*d.* 1625)
Frederick Henry (*d.* 1647)
William II (*d.* 1650) *m.* Mary, daughter of Charles I of England
William III (*d.* 1702) *m.* Mary, daughter of James II of England

The Netherlands become independent of the Holy Roman Empire

The section of Europe known as the Netherlands or Low Countries lies at the mouth of the Rhine and Meuse rivers and in the Middle Age belonged in the main to the Holy Roman Empire (Germany). As, however, the western coastal area, called Flanders, was a part of the kingdom of France, it followed that France had an interest in this area and kept a watchful eye upon it. The Lowlands were divided among many lords, such as the duke of Brabant, the count of Holland, the count of Hainault, and the bishop of Liège, who made it their business to become increasingly independent of their suzerain and who, owing to the steady decline of the imperial fortunes, largely succeeded in their object. By the fifteenth century the authority of the emperor over these territories had become quite shadowy. But there were other reasons than the emperor's feebleness for the growing independence of the Netherlands. Favorably located on the sea and along rivers that permitted an easy penetration to a populous hinterland, they had developed a blooming trade and industry which in their turn gave birth to prosperous towns bent on controlling their own destinies through charters guaranteeing the right of self-government. Hence municipal life flourished and a spirit of communal independence was abroad which, while openly flouting the weak and distant emperor, was strong enough to oblige the local lords to treat the republican system with respect. In short, the Netherlands, teeming with commercial enterprise and headed away from feudalism, gradually lost mental contact with the state of which they were geographically and politically a part.

The building up of the Burgundian state

But still another cause for the gradual failure of imperial authority must be recounted. It has to do with the remarkable political experiment inaugurated in the fourteenth century by the duke of Burgundy. The duke, a younger member of the French reigning house enfeoffed with the duchy of Burgundy, conceived the ambitious project of adding the Netherlands to his native duchy, thereby building up a great, independent power between France and Germany and at the expense of both. By marriage, treachery, and force the successive dukes achieved a notable triumph and were visibly on the way toward realizing their ultimate hope when Duke Charles, called the Bold, perished in battle against the Swiss (1477), leaving his rich inheritance to his only child, his daughter Mary. Taking advantage of this situation, Louis XI of France quickly seized the duchy of Burgundy on the ground that it had with the death of the last male duke escheated to the crown; but the other Burgundian lands, constituting substantially the Netherlands, were kept intact by Mary's marriage with Maximilian of Hapsburg. From Mary and Maximilian the Netherlands passed to their son Philip (d. 1506) and from him to his son, Charles, who ruled them to his abdication in 1555. Naturally enough the long association of these provinces and cities under a single line of rulers contributed not a little to a sense of separate statehood.

Charles forms the Netherlands into a federal state

Charles, heir of the house of Burgundy, was, as we are aware, heir also of the houses of Spain and Austria and the dominating figure of his age under the title Emperor Charles V. Born and brought up in the Netherlands, he always retained an affectionate regard for this territory, although in his later life, owing to the exigencies of his great position, he only paid it an occasional visit. As his chief purpose was to carry through as far as possible the policy of his Burgundian ancestors, he tried to round off his possessions territorially and to bring them into an effective political union. In both these respects his success was notable. By acquiring Friesland and other lordships he found himself at the head of seventeen provinces, which he tried to draw more and more closely together by strengthening the federal institutions created by his predecessors. He instituted as central governing agencies for the whole Netherlands three councils of appointees, of which the Council of State was the most important; he raised Brussels, centrally located in the province of Brabant, to the dignity of federal capital; and he provided that the common interests of the provinces, especially in so far as they concerned taxation, should be looked after by a common parliament, called the States General and made up of delegates from the provincial parliaments. But though Charles did much toward consolidating the seventeen provinces, he at best overlaid and in no sense destroyed the older system of self-government native to this area. In consequence each province fully retained its own government composed of officials and a legislature called the Provincial Estates, while the chartered liberties of the many flourishing towns remained as exuberant as ever, practically constituting them municipal republics.

The prosperity of the Netherlands under Charles

Speaking summarily, one need not hesitate to call Charles's reign a success. The life of the Netherlands was based on commerce and industry which prospered so prodigiously that this small area easily maintained its reputation as the bee-hive of Europe. Its busy cities, such as Lille, Valenciennes, Antwerp, Ghent, Bruges, Amsterdam and a score of others, were the wonder and envy of the rest of the world not only because of their wealth but also by reason of the intellectual culture of their citizens. The sovereign drew heavily on their resources for the support of his Spanish and imperial program, scrupulously respecting however the financial privileges of the people by collecting and spending only such monies as had been previously authorized by a vote of the States General. There was a fundamentally amiable relation built on mutual understanding between Charles and his Netherlanders which was only slightly disturbed by their growing discontent over the obligation to contribute to the many far-reaching enterprises of their ruler in which they had little or no concern. Nevertheless when in 1555, in connection with a ceremony conducted at Brussels with much pomp and splendor, Charles abdicated in favor of his son, Philip, he was the object of a spontaneous demonstration of general affection. While this may have owed some of its fervor to the suspicion with which his successor, brought up in Spain and incapable of speaking the language of the people, was regarded, it is safe to accept it as a popular endorsement of his reign.

Charles ruthlessly suppresses Lutheranism

However, from one source, the Reformation, a deepening shadow had begun to fall across the land. The religious agitation which centered about Luther was naturally disrespectful of landmarks and at an early point in its history invaded the Low Countries. Charles, whose dependence upon the German princes forced him, as we have seen, to a dilatory policy toward Lutheranism in Germany, was not the man to hesitate where he had the power to act. In the Netherlands therefore the Protestant heresy was from its first appearance met by a relentless hostility which waxed more and more fierce as Charles's reign proceeded. The Inquisition, with its bloody record of triumphs in Spain, not unnaturally appealed to the Spanish monarch as the best way of meeting heresy everywhere. Accordingly it was established in the Netherlands, special inquisitors being appointed for each of the seventeen provinces and the civil authorities being held to a strict execution of the sentences imposed. The usual violences followed; confiscations, imprisonments, burnings at the stake became common occurrences. The edicts of Charles against heresy finally went so far as to impose the penalty of death on persons discovered to have in their possession forbidden writings, as well as on those who conducted secret prayer-meetings or who ventured merely to discuss the Holy Scriptures. The Protestants in the Netherlands were long hardly more than a fraction of the population but Charles's rigor did not exterminate them. The persecution served but to illustrate once again the famous observation that there is no seed like martyr's blood. To the original Lutherans were presently added anabaptists and other extravagantly revolutionary sects, who found the intelligent and liberal society of the Netherlands a fertile soil for the propagation of their tenets; and from the middle of the century the faith of Calvin, destined to give the Protestantism of the northern Netherlands its peculiar mold, found admission, by way of France, into all the leading cities. The Inquisition, therefore, was enabled to gather a rich harvest. Contemporary guesses placed the figure of its victims during Charles's reign at fifty thousand. This is doubtless an exaggeration; but it is sufficiently correct to testify to Charles's intolerance and to establish his partial responsibility for the disaster which overtook his successor. However, as Charles was regarded by the Netherlanders as one of themselves and as his reign was in other respects happy, his policy of persecution did not during his life arouse any notable resistance.

Philip and the Inquisition

Such was the country and such were the questions which were agitating it when the cold, bigoted, and Spanish-bred Philip took up the reins of government. The old heartiness which had obtained between ruler and ruled vanished almost over night to be succeeded by a deepening chill, of which the first stage was reached when Philip's demand for money was severely curtailed by the States General. Unable to hide his resentment, he withdrew into himself, haughtily underscoring more than ever his foreign and Spanish character. If after this exhibition of the democratic resolution of his subjects there remained a single feature of the Netherlands which aroused his spontaneous enthusiasm it was the Inquisition. In fairness we must not forget that this institution owed its presence in the land to his father Charles. Philip felt no need of increasing its already abundantly hideous severities. But, on the other hand, mentally endowed as he was, he was utterly incapable of departing from the system of persecution, even in the face of a growing opposition. And unmistakably such an opposition was beginning to make itself felt. The uninterrupted flow of blood was getting on peoples' nerves and voices began to be heard in favor of a more humane and rational treatment of the current heresies. As Philip sternly sealed his ears to all such appeals the discontent already abroad in the land seized upon ever new elements of the population.

A new war between France and Spain followed by the Treaty of Cateau-Cambrésis (1559)

But during these early years, while he was still residing in the Netherlands, Philip had to meet other problems besides the domestic grievances of the Lowlanders. The greatest issue which, as king of Spain, he had inherited from his father was the ancient feud with France. Charles's last war, largely precipitated by the help conceded by Henry II of France to the German Protestants, had recently (1556) been brought to an unsatisfactory close. With so many matters unsettled between them both Philip and Henry were ill inclined to peace and looked forward to an early resumption of the irrepressible conflict. Accordingly, in 1557 a new Franco-Spanish war broke out in which, as on several previous occasions, England took part on the Spanish side. On this occasion, however, the most pressing reason for England's Spanish partisanship was that the English sovereign, Mary, was the wife of Philip and that Philip was able to persuade her to cast her lot with him.

Philip's well-trained armies won two brilliant victories over the French forces, the first at St. Quentin (1557), the second at Gravelines (1558), thereby disposing the French to come to a settlement. It took the form of the celebrated peace of Cateau-Cambrésis (1559). As Queen Mary died during the negotiations, Philip refused to concern himself further about allied England and bought, at least in part, the favorable terms conceded by the French by leaving in their hands the port of Calais, the last English possession on French soil. Cateau-Cambrésis is a European landmark. It closed for the present the long rivalry between France and Spain; it once more confirmed Spain in the possession of Italy and the Netherlands; and it assured the Spanish ascendancy in Europe for another generation. With this feather floating from his cap, the proud victor resolved to end his residence in the Netherlands and to return without delay to his native Spain. Leaving behind as regent his half-sister, Margaret of Parma, he sailed away (1559) never to return.

The growing discontent with Philip's rule

His departure rapidly brought the threatening domestic crisis to maturity. While the government had been nominally entrusted to the Regent Margaret, a woman of some sagacity as well as popularity, the real power was vested in the Council of State and fell, within the Council, into the hands of a single individual, Cardinal Granvelle, a trusted servant and confidant of Philip. What Philip expected of Granvelle was strictly to carry out the orders received from Madrid, and as these insisted on maintaining every established measure no matter how hateful, the harassed cardinal was soon the object of a general hatred. The great nobles were particularly vociferous against him, in part no doubt on public grounds, but also because they saw in him the personal favorite whose political omnipotence signified the destruction of that influence in the administration which the politic Charles had been ever prompt to concede them. The most prominent members of this powerful class were Prince William of Orange and the Counts Egmont and Hoorn, who, drawing together in their common disappointment, became the nucleus of an active opposition party. But the waxing discontent made numerous converts also among such other classes as the lesser nobles and the burghers. These latter, the real bearers of the peculiar urban civilization of the country, were exacerbated by a long list of ills which they did not hesitate to bring to Granvelle's notice with the request to forward them to the king. In the main the burghers concentrated on three grievances. Following the recent war with France, the Spanish troops, remaining in the Netherlands much longer than was necessary, were quartered on the inhabitants against the express terms of the country's liberties; further, there was the ecclesiastical reorganization which by increasing the number of bishoprics aroused fear not only of new public burdens but also of the increased power of the unbending ecclesiastical element; and finally, the burghers were insulted by the grievance, now a generation old and borne with less and less patience, of the Inquisition and its judicial murders.

The protest of the "beggars"

Repeatedly the great nobles, acting as spokesmen for the country, undertook to send emissaries all the way to Spain to plead with Philip for a change of system with no result whatever except that the Spanish troops were withdrawn and that the person of Granvelle was at last sacrificed (1564). Thereupon the lesser nobles, among whom there was an impoverished, madcap, and avowedly Protestant element, took the bit between their teeth and resolved to stage a more effective protest of their own. Probably they were secretly encouraged by Prince William of Orange, although he did not for the present join them outright. In 1565 they formed a league among themselves for the object, among other matters, of securing the abolition of the Inquisition, operating as they put it, "to the great dishonor of the name of God and to the total ruin of the Netherlands." Though voicing their grievances in no uncertain terms, they also affirmed their continued allegiance to their rightful ruler. Plainly they were not yet prepared to resort to open rebellion. On April 5, 1566, three hundred of their number took the fateful step of proceeding in a body to the palace of the Regent Margaret at Brussels to put their petition, formally called the Request, in her hands. In spite of her rage at the impertinent demonstration she promised to forward the Request to the king. At a banquet held by the nobles some days later they were informed that one of the regent's courtiers had slightingly referred to them as beggars (*gueux*). Amid a scene of frenzied excitement they adopted the term as their party name and assumed as honored badges the beggar's wallet and wooden bowl.

The picturesque act of the "beggars" set the match to the tinder-heap and the whole country flamed up in spontaneous rebellion. The government of the regent was set at naught under the impression that the auspicious moment was at hand for ridding the country of the monstrous incubus of the Inquisition. Its prisoners were forcibly released and its persecution interdicted, while the Protestants openly avowed their faith and, gathering in bands and multitudes, listened with greedy ears to the revolutionary addresses of fanatic pastors. At length the excitement culminated in a form of madness. The Catholic churches were invaded, their pictured windows, their saintly images were broken, their crosses and altars were shattered to fragments. The ruin of art wrought by these iconoclasts was incalculable. It was weeks before the fury spent itself, and months before the government, rallying the orderly elements about it, succeeded in repressing the insurgents. And now the question rose spontaneously to every tongue: how would Philip treat this outrage on his sacred authority?

The iconoclastic fury of 1566

It is possible that the abolition of the Inquisition, coupled with the proclamation of the religious tolerance which public sentiment demanded, would have rescued the situation. But these ideas were foreign to the rulers of that day and seemed nothing less than deadly sin to a fanatical Catholic like Philip. Instead of rejoicing at the restoration of civic peace, he planned a fearful vengeance. One of his best generals was the duke of Alva. Soldier and bigot, he was the typical Spaniard of the day, animated with blind devotion to his king and faith. This man of iron was ordered to supersede the regent and to ferret out and punish the participants in the late rebellion. In 1567, accompanied by 10,000 Spanish veterans, he made the long trip from Spain to Brussels via the Mediterranean, Italy, and the Alps. The Spanish troops were the best in Europe and had proved their invincibility on many a battlefield. They were bound for the Netherlands, which country, though Philip was its sovereign, was, we should never forget, not a Spanish province but a separate commonwealth. Alva's coming was therefore an invasion and terror flew before him. It did not require much intelligence to foresee a period of coercion and violence and William of Orange, with a host of those who felt themselves compromised by the recent events, crossed the border into safety.

The coming of Alva

Alva did not long leave the anxious Netherlanders in doubt as to the meaning of his coming. He set up a special council, called the Council of Troubles, for the discovery of all those who had taken part in the late excesses and who were tinged with disloyalty and heresy. Operating at Alva's pleasure and without the shred of a constitutional warrant, the new governing body soon

The Council of Blood

received from the people the more ominous name of the Council of Blood. It signified a redoubled Inquisition, freed from the delays of law and the promptings of human pity. Hundreds and probably thousands perished at its order; tens of thousands from among the best of the land fled from the country. Among the more illustrious victims of the executioner were Egmont and Hoorn, whom neither their Catholic faith nor their conspicuous services to the king could save. As the greatest men within the reach of Alva's arm they were sent to the block as a warning to their countrymen. Paralyzed by the violence of the attack, the people meekly suffered the atrocious persecution.

William of Orange

Against this monstrous tyranny one man did not cease to protest — Prince William of Orange. William belonged to an ancient German family which had its seat in Nassau in western Germany. At an early age he had inherited from a cousin the tiny principality of Orange on the Rhone, which he never thought it worth while even to visit. However, as he did not scorn the title inhering in his French possession, it has become inseparably attached to his name. His connection with the Netherlands sprung from the fact that he was possessed of large estates there, chiefly in Holland and Brabant, and had been drawn by his early patron, the Emperor Charles V, into the service of the provinces. Disinclined from the first to Philip's policy, he passed gradually from secret to open opposition until he stood frankly on the platform of his country's liberties. Brought up a Catholic, though his parents had turned Lutheran, he abominated the violences of the Inquisition and focussed his attack on this ferocious institution. Throughout his life he never ceased pleading for tolerance, a plea to which all parties alike of that passionate age were deaf. Out of hatred of Philip and his methods, he gradually passed over into the Protestant camp, casting his lot at last with the Calvinist faith as commanding the most numerous following among that Dutch element of the Netherlands with which, as the struggle developed, he chose more and more to identify himself.

The character of William

The fame of William rests on his risking life, wealth, and happiness in the cause of a people oppressed by a monstrous tyranny. As a general he was mediocre; even as a stateman, though he played the political game as skillfully and subtly as any of his contemporaries, he has superiors among the great names of history. Clearly his chief distinction is his stout, courageous heart. Sometimes almost single-handed and at best with but the divided support of his little people, he braved the world power of Spain and through defeat piled on defeat persisted in his purpose. Famed for his eloquence and the most courteous of gentlemen, he became, somewhat inappropriately, known as William the Silent; but if the expression conveys the idea of a fortitude unwearied and uncomplaining, no title could be imagined more aptly defining his peculiar distinction.

William levies war upon Philip, 1568

In the spring of 1568 William, having turned all his available possessions into money and having summoned the most daring exiles around him, began gathering an army for the purpose of invading the Netherlands. His resolution was tantamount to a declaration of war against Philip. As coming from himself such a proceeding was an act of sublime folly. Only in case it succeeded in rousing the Netherlanders against their oppressor would it acquire the altogether different aspect of the rebellion of an outraged people to secure their inalienable rights. To fill the provinces with his own spirit of resistance became William's supreme object, and gradually, although not without grievous disappointments and delays, he succeeded. As a result a small people challenged the greatest power of Europe and, after a dramatic struggle of eighty years (1568–1648), issued from the fight as victor. No more remarkable war than this has ever been waged in the history of the human race.

William and Alva

The first campaign proved the complete superiority of both Spanish generalship and the Spanish soldiery. William's army, largely composed of ill-paid mercenaries, was defeated and scattered. Alva, in consequence, made light of the invasion. It had not been supported, as William had hoped, by an internal rising. To all appearances the country, crushed under the Spanish heel, had fallen into a torpor. But if this was what Alva counted on, he was destined before long to a harsh awakening. The Netherlands had indeed failed from fear to respond to William's first call, but unfortunate as the campaign of 1568 proved, it had had its effect; it had excited the people for a moment with the hope of deliverance and so stiffened them for resistance. Alva's own folly did the rest. Not only did he continue to suspend a pitiless terror over the country, but, in perpetual need of funds to pay his soldiers, he resorted to an extortionate taxation. However, when he attempted to introduce the Spanish *alcabala*, the so-called Tenth Penny, consisting of the levy of ten per cent upon every commercial transaction including the purchase of daily necessities, he ran into adamant. Though the tax was abandoned because uncollectable, the whole urban population was henceforth solidly arrayed against this reckless representative of military despotism.

The seizure of Brill, 1572

At last after years of alert and patient waiting the rebels scored their first notable success. If Spain held the land in her iron grasp, she could not in the same unchallenged way hold the sea, peculiarly the element of these coast-dwellers. Ever since William had given the signal for resistance freebooters, proudly calling themselves "beggars of the sea" in imitation of the first brotherhood of the enemies of Spain, had done great harm to Spanish trade. At length, rendered bold by the stern battle with wind and wave and in sore need of shelter, they swept down upon their native coast and, braving the terror of Alva's soldiery, stormed the small port of Brill (April 1, 1572). A score of towns, especially in the northern provinces, felt suddenly encouraged to drive the Spaniards out, and Alva unexpectedly found his power limited to Brussels and the south. Thereupon the liberated province of Holland elected William the Silent stadtholder or governor, and Holland and Zealand together, both situated on the sea, became from this time forth the heart of the resistance.

Barbarous character of the war

Thrown into the fiercest mood by this new phase of the struggle, Alva prepared to win back the lost ground. Pity henceforth was excluded from his thoughts. Malines, Zutphen, Naarden, and many other towns which he recaptured were delivered to the unbridled excesses of the Spanish soldiery. Women and children were slaughtered in cold blood. In 1573, after a heroic resistance of eight months, Haarlem was retaken amidst scenes of unbelievable ferocity. The war entered upon a new stage, in which oppressors and oppressed thirsted for each other's blood like wild beasts and neither sought nor gave quarter. It was a fight to the last ditch and of unexampled fury.

The recall of Alva

The costly and exhausting struggle shook even Philip's faith, if not in himself at least in his agent, and he resolved on Alva's recall. A serious reverse suffered by the Spaniards before the walls of Alkmaar clinched his resolution. In December, 1573, the man who six years before had come to the Netherlands to sow the dragon-teeth of war took his departure amidst the execrations of both friend and foe.

The arrival of a new governor-general, Requesens (1573–76), was marked by a belated effort at negotiations. But as Requesens was not authorized to offer any substantial concessions and as William insisted as his minimum on the withdrawal of the Spanish troops and on religious toleration, nothing came of these exchanges and Requesens had perforce to proceed with the reduction of the still unsubdued province of Holland. The outstanding event of his governorship was the siege of Leyden (1574). When, owing to the failure of provisions, the city was on the point of surrender, William, who had made futile efforts to succor the inhabitants, resolved on an extreme measure: he ordered the cutting of the dykes built to protect the land against the invasion of the sea. To those who objected to this stern measure he answered with a shrug: "Better to ruin the land than lose it." As the water rushed over the fields, the "beggars of the sea" pressed on in their ships, sailing past trees and houses till they reached the walls of the city. For the drowning Spaniards there was no alternative but retreat. Thus was famished Leyden saved. Wishing to reward the brave inhabitants for their heroism, William founded a university in their midst which rapidly rose to the front rank and has made the name of Leyden illustrious in the history of modern learning.

The unsuccessful siege of Leyden, 1574

With the sudden death of Requesens in 1576 came a notable extension of the revolt, to understand which we must examine for a moment the peoples inhabiting the seventeen provinces. Acquired by the house of Burgundy more or less by haphazard and subjected to a partial centralization, the Netherlands none the less lacked the main qualification of a successful union, the consciousness of a common nationality. The seven northern provinces, of which Holland and Zealand were the chief, together with the two central territories of Brabant and Flanders, were inhabited by a people of Teutonic stock. The southern provinces, such as Namur, Hainault, and Artois, were inhabited by Walloons, a Celtic people using the French language. The population of the Netherlands was therefore predominantly Teutonic, though with a notable Celto-French admixture. But the Teutonic group was to its misfortune not fused into a solid mass, for the inhabitants of Flanders and Brabant were Flemings, while the people of Holland and the neighboring provinces were Dutch. The differences between Flemings and Dutch in speech, customs, and mentality were inconsiderable and would, under favorable circumstances, have proved no

The people of the Netherlands

obstacle to close political association. Nationalism, as we are aware, was as yet a relatively new force in the world. Certainly it had thus far hardly made itself felt in this area nor had it interfered with the Burgundian-Hapsburg program of uniting Walloons, Flemings, and Dutch in a single state. However, awakened by religious and economic differences, nationalism might easily prove a source of serious division.

The common declaration against Spain in the Pacification of Ghent, 1576

Up to 1576 the revolt had been confined to the northern or Dutch provinces, which had steeled their rebel spirit by immersion in the Calvinist faith. However, it had also penetrated to such occasional cities of the Flemish area as inclined to the same or to a related form of Protestantism. Plainly revolt from Spain and from the Catholic Church showed a tendency to go hand in hand. The purely political grievances of the central and southern provinces were as great as those of the north, but as they clung to the Catholic faith, they never gave up the hope of an ultimate accommodation with their Catholic ruler, Philip. For a brief moment however, following the death of Requesens, north, center, and south, Dutch, Flemings, and Walloons — in a word, the United Netherlands — presented a single and unbroken front to the oppressor. The occasion for this extraordinary display was furnished by the general horror inspired by the Spanish soldiery, which, left on the death of Requesens without a leader and without pay, indulged in a wild orgy of theft, murder, and pillage. The "Spanish Fury," as the mutinous outbreak was called, reached its peak at Antwerp. In this, the greatest trading city of the Atlantic seaboard, some seven thousand inhabitants were put to the sword while property of untold value was carried off or wantonly destroyed. At these outrages a vast indignation against the Spanish rule swept the whole country and in an agreement of November, 1576, called the Pacification of Ghent, representatives of all the seventeen provinces declared that they would not rest until the foreign troops had been withdrawn from the land and all the old liberties restored.

This, the most auspicious moment of the revolution, held out a glorious promise which was never realized. True, the successor of Requesens, who was Don John of Austria, the famous victor of Lepanto, found himself so isolated on his arrival that he accomplished nothing in his governorship (1576–78). But with the coming of Alexander Farnese, duke of Parma (1578–92), the situation gradually changed. Son of the former regent, Margaret of Parma, and a nephew of King Philip, this Italian prince possessed military and diplomatic gifts of a high order and may without hesitation be accepted as one of the greatest men of his generation. If the historian Motley ironically acclaims him the equal in deceit and double-dealing of Queen Elizabeth, against whom, as well as against William of Orange, he was perpetually engaged in matching his wits, this left-handed compliment must not be taken too seriously, for subterfuge and concealment were the stock-in-trade of diplomats then as now. The quality possessed by the duke of Parma which was of the very essence of statesmanship was that he could set himself a goal for his onward march and never lose it from sight even when he stood still or temporarily retreated. With regard to the Netherlands he resolved to save what he could from the wreck left by his predecessors and to use force or cajolery according to the situation. Above all, he relied on the suspicions inevitable between Protestants and Catholics in that day, sure that if he for his part firmly identified himself with the Catholic cause, he would sooner or later find the Catholic provinces behind him. The only basis on which the program of the Pacification of Ghent of a free and united Netherlands could have been realized would have been religious toleration. While William of Orange never ceased advocating this broad measure, he was in his enlightenment far ahead of his age and stood, a helpless arbiter, between venomously contentious groups. By establishing himself in the French or Walloon provinces, in the midst of a solidly Catholic population, the clever duke of Parma once more gained a foothold in the Netherlands and was not long in breaking up the harmony represented by the Pacification of Ghent. In January, 1579, he persuaded Artois, Hainault, and Douay to sign the treaty of Arras whereby they undertook to defend the Catholic religion and, in return for a guarantee of their ancient rights, to renew their allegiance to Philip.

The tactful policy of the duke of Parma enables him to create a Catholic league in the southern Netherlands

As soon as the Union of Arras, as the Catholic league was called, had created a rallying-ground for Catholicism, it became necessary for William of Orange, however reluctantly, to draw the Protestants together into a counter-league. This was effected in the same year (1579) at Utrecht, where the northern provinces established a union in their turn. Holland and Zealand, as the centers of the rebellion, led the way but were joined by their immediate neighbors finally five in number, Utrecht, Gelderland, Overyssel, Groningen, and Friesland. The Union of Utrecht was substantially a declaration of independence, although the sovereignty of Philip was not definitely renounced till two years later. The new state took the modest name of the Seven United Provinces, but before the world it became known under the more sonorous title of the Dutch Republic, representative of what henceforth figures in history as a distinct nation. The articles of the Union of Utrecht served as the constitution of the newborn state. This constitution had a typically federal character, that is, while leaving the self-governing powers of the seven member-provinces intact, it created a certain amount of central machinery to handle the common interests. As these were rather narrowly interpreted to embrace nothing more than defensive action against Philip, and as, moreover, the provinces were hotly jealous of their traditional rights, the new federal institutions were not given sufficient strength to make them effective. This becomes clear when we discover that, instead of a single federal head, the executive power was vested in a weak Council of State, and that the central legislative body, called the States General, could impose taxes only with the consent of the several Provincial Estates. This cumbersome machinery slowed up federal business considerably and could, on occasion, bring it to a dead stop. For the present, however, the personal ascendancy of William of Orange, who was stadtholder of both Holland and Zealand and who exercised a broad influence in all the other provinces as well, made up for the imperfect and impracticable federal arrangements.

The Union of Utrecht (1579) marks the birth of the Dutch Republic

In this new form, expressive of a definite Catholic-Protestant schism in the Netherlands, the struggle went on. Parma, planted in the Walloon south, faced William of Orange established in the Dutch north, while between them lay the rich Flemish provinces of Flanders and Brabant, which, flattered and assaulted by both sides, wavered irresolutely and might fall either way. However, the skill of Parma, backed by the resources of Spain, began gradually to tell. In his deliberate way, sometimes by a successful siege, sometimes by negotiations, he increased steadily the area under his control. To all the world, and more particularly to Philip and his governor-general, it seemed that only William's leadership and resolution stood between Parma and ultimate success. Often the prayer must

The struggle between William and the duke of Parma

have risen to Philip's lips that some happy chance might clear his path of his determined enemy.

The murder of William, 1584

Finally, since fate seemed reluctant, Philip resolved to come to its assistance and in 1580 published a ban against his rebellious subject, offering gold and a patent of nobility to whoever "should deliver this pest to us, dead or alive." William justified himself against Philip's charges in a pamphlet called the "Apology," wherein he drew a stinging portrait of the patron of assassins. Nevertheless, the ban proved to be William's death-warrant. Many abortive attempts had already been made upon his life, when a Burgundian, Balthasar Gérard by name, one of those unflinching religious fanatics in which the age abounded, pierced his breast with a bullet. The murder occurred on July 10, 1584, as the prince was descending the stairway of his palace at Delft. The victim's last thoughts turned toward the struggle in which his country was engaged. "Lord have pity on my soul," he said, "and on this poor people." Gérard was executed amid atrocities against which every act of William's life was a protest, while Philip exulted in the deed and rewarded the heirs of the murderer according to his promise.

The Dutch Republic appeals for help to France and England

While William's death did not break down the resistance of the Dutch, as Philip had calculated, it encouraged the Catholic party and shook the resolution of the merely half-hearted defenders of independence. Parma was able to occupy most of the disputed area of Flanders and Brabant, capping the climax with the capture (1585), after a long and memorable siege, of the great port of Antwerp. It now only remained to conquer the indomitable provinces of Holland and Zealand. If, in the face of so many disasters, they were able to continue their resistance, it was for the single reason that, as from the beginning of the conflict, they still commanded the sea with their navies. But obliged to face the forces of Spain under an extraordinarily versatile general, the Dutch were often despondent. Their dead leader had held that independence could be won only with the help of foreign powers and had long directed passionate appeals for assistance to France and England. But these states, fearful of the power of Philip, had hesitated. Although Elizabeth occasionally sent secret encouragement in the form of money, she would not commit herself openly. France, too, vacillated, but shortly (1582) before William's death, went the length of permitting the duke of Anjou, brother of the king, to come to the aid of the insurgents. Anjou was offered the crown of the Netherlands on the understanding that he would rid the country of the Spaniards; but he proved a broken reed, intrigued and quarrelled with everybody, and happily for all concerned died exactly one month before William's tragic end. There was now no chance of help except from Elizabeth, and the Dutch, at the end of their tether, made her a pressing tender of the young republic. Although the prospect was inviting, moved by her customary caution she declined the dangerous honor. Nevertheless, she could no longer with due regard to her own safety refuse to grant substantial help. Spain and England had already begun to clash upon the sea, while the sentiment of the English people had declared vehemently for the hard-pressed Protestants of the Netherlands. For years Sir Francis Drake and others had been engaged in piratical raids, which they maliciously called singeing the beard of the king of Spain. Philip was nursing a just grievance in silence, but if ever he recovered the Low Countries, it was certain to go hard with England. Ungenerous as Elizabeth was where others were concerned, she had a sharp eye for her own interests, and therefore in December, 1585, signed a treaty with the Dutch, whereby she promised to send 6,000 soldiers to their aid.

Philip's attack directed against England and France

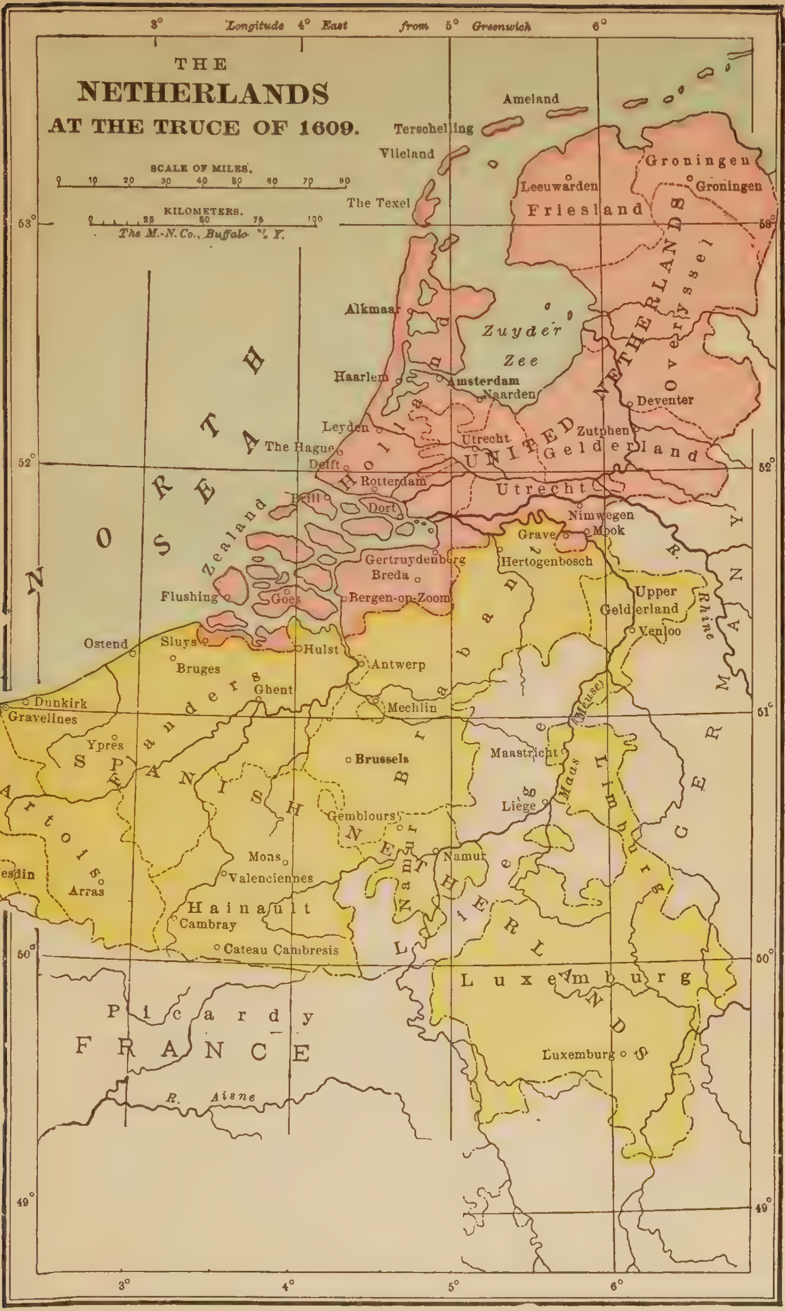
When the Englishmen came, under the command of the earl of Leicester, the queen's favorite, they did perhaps more harm than good, for Leicester seemed to consider it his chief business to create divisions among the Dutch themselves (1586–87). His entrance upon the war none the less marks an epoch, for by this step England definitely took sides in the struggle, and Philip came to the conclusion that the conquest of the island-kingdom was an unavoidable preliminary to the reduction of his revolted provinces. Therefore he began to collect all his resources for an attack upon the English. Parma did not cease to warn him against this diversion of his energies and to plead for the support that would enable the Spanish armies to give the finishing blow to Dutch resistance. His eloquent exhortations were not listened to by Philip, who, stubbornly bent on his own purpose, in the year 1588 sent the Invincible Armada against England only to have it ruined by Elizabeth's valiant fleet and scattered by the tempests. Almost at the same time the Protestant Henry of Navarre succeeded to the French throne (1589), and Philip, alarmed at this new peril, resolved to move heaven and earth to save the neighbor-kingdom for Catholicism. Thus fate, or chance, or a too unbridled ambition led him to direct his power on enterprises which carried him far afield and obliged him to relax his hold upon the Netherlands. His exhausting wars, on the water against England, on the land against the Huguenot king of France, weakened him to such an extent that he pursued the struggle against the Dutch with less and less vigor; and when, in 1592, the duke of Parma died, worn out even more by his disappointments than his labors, the Spanish game was up.

John of Oldenbarneveldt and Maurice of Nassau

The respite due to the wars waged by Spain against England and France was fully utilized by the Dutch. They found in John of Oldenbarneveldt, trained in the school of William of Orange, a statesman not unworthy of the master. As chief official of Holland, the province which was the real backbone of the republic, and as a representative of the great merchant class, he was enabled to impress that unity of purpose on the nation which it had lost with the passing of its first great leader. To supplement the diplomatic work of Oldenbarneveldt there rose to the front, in the military field, William's son and heir, Maurice of Nassau. Only seventeen years old at his father's death, he exhibited such intelligence and dedicated himself to the study of war with such whole-hearted zeal that at the age of twenty-one he was made captain-general and admiral of the republic. Aware of the decline of the Spanish monarchy through the wanton dispersion of its strength, he boldly took (1590) the offensive and was soon able not only to clear the Dutch soil of the enemy by successful siege operations but also occasionally to defeat the Spaniards in the open field. At the same time the Dutch fleets, riding the waters more triumphantly than ever, drove the Spanish merchantmen like frightened birds before them.

The Twelve Years' Truce, 1609

Thus matters stood, with the Spaniards now clearly fighting with their backs to the wall, as Philip II neared his end. He tried to open negotiations with the enemy, but too proud to acknowledge defeat, he made no headway toward an accommodation. On his death in 1598, his successor, Philip III, persisted in his father's wasteful and impracticable course. Only when utterly exhausted, did he humble himself sufficiently to agree (1609) not to a peace, but to a Twelve Years' Truce. Incomplete as the truce was, it contained a veiled acknowledgment of the Seven United Provinces as a free and independent state. At the same time, however, it confirmed the hold of Spain on the ten central and



THE NETHERLANDS AT THE TRUCE OF 1609.

Longitude East from Greenwich
3° 4° 5° 6°
53° 52° 51° 50° 49°
SCALE OF MILES.
0 10 20 30 40 50 60 70 80
KILOMETERS.
0 25 50 75 100
The M.-N. Co., Buffalo N. Y.
NORTH SEA
Ameland
Terschelling
Vlieland
The Texel
Groningen
Groningen
Leeuwarden
Friesland
UNITED NETHERLANDS
Overyssel
Alkmaar
Zuyder Zee
Holland
Haarlem
Amsterdam
Naarden
Deventer
Leyden
The Hague
Delft
Utrecht
Zutphen
Gelderland
Rotterdam
Utrecht
Brill
Dort
Zealand
Nimwegen
Grave
Mook
Gertruydenberg
Breda
Hertogenbosch
Flushing
Goes
Bergen-op-Zoom
Upper Gelderland
Venloo
R. Rhine
Ostend
Sluys
Hulst
Bruges
Antwerp
Flanders
Ghent
Brabant
Mechlin
Dunkirk
Gravelines
Ypres
SPANISH NETHERLANDS
Brussels
Maastricht
(Meuse)
Maas
Liége
Limburg
Artois
Gemblours
Namur
Mons
Valenciennes
Hesdin
Arras
Hainault
Cambray
Cateau Cambresis
Liége
Luxemburg
Luxemburg
GERMANY
Picardy
FRANCE
R. Aisne

southern provinces, which henceforth figure in history as the Spanish Netherlands. When the Spanish branch of the house of Hapsburg failed in the year 1700, its Netherland possessions, as we shall see in due time, were transferred to the Austrian Hapsburgs to become in the nineteenth century, after many interesting vicissitudes, the independent kingdom of Belgium. Thus out of the Netherlands, birthplace and pride of Emperor Charles V, issued eventually two distinct European states.

Futile renewal of the war by Spain

If the truce of 1609 was not the end, it signified the beginning of the end. When it expired (1621), the Thirty Years' War was raging in Europe, and although Spain tried to make the confusion serve her purpose and again attacked the Dutch, the firm resistance of the hardy little nation rendered the second effort at subjugation even more vain than the first. When the Peace of Westphalia (1648) put an end to the long German war, Spain at last declared herself ready for the great renunciation and signed a peace with the Dutch Republic which acknowledged its unqualified independence.

Factors making for domestic disharmony

Returning to the landmark of the Twelve Years' Truce, let us throw a glance at the problems of the new state. Maurice of Nassau and John of Oldenbarneveldt, to whose excellent teamwork the recent triumph had been largely due, developed a dangerous rivalry closely expressive of the many difficulties and divisions that characterized the country. Although some of these have already been mentioned, it behooves us at this juncture to get a fuller view of the Dutch internal situation. First to consider is the poor adjustment between the federal machinery, of which the States General was the leading feature, and the sovereign provinces represented by the Provincial Estates. As already noted, such was the power of these latter local bodies that they could at their pleasure paralyze the States General. The second disturbing element was the superiority in resources of the single province of Holland with its many flourishing municipalities, such as Amsterdam, Haarlem, Leyden, and Rotterdam, over the other six provinces put together. This circumstance accounts for the fact that the decision of Holland was usually the decision of the country and that its very name came to be synonymous with the Dutch Republic. The third factor causing trouble was of a social order and acquaints us with the circumstance that the control in the great municipalities rested exclusively in the hands of the leading merchant oligarchs or "burghers," who alone possessed the franchise. As Oldenbarneveldt was identified with Holland on the one hand, and with the burgher oligarchy on the other, it followed that his rival, Maurice of Nassau, received the backing of the other provinces as well as of the disfranchised and disgruntled masses.

The inflammable religious issue

Perilous as these divisions were, they might not have led to civil war if a religious issue had not poured oil upon the fire. The Reformed church of Calvin had been made the sole legal religion of the country, while the Catholics, though after a time no longer persecuted with fire and sword, were denied the right of public worship. But the dominant and domineering Calvinists were themselves not an unbroken unit. In the days of Maurice and Oldenbarneveldt a sect arose among them which refused to subscribe to the doctrine of predestination with its many harsh implications and which, because of a remonstrance issued on this head, became known as the Remonstrants. Because the strict constructionists answered with a prompt and vigorous counterblast, they received the name of Counter-Remonstrants. The quarrel, abstruse and irrelevant to our present-day way of thinking, rocked the country and led to the demand for a national synod to decide the issue. Such an assembly Oldenbarneveldt, who was identified with the tolerant party of the Remonstrants and who feared the rock-ribbed intolerance of the fierce Calvinists, opposed with the result that both parties finally appealed to force. But before the struggle had fairly begun, Maurice by a quick stroke disarmed the opposition. He arrested Oldenbarneveldt, who, tried on trumped-up charges of treason, was found guilty and beheaded (1619). At the same time a national synod called at Dort (Dordrecht) condemned the lax views of the Remonstrants and imposed the most unbending definition of predestination on the Dutch Reformed church.

Dutch domestic history a see-saw between the Orange and the Republican parties

Thus Maurice and the elements behind him, forming the Orange party, had triumphed, while the burgher oligarchs suffered a complete eclipse. Had Maurice been recklessly ambitious — which he was not — he might now quite probably have made himself king. But he died (1625) like his father before him, a mere stadtholder. His titles and honors passed to his younger brother, Frederick Henry, who proved himself a leader of the Orange party as capable and even more moderate and conciliatory than Maurice. However, from the nature of the case the Orange party with its acknowledged single head had a monarchial tinge, while the defeated burgher oligarchs formed what they called the republican party. For the following generations, in fact as long as the Dutch Republic lasted, these two parties faced each other with the result that sometimes one and sometimes the other seized and exercised the power.

The commercial ascendancy of the Dutch

In conclusion, a word must be said of the remarkable commercial expansion of the Dutch Republic. It was as if the heroic effort against tyranny had released an unmeasured energy, for, in spite of the exhausting war with Spain, the country multiplied its merchant-vessels and found occasion through its daring traders to inaugurate a profitable commerce with all the countries of the world. The Dutch became *the* carrier nation of Europe, commanding the North sea, penetrating the Baltic, and boldly crowding the Spaniards and Portuguese in the East and West Indies. In 1601 was founded the Dutch East India Company, which, in return for the risks it assumed, was granted a monopoly of trade in the Far East and which gradually succeeded in building up a Dutch colonial empire in the Malay archipelago. When industrial Flanders was reoccupied by Spain, many manufacturers emigrated to the free soil of Holland, where they created linen and woolen works employing thousands of workmen. At the same time the herring industry, which had from of old been a leading occupation of this seaboard people, continued to provide a livelihood for a large fraction of the population. It was the wealth won in the herring trade that gave rise to the saying that the great city of Amsterdam was built on the carcasses of herrings. During the first half of the seventeenth century the upward movement of this prosperity hardly suffered interruption and it was not till the second half of the century that the powerful neighbors, England and France, long filled with jealousy of the Dutch success, took commercial and political measures which inaugurated a gradual Dutch decline. But this belongs to a later chapter as does also a consideration of the contribution to European culture made by the remarkable little nation which for a short time acted as the pace-maker of the western world.

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CHAPTER X

THE REFORMATION AND THE CIVIL WARS IN FRANCE

Before following the course taken by the Reformation in France let us catch up the threads of French pre-Reformation history in respect first, of the strengthening of the monarchy and second, of the participation of the country in the affairs of Europe. Regarding the monarchy we have learned that the power of the king had become very great because, enjoying a permanent revenue (the *taille*) not subject to the control of the States General, he was enabled to maintain therewith a professional army dependent wholly on himself. His steadily increasing stature had brought it about that he more and more decisively overshadowed his two medieval rivals, the nobles and the Church. Although the danger to his authority from either of these agencies was now much reduced, we shall presently have evidence that they retained considerable influence and that the nobles in particular were far removed from giving up the hope of regaining their ancient feudal independence. As for the relation of the king to the French or Gallican Church an important mile-stone had been reached with the Pragmatic Sanction of Bourges (1438). The ostensible purpose of this famous declaration was to eliminate the control of the pope; but instead of gaining its independence, as it hoped, the national Church merely slipped by gradual stages under the domination of the king. While Louis XI (1461–83) and Charles VIII (1483–98) still made an occasional show of respecting the liberties of the Church, Francis I resolved to bring it definitely under his control. As he and Pope Leo X were politically dependent on each other owing to their common hostility to Spanish domination in Italy, the monarch succeeded in persuading the Holy Father in the Concordat of Bologna (1516) to renounce the ancient papal claim to the nomination of the French bishops and abbots in favor of the crown. Therewith, in a formal sense at least, the Gallican Church had passed under the yoke of the civil ruler.

The king's increased control of the nobles and the Church

In recapitulating the part played by France in European politics we shall be doing well to start with Charles VIII and to remind ourselves that, encouraged by the consolidation of the royal power, he resolved to turn his attention to the conquest of the kingdom of Naples. In 1494 he invaded Italy and by arousing the jealousy of Spain inaugurated the struggle with that power over the control of the Italian peninsula which was not concluded for over half a hundred years. What a kaleidoscopic succession in that period of time of wasteful wars, shifting leagues, and fragile peace-treaties! Charles VIII conquered and lost Italy in the course of a single year. His successor, Louis XII (1498–1515), returned triumphantly to the attack (1499) but before his death had to let everything he had won slip again from his grasp. On the accession of Francis I the assault on the much-prized peninsula was renewed and, following the victory over Spain at Marignano (1515), brought the French back into possession of the Milanese lands. But the Spaniards would not rest content with this increase of French power and, returning to the attack under Emperor Charles V, once more drove the French out. Though captured at the battle of Pavia (1525) and carried a prisoner to Spain, King Francis had no sooner gained his liberty by signing a humiliating peace with his foe than he reopened the struggle; in fact he reopened it three times without dislodging his stout opponent from Milan and Naples, the two points, the possession of which enabled Charles to hold all Italy as with a pair of giant nippers. Francis's five wars with Spain over Italy constitute a leading feature of his reign but they failed egregiously to achieve their purpose. At the end of his rule Italy was more completely under Spanish domination than at its beginning. However, Francis's unceasing struggle against the mighty Charles V was not wholly without effect. It hindered the emperor from becoming the undisputed master of Europe and maintained that balance of power which was just beginning to emerge as the ruling principle of the political organization of Europe.

Failure of the persistent drive to conquer Italy

During the three reigns just glanced at the Renaissance began its irresistible conquest of the leading minds of France. Since it was by origin an Italian movement, the close contact established with Italy by the recurrent French invasions considerably stimulated the flow of trans-Alpine influences into the kingdom of the Valois. Particularly under Francis I humanism and the arts made rapid progress since the king delighted to exercise a liberal patronage of both scholars and artists. The new

The Renaissance comes to France

learning unfurled its banners at Paris and at other university centers throughout the country, and great humanists like Budé (Budaeus, 1467–1540), second only to Erasmus in his command of Latin and Greek, held aloft a torch of irresistible attraction for the younger generation. During his Italian visits Francis cultivated the friendship of such leading artists as Leonardo da Vinci, Titian, and Andrea del Sarto, and rejoiced not a little when he succeeded in carrying some of them away to his own country. By this means a direct stimulus was applied to the followers of the arts in France which led them to break away from the older Gothic inspiration and to found a new school of Renaissance architecture, sculpture, and painting. The literary and artistic initiative of Francis, who was a gay, light-hearted worldling, counted for much in the cultural transformation of his country but should not be exaggerated. On the whole our judgment must be that France, like Germany and England, had reached a point of development which made it eager to fling wide its doors to the new message.

King Francis indifferent to the Reformation

When the Reformation followed on the heels of the Renaissance Francis I (1515–1547) became greatly puzzled. Prizing social merriment, refinement of dress and dwelling, and all the other elements of a pleasant, mundane existence, he lacked the moral seriousness which would enable him to understand the deep indignation at the bottom of the Reformation protest; and as for the theological subtleties raised by the reformers they lay wholly outside the circle of his mind. In consequence the Reformation did not touch his spirit, and his indifference in regard to it was not shaken until he made the disconcerting discovery that the religious agitation had a political side and involved him in difficulties with the pope and the fervently Catholic element of his people. Then indeed he struck at the reformers from what were clearly not motives of religious enthusiasm but cold reasons of state.

The Reformation comes to France

The Reformation in France, as everywhere else, developed from small beginnings. The new learning, acting as its forerunner, had spread a longing for the reform of both state and Church, and at the opening of the sixteenth century, exactly as in every other country of Europe, certain select spirits began to cast their protest against existing conditions into more precise terms. One of the humanistic leaders was Jacques Lefèvre (1450–1537). After studying in Italy and occupying himself eagerly with the classics, he made the swing toward Christian learning so characteristic of northern scholarship, and in 1512 published a translation of St. Paul's Epistles with a commentary, wherein he promulgated the doctrine of Justification by Faith and certain other positions afterwards championed by Luther. When one of Lefèvre's pupils, Briçonnet by name, became bishop of Meaux, he summoned his old master and other kindred spirits about him and with their help made the town of Meaux the center of the new religious movement and the diocese of Meaux its seed-bed. When after 1517 Luther's writings began to appear they were welcomed, at least at first, as corroborative of the criticism aimed by the Meaux circle at the ecclesiastical abuses of the day. Only when Luther took a radical course and broke entirely away from the Church did his French sympathizers hesitate, for in their majority they were, like the humanists of Germany, firmly opposed to separation. However, as a handful of the more youthful and fiery spirits followed Luther's lead through thick and thin, Lutheranism gained a following in France which showed a tendency of slow but steady growth, chiefly, it would seem, among the artisan class. But that the higher classes were not left entirely unaffected is proved by the case of Margaret of Navarre, sister of the king. Although she never abandoned the Catholic Church, she became the friend and patron of the reforming group and as openly as she dared professed her sympathy with the new ideas. Her attitude, vacillating between the old and the new but not definitely committed to either, is typical of many people in France during the next generation.

Francis adopts a policy of repression

From the first the theological faculty of the university of Paris, which was known under the name of the Sorbonne and which had enjoyed an immense reputation in the Middle Age, undertook to combat the movement of criticism and reform. The learned doctors prided themselves on their orthodoxy and raised a great outcry over the spread of heretical ideas. Nevertheless their opposition was not likely to count for much unless they could draw the king to their side. That, owing to the cultured tolerance of Francis, proved difficult until the disastrous battle of Pavia (1525) made him a prisoner and reduced the country to serious straits. The mother of Francis, Louise of Savoy, who acted as regent during his captivity, was ready to go down on her knees for help to almost anybody; and when she discovered that she could have the support of the Catholic clergy only at the cost of persecution, she gave her consent. On his return from Madrid Francis straightway quashed the heretical proceedings, but as his need of ecclesiastical support continued, he saw himself obliged to return, at least intermittently, to the policy of repression. It was in one of these periods of persecution, in 1533, that there was banished from France a young man who was destined to make the world resound with his name — John Calvin. On the whole the severity of repression grew steadily with the passing of the years, for though Francis continued to be personally reluctant to punish the heterodox, in connection with his life-long struggle against Spain it became simply indispensable to him to command the alliance of the pope as well as the money and influence of the French clergy.

The Waldensian massacre

The climax of this repressive violence was reached in the famous Waldensian massacre. The Waldenses were a simple and thrifty peasant people who dwelt among the western Alps and who, because they were half-forgotten in their remote valleys, had remained in undisturbed possession of certain doctrines spread by one Peter Waldo as far back as the twelfth century. Evangelical and anti-clerical, the Waldensian teachings bore a manifest resemblance to Lutheranism. The waxing intolerance of the sixteenth century discovered the neglected and harmless heretics and the king, yielding at last to long-continued pressure, signed the order for their extermination. In 1545 the snow-capped Alps witnessed a terrible scene. Three thousand innocent villagers were butchered, hundreds were dragged from their homes to wear out their lives in the king's galleys, and many other hundreds were driven into exile. It was a repetition of the fierce crusade against the Albigenses without the excuse alleged by the earlier crusaders that they had been obliged to strike in order to save the Church from destruction at the hand of active enemies.

The systematic persecution of Henry II

Francis was succeeded by his son, Henry II (1547–1559), who had little in common with his engaging, if somewhat weak and frivolous predecessor. If Francis persecuted from political necessity, Henry did so from deliberate choice. He had a somber streak in his character, indicative of the shadow which the approaching Catholic reaction was casting before. On the day of his coronation he took with gusto the traditional oath that he would exterminate from his kingdom all whom the Church denounced. True to his word, he labored incessantly throughout his reign to put an end to heresy. He went so far as to desire to set up the Inquisition after the Spanish pattern with its vigorous machinery of courts, prisons, and police. But here he met with opposition from his supreme law-courts, the *parlements.* Having extended their jurisdiction to heresy on the ground that heresy, being directed as much against the state as against the Church, was a regular statutory offense, they resented the attempt to have their power clipped by means of a new and rival tribunal. Hence the Inquisition was never established in France, but the several parlements, and more particularly the parlement of Paris, urged on by the zealous king, did such thorough work in inflicting death and confiscation of goods on suspected persons that it is not easy to see how an Inquisition on the Spanish model could have been more energetic. When the existing organization of the parlement of Paris no longer sufficed to handle the business, a special criminal section, popularly given the ominous name of *Chambre Ardente* (Court of Fire) was instituted and soon won a deserved infamy as an instrument of persecution.

A French Protestant church organized in 1559

But neither thoroughness nor ferocity were of avail. The startling success won by the exiled Calvin at Geneva had an incalculable effect on the fellow-believers of his native land. In him they found a leader ever ready to hearten the wavering ranks; in his writings they discovered an ever-flowing fountain of inspiration. In spite of the risks involved, dozens of preachers prepared under Calvin's instruction secretly entered France as missionaries and by the middle of the century had succeeded in giving a uniform Calvinist imprint to the French reform movement. While the chief adherents of the new faith continued to be supplied by the artisan class, the phenomenon was noted that conversions were growing apace among the nobility, particularly among the small nobles of the countryside. Presently an underground organization of the Protestant churches was effected which in 1559 succeeded in holding its first national synod. Its most important act was to adopt a confession of faith prepared by Calvin himself. In the teeth of the law and its brutal champions the French Reformed church had become a fact!

If Henry was largely occupied with fighting Protestantism, he did not on this account neglect the foreign interests of France. As the heir of his predecessors he found himself involved in the eternal rivalry with Spain over Italy. As stubbornly determined to contest the issue as his father Francis, he made as little impression on his stalwart adversary and in 1559 signed the treaty of Cateau-

Cambrésis which solemnly acknowledged the Spanish mastery of the peninsula. None the less the wars of Henry brought certain distinct advantages to France. It will be remembered that, fiery Catholic though he was, he did not scruple to join with the German Protestants in their struggle (1552) against Emperor Charles V and that he was enabled by virtue of his intervention in the German civil war to occupy the three border bishoprics of Metz, Toul, and Verdun. Again, though in the war (1556–1559) which ended in Cateau-Cambrésis he was repeatedly defeated by the forces of Philip II of Spain, he scored a triumph over the English, who had joined the war as Philip's allies, by capturing the port of Calais. The acquisition of Calais and the three bishoprics is an interesting indication that French political ambition, balked of its Italian objective, had uncovered a more promising field of expansion toward the east and northeast. But before the monarchy could take further advantage of this discovery it became involved in civil broils and was obliged to give up an active foreign policy for many a year.

Henry's failure and success in the foreign field

When Henry signed with Philip of Spain the treaty of Cateau-Cambrésis, it was with the resolve to adjourn the foreign issue until he had settled the baffling problem of the Reformation. In a close Catholic partnership with Philip he purposed to extirpate heresy, root and branch. The new alignment was to be signalized by the marriage of his daughter Elizabeth with the Spanish king. At a tournament, which was a feature of the sumptuous nuptial celebration, Henry rode into the lists against the captain of his guard. A chance splinter from his antagonist's lance entered his eye and he died before he could realize his dream of cleansing his realm of the Protestant infection.

Death of Henry II

On the death of Henry, his son Francis, who was but sixteen years old and physically and mentally feeble, succeeded to the throne. When the power in an absolute monarchy, such as France was at this time, is not exercised by the sovereign, it is inevitably seized by some ambitious man or faction. The conditions in the court which surrounded the boy-king have therefore an unusual interest.

Francis II

The wife of the feeble Francis was a queen in her own right, Mary of Scotland. Although a woman of parts, she was only a little older than her husband and too inexperienced to assume control in his name. Her presence on the throne, however, offered an opportunity for the ambition of her two uncles, brothers of her mother and heads of the noble house of Guise. The older was Francis, duke of Guise; the younger was a churchman, Cardinal Lorraine. They seized the reins, and because they were ardent Catholics continued Henry II's policy of Protestant persecution.

Queen Mary and the Guises

There were those, however, who looked with jealousy upon the rule of the Guises and called it usurpation. They were the princes of the house of Bourbon, a younger branch of the royal family. The head of the house was sovereign of what was left of the kingdom of Navarre in the Pyrenees and was known as King Anthony. The younger was Louis, prince of Condé. They contended that, as princes of the blood royal, they had a better right to rule for the feeble king than the family of Guise, and naturally everybody at court who had a grudge against the Guises came to their support. Thus the Bourbon princes headed a party of "malcontents" ready to seize every opportunity to rid themselves of their rivals. In casting about for supporters they could not but observe that the Guises were hated also by the Protestants whom they persecuted. Out of this common enmity there soon grew an intimacy and an alliance. Anthony in a faithless, vacillating manner, Condé more firmly, accepted the Reformed faith, and many of the "malcontents" — highplaced courtiers and noblemen for the most part — following their example, it came to pass that French Protestantism became inextricably involved with political intrigue. It was at this period that the party name of Huguenots, a term of uncertain and disputed origin, was fixed upon the French Protestants.

The Bourbons

Between the rival court factions of Bourbon and Guise, and belonging to neither, stood a person not highly regarded at first but destined to become famous — Catherine de' Medici. She was a Florentine princess, widow of Henry II and mother of the young king. Protestant contemporaries came to look upon her as an incarnate fiend, but one of her chief antagonists, who afterward became King Henry IV of France, judged her more leniently and correctly. He once silenced an over-harsh critic by asking what was she to do, an anxious mother, torn hither and thither by the fierce party feuds and with no adviser in whom she could trust. In this apology of the great king lies probably the key to Catherine's career. She was, above all, a mother, a mother of royal children, for whom she desired to preserve the throne of France. Doubtless, too, after she had once tasted the

Catherine de' Medici, the queen-mother

sweets of power, she clung to them with selfish tenacity as men and women will. Armed only with her woman's wit she plunged into the conflict of parties, and like other rulers of her time intrigued, bribed, and prevaricated to keep herself afloat. Only a very biased historian would ascribe to her a code of political conduct essentially different from that of Philip of Spain or Elizabeth of England.

The Guises defend their grip upon the government

Out of these factions around the throne grew the intrigues which led to the long religious wars in France. It is needless to try to put the blame for them on one or the other side. Given a weakened royal executive, the implacable religious temper which marks the society of the sixteenth century, and a horde of powerful, turbulent, and greedy nobles, and civil war is a necessary consequence. We can notice only the more prominent symptoms of the coming outbreak. The path of the Guises was beset with conspiracies, instigated or connived at by the Bourbon princes. A rising was set for March, 1560, but the Guises, getting wind of it, pounced upon their adversaries before they were ready, scattered them to the winds, and as a warning hanged those they succeeding in catching to the battlements of the king's castle at Amboise or drowned them in sacks in the river Loire.

Death of Francis; Catherine in control

But the downfall of the Guises was at hand. In December, 1560, King Francis died, and his widow Mary, finding her role in France exhausted, prepared to leave for Scotland. Thus the props upon which the power of the Guises depended broke under them. The successor of Francis was his brother Charles IX, a weakling like his brother and a minor but ten years old. King Anthony of Navarre, as nearest of kin, might have put forward a claim to the regency, but in a fit of pusillanimity yielded the honor to the queen-mother. For the first time Catherine held the reins. Desirous, above all, of maintaining her son's authority and filled with the sense of the difficulty of her position between Guise and Bourbon, she hit upon a policy of balance and moderation, called representatives of both hostile factions into her council, and issued a conciliatory edict by which she ordered the parlements to put an end to religious persecution. Finally, in January, 1562, she went the length of conceding to the Protestants a limited right of worship.

Here was a decided change of policy, exhibiting Catherine in the light of a promoter of the cause of religious liberty! But her good intentions, inspired by her desire to avoid civil war, came to naught, were bound to come to naught among men who, like the Protestants

Catherine resolves on toleration

and Catholics of the sixteenth century, were passionately set on realizing their own religious system without the abatement of one jot or tittle. While the Catholics were embittered by the extent of Catherine's concessions, the Protestants grumbled at the remaining limitations, and among the more fanatical followers of the two parties, sometimes without provocation, there occurred sharp conflicts, frequently ending in terrible excesses.

The massacre of Vassy, 1562

One of these conflicts, the massacre of Vassy (1562), put an end to hesitation and led to war. The duke of Guise was passing through the country with a company of armed retainers, when he happened, at Vassy, upon a group of Huguenots assembled in a barn for worship. Sharp words led to an encounter, and before the duke rode away sixty persons lay dead upon the ground and more than two hundred had been wounded. Fierce indignation seized the Protestants throughout France, and when the duke of Guise was received by Catholic Paris like a hero returning from a successful war and Catherine declared herself unable to call him to account, the prince of Condé, acknowledged head of the Huguenots, issued an appeal and took the field.

Character of the war

Thus were inaugurated the religious wars of France which were not brought to a conclusion until 1598 by the Edict of Nantes, and which in their consequences continued to trouble the country well into the next century. For our purpose it is sufficient to look upon the period from 1562 to 1598 as one war, though it is true that there were frequent suspensions of arms supporting themselves upon sham truces and dishonest treaties.[1] The war, like all the religious wars of the century, was waged with inhuman barbarity, and incendiarism, pillage, massacre, and assassination blot every stage of its progress. Protestants and Catholics alike became brutes and vied with each other in their efforts to turn their country into a desert.

When the Treaty of St. Germain (1570), granting the Protestants a somewhat larger measure of toleration than any earlier concession, temporarily closed the chapter of conflicts, many of the original leaders had passed away. King Anthony of Navarre had been killed

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[1] Eight wars have been distinguished as follows: First war, 1562–1563; second war, 1567–1568; third war, 1568–1570 (ended by the Peace of St. Germain); fourth war, 1572–1573; fifth war, 1574–1576; sixth war, 1577; seventh war, 1579–1580; eighth war (called the War of the Three Henries), 1585–1589, which continued in another form until the Edict of Nantes (1598).

The Peace of St. Germain

(1562) in battle against his former friends, the Huguenots, whom he had deserted with characteristic lack of scruple; the duke of Guise had been assassinated (1563); and Condé had been treacherously slain after surrender in the field (1569). The official head of the Huguenot party was now Anthony's young son, King Henry of Navarre, but the real leadership devolved on the gifted and trusted admiral of France, Gaspard de Coligny.

Admiral Coligny

The new leader was one of the few high-born noblemen who had joined the Protestant ranks for other reasons than political rancor. While fighting with conviction for the religion of his choice, he never forgot, in the wild broils of partisanship, that he was a Frenchman and owed a duty to his country. He belonged to the great family of Châtillon, was allied through his mother with the still greater family of Montmorency, and without going to sea held, anomalously enough, the honorary post of admiral of France. All things considered, he rose both by character and ability above all the faction leaders of his time.

Effort at peace after St. Germain, 1570

The most interesting feature of the Peace of St. Germain was that it expressed the attitude of a group of moderate men desirous to reach a genuine pacification. To them it was only too clear that the bloodshed, which was draining the country of its strength, ruined both parties and brought profit to none except the enemies of France. For the time being King Charles himself, who was now of age and ruled in his own name, inclined to the same view. And yet so persistent were the suspicions and animosities that the effort to remove all cause of quarrel precipitated the most horrible of all the incidents of the war, the massacre of St. Bartholomew.

Marriage of Henry and Margaret

After the Peace of St. Germain, Coligny joined the court and, being a man of unusual force of character, rapidly acquired great influence with the king. The young monarch seemed to be resolved to put an end for all time to internal dissension, to enforce strictly the terms of the new peace with its provision of a limited right of worship for the Protestants, and to weld the opponents together by turning their united strength against the hereditary enemy of France established in the Netherlands. For this purpose he arranged, as a preliminary step, a marriage between his sister Margaret and young Henry of Navarre. Joyfully responding to the invitation of King Charles, the Huguenots poured in swarms into Paris to attend the wedding of their chief, which was celebrated on August 18, 1572.

The wedding seemed to inaugurate a period of national harmony based on religious toleration and the ascendancy of Coligny in the councils of the king. That was more than the extreme Catholics under the leadership of the Guises could bear. Besides, the head of the house of Guise bore a virulent grudge against Coligny, whom he regarded, probably quite unjustly, as the instigator of his father's murder in 1563. In his desperate mood he hired — at least all the probabilities point that way — an assassin who on August 22 fired at Coligny, as he was leaving the king's palace, and wounded him severely in the arm. The young sovereign, who left a game of tennis unfinished to hurry to the bedside of his councillor, felt or shammed a deep indignation. "Yours the wound, mine the sorrow," he said and swore to bring the assassin and his accomplices to justice.

The attempted assassination of Coligny

Much of what followed is to this day wrapped in mystery. Was there a long-prepared and deep-laid Catholic plot to massacre the Huguenots conveniently assembled in Paris for the wedding of their chief? Was the assassination of Coligny to serve as the signal for the general attack? Or rather was the attempted murder of Coligny the act purely of the faction of the Guise extremists and was the subsequent massacre an improvisation due to their alarm that the Protestants would rise to avenge their chief? Why did the queen-mother, whose voice had been generally on the side of moderation, now throw in her lot with the Guises? And how did she persuade King Charles to abandon the course of reconciliation to which he was committed by his own free act? As space is lacking for the discussion of these vexing questions, we must content ourselves with a bare narrative of events. It is certain that on the day following the attempt on Coligny's life the details of a general massacre of the Huguenots were arranged under Guise inspiration; it is also certain that Catherine took part in the plot and that it was she who wrung his consent to the crime from the feeble king. In the early morning hours of August 24, which was the feast of St. Bartholomew, the bells rang from all the church steeples of Paris. At the signal the fanatically Catholic inhabitants of the capital slipped from their beds, attacked the houses which had been previously designated with a chalk mark as harboring Huguenots, and slaughtered as many of their opponents as they could get into their hands. The wounded Coligny was one of the first victims of the bloody conspiracy, Duke Henry of Guise presiding in person at

The massacre of St Bartholomew

the butchery of his rival. That day the streets ran with blood and for many days after the provincial towns, encouraged by the example of the capital, indulged in similar excesses. The grim saying went the round that the wedding of the king of Navarre must be enlivened with a touch of crimson. The bridegroom himself, now Charles's brother-in-law, was in danger of death till he saved himself by declaring his readiness to renounce his faith. The victims of this horrible orgy numbered some two thousand in Paris and probably double that number in the rest of France. We reach some understanding of the depth and ferocity of the religious division of the time when we hear that at the news of the massacre the jubilant Pope Gregory XIII ordered a *Te deum* to be sung and that the somber Philip of Spain emitted his only recorded laugh.

War with all its dreary incidents straightway flamed up again. In 1574 Charles IX died from natural causes, though the Huguenots were pleased to ascribe his death to remorse for his share in the great crime of St. Bartholomew. His brother, Henry III, succeeded him on the throne. A new element of interest was introduced into the struggle only when the death of Henry's youngest brother, the duke of Anjou (1584), and his own failure to have heirs, involved, with the religious dispute, the question of the succession.

Henry III, 1574–1589

By the law of the realm the crown would have to pass upon Henry's death to the nearest male relative, who was Henry of Navarre, head of the collateral branch of Bourbon. But Henry, converted to Catholicism in 1572 in order to save his life, had long ago relapsed and was the enemy of the faith of the vast majority of his future subjects. When his succession became probable, Henry of Guise and his followers formed the Holy League, which pledged itself to maintain the interest of the Roman Church at all hazards, to crush Protestantism utterly, and never to suffer a heretic on the throne of France. While the Catholics were forming a partisan organization regardless of their obligation to their country, the Huguenots showed a spirit no less narrow and sectarian. They planned to form themselves into a federal republic, practically independent of the kingdom. It was plain that party was counting for more and more, country for less and less, and that the outcome of the wasteful civil strife would be the ruin and disruption of France. In consequence of the growing exacerbation Henry III found himself in evil straits. As head of the state he was pledged to the interests

The question of the succession

of the country and in a weak, shambling way was inclined to pursue a policy of reconciliation and peace. But the League and the Huguenots would have no peace except on their own terms, and the king, trying to hold his course between Scylla and Charybdis, was finally deserted by all except the handful of men who refused to share in the madness of partisan fury. In the new turn of the civil struggle three parties, each championed by a leader of the name of Henry, disputed the control of France.

War of the Three Henries

The new phase, called the War of the Three Henries (1585–1589), steeped the country in such confusion that men soon indulged in every form of lawlessness without punishment. King Henry, an effeminate dandy with a fondness for lapdogs and earrings, was reduced to such depths that he was unable to maintain even the appearance of authority except by resigning all real power into the hands of Henry of Guise as head of the League. In December, 1588, he indignantly resolved to put an end to this humiliation. Inviting Henry of Guise to an interview in his castle at Blois, he had him treacherously despatched by his guard. Cowardice and rancor could go no further, and the League turned in horror from the murderer, Paris and Catholic France declaring loudly for his deposition. In his despair the royal culprit fled to the camp of Henry of Navarre, and was advancing with his Huguenot subjects upon his capital, when a fanatical Dominican monk forced admission to his presence and slew him with a knife (August, 1589). With him the house of Valois came to an end. The war was now reduced to an issue between Henry of Navarre, the rightful claimant to the crown, and the League, which would have none of him.

Accession of Henry IV

The new Henry, Henry IV, first king of the house of Bourbon, was a brave soldier, an intelligent politician, and a courtly gentleman. He had his faults, springing from a sensuous and mercurial temperament, but intensely human as they were, they actually contributed to his popularity. He was confronted on his accession by the disconcerting fact that his followers were only a small part of France. The attachment of the Catholic majority he knew could only be won slowly, and force, he suspected from the first, would be of no avail. Therefore, he undertook patiently to assure the Catholics of the loyalty of his intentions in order to win their recognition. If the League could only have found a plausible rival for the throne, Henry might have been annihilated; but his claim was incontrovertible and that was his strength. Besides, the circumstance that the League leaned upon Spain caused the large body of those who, though Catholic, hated Spain more than their Huguenot fellow-countrymen to rally to Henry's banner. However, for the present no one thought of disarming. Henry won a number of engagements, notably the battle of Ivry (1590), but the League, still managed by the Guise faction in the person of the late leader's younger brother and supported by the resources of Philip of Spain, could not be scattered.

Henry returns to the Catholic fold

For four years Henry waited for his subjects to hail him as their sovereign; then he took a step which, though much debated, is not incomprehensible. The universal misery caused by the endless struggle wrenched his heart; he was in constant alarm lest the League or Philip II or both in agreement should impose on France a Catholic ruler of their own choice; finally, with his bubbling southern vivacity Henry, who was a typical Gascon, was not really one at heart with the rather grim and austere Calvinists constituting his political following. In the light of such considerations, it is not to be wondered at that he should have come gradually to the conclusion that since only his conversion would reunite and restore France, he would have to abandon an unpopular cause. His much quoted remark: Paris is well worth a mass, reveals by its flippancy his purely political appraisal of the situation. In July, 1593, after cautious preliminary negotiations with the Catholic clergy, he solemnly abjured the Huguenot faith and was readmitted to the Roman communion.

End of the civil war

The effect of the king's action was remarkable. Cities and provinces made haste to recognize him, the League fell apart, and the civil broils came to an end except for a few lingering fires. By February 1594, Henry could proceed with his coronation at Chartres, and when, a month later, he approached Paris, the gates were thrown open and he was received like a hero and savior by those same Parisians who in their intense Catholic fervor had during his apostasy spewed him out of their mouths.

To complete the work of unifying the country two things remained to be done: to punish Spain for interfering in the domestic affairs of France and to give the Huguenots the security to which they were entitled if they were ever to become contented citizens. As soon as he felt reasonably secure in his position, Henry declared formal war on Spain (1595), bringing the united Catholic and Protestant forces into the field against the ancient foe. Since the Dutch and the

English were already at war with Philip, Henry allied himself with these peoples, and Philip, beset by three governments, was swiftly reduced to serious straits. However, the Spaniards possessed a brave and veteran army and the attack of France, owing to the terrible exhaustion of the country, lacked a consistent vigor. Though Philip was not crushed by any means, he saw the necessity of giving up his far-ranging schemes of control and presently indicated to Henry his willingness to treat. The result was the Peace of Vervins (1598), in which Henry received formal recognition as king of France and the relations of the two countries were reëstablished on the terms laid down in the Treaty of Cateau-Cambrésis (1559).

War with Spain followed by the Peace of Vervins, 1598

With the country at peace with its neighbors Henry could turn to the Huguenot problem. In April, 1598, he issued from the city of Nantes, where he was temporarily residing, an edict by which he hoped to satisfy his Huguenot subjects. The edict granted to the Protestants, still, it should be remembered, a very small minority of the nation, considerable rights classifiable as religious, civil, and political. Let us be clear that the edict contained no such thing as a sweeping individual toleration of a modern kind for the simple reason that Europeans of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries were not yet ready for this idea. As to *religious* rights, Protestant worship was authorized at two places in each bailiwick (*bailliage*, a political division approximately equivalent to a county) as well as — with certain restrictions — in the castles of Huguenot noblemen. As a concession to the uncompromising Catholic fervor of the Parisians the reformed service was expressly excluded from the capital. Remarkably full *civil* rights were conceded by the edict since the Huguenots were guaranteed the protection of the law and declared eligible to all public offices. So far the settlement was intelligible and intelligent and, in spite of its restrictions, far more liberal than any solution found anywhere else up to that date. But in the sections dealing with *political* rights concessions were made to the Huguenots which to the modern student must appear amazing and which, in point of fact, were incompatible with the interests and even the existence of the monarchy. Not only were the Huguenots permitted to hold assemblies in which they might legislate for themselves like an independent power but, as a guarantee of the execution of the treaty, they were put in possession of a certain number of fortified towns, of which La Rochelle was the most im-

The Edict of Nantes, 1598

portant. They were thus constituted as an armed minority within and yet outside the state.

Continuance of the religious passions

From the first it was doubtful whether such an arrangement could last. Owing to the great authority which Henry enjoyed in all circles as the pacifier of France and owing to the lingering trust placed in him by his former comrades in the faith, the Edict of Nantes proved fairly satisfactory so long as the amiable and magnetic Gascon held the reins. But the king's tolerant spirit was shared by only a handful of men and the mass of Protestants and Catholics continued to eye each other with contempt and suspicion. Once more we may see how in that age of religious passion intolerance was not so much the work of the governments as of rival ecclesiastical organizations and their popular following, and how with them it was a thing as spontaneous and uncontrolled as the love of kin or the fear of fire. Hence when the strong hand and even temper of Henry were withdrawn, the religious tension almost at once led to a new outbreak.

Henry begins the reconstruction of France

But that was as yet some years off, and while life smiled at him Henry gave himself with zeal to the task of utilizing the peace in order to heal the wounds of his stricken country. One of his gravest concerns were the finances which were in hopeless disorder. Since for years taxes had been only intermittently collected, the debts of the crown had reached alarming proportions. By putting a friend of his Huguenot days, the duke of Sully, in charge of the treasury he had the satisfaction of seeing how by the vigilance and honesty of his enlightened servant the royal debt was greatly reduced and the annual deficit converted into a surplus available for further debt reduction. Personally Henry was much interested in agriculture and did all in his power to encourage this fundamental activity, then as now the chief source of French prosperity. In addition he improved the system of communication by building roads; he encouraged new industries, especially the manufacture of silk; and he made a modest beginning in the direction of a colonial empire by furthering French enterprise in the basin of the St. Lawrence.

With all these constructive labors to occupy his time Henry did not neglect to keep a sharp eye on Europe and the international situation. As to all his immediate predecessors so also to him the house of Hapsburg, reigning through its two branches in Spain and Austria, seemed the enveloping power which paralyzed the expansion of the

French monarchy. In the period after the Peace of Vervins he therefore cultivated the friendship of all the smaller powers of Europe — the Dutch, the Swiss Confederation, the states of Italy, such as Venice and Tuscany dwelling under the shadow of Spain, and the German Protestant states fearful of their Catholic emperor — until he exercised an informal protectorate over them. Having thus fortified himself with a ring of political outposts, he considered the time to be ripe once more to summon the house of Hapsburg to the field. A quarrel over the succession to a small German state on the Rhine was about to furnish him with the necessary pretext for a general war against the Austro-Spanish power when on May 14, 1610, on the eve of his departure for the army, he was laid low by the dagger of a fanatic who had become persuaded that Henry was a secret traitor to the Catholic cause.

His foreign policy

No sooner had the strong pillar of domestic order fallen than France was threatened with the resumption of the dissension from which she had just recovered. Henry's successor was his son Louis XIII (1610–1643), a lad but nine years old. That circumstance signified a regency which might easily lead to such broils as had marked the days following the demise of Henry II. Largely to clear the atmosphere and concentrate the power in a single hand the young king's mother, Marie de' Medici, was proclaimed regent as soon as the court had recovered from the consternation into which it had been thrown by the sovereign's assassination. A Florentine like the former regent, Catherine de' Medici, Queen Marie was Henry's second wife, to whom he had been joined (1600) on the grant of a divorce from Margaret of Valois, his bride of the stormy period of St. Bartholomew. The new governor of France was a large, coarse-featured woman without distinction of either character or intelligence and therefore wholly incapable of consistently asserting her authority. In consequence the supreme power became the football of favorites and interested groups. Perhaps without her knowing it but no less successfully for all that, Marie was manipulated by some of her Italian fellow-countrymen constituting her personal following; and this situation naturally enough aroused the resentment of the great French nobles who had hoped to gain the controlling influence for themselves. Among the turbulent nobiliary elements the Huguenot aristocracy constituted a specially dangerous group since they had been permitted by the Edict of Nantes to maintain an army and several fortified places. On meeting with less con-

Regency of Marie de' Medici

sideration from the regent than they felt to be their due, they issued a call to arms; and though letting themselves, it is true, be bought off with honors and pensions, they continued to suspend the threat of a new religious war over the country.

Richelieu saves the state

If France was saved from this confusion, it was due, and solely due, to one man, Armand Jean du Plessis, known to fame as Cardinal Richelieu. When he entered the royal council to become before long, by the natural ascendancy of his intellect, the leading minister (1624), the authority of the queen-regent had already been replaced by that of the king; but under the king, who had much more of his mother than of his father in him and was dull and slothful, the affairs of the realm had not been in the least improved. Richelieu, therefore, found himself confronted by a heavy task. Only the unique authority which he succeeded in accumulating enabled him to meet it. As a boy he had been destined for the Church, and at a ludicrously early age he had, by reason of his noble birth and the favor of the king, been made bishop of Luçon. On his talents making themselves felt, he was honored by the pope with the cardinal's hat. Thus it happened that when he became the king's chief minister, he united in his person a sum of dignities that raised him above attack so long as his sovereign supported him. And this Louis XIII did to the fullest extent. That is this dull ruler's greatest merit in the eyes of history. While Richelieu lived, he retained, in spite of intrigues and conspiracies, the power in his hands and was the real king of France.

His program

Richelieu was one of those rare statesmen who can form and carry through with an iron will a policy suited to the needs of the country. His program, which dovetails accurately with that of Henry IV, falls into three sections. In the first place, he inherited Henry's tolerance, a circumstance the more remarkable as he was a leading dignitary of the Roman Catholic Church. He would grant the Huguenots the civil and religious rights laid down in the Edict of Nantes, but their political rights, which made them almost independent of the state, he would ruthlessly destroy. His second aim was to clip still further the wings of the turbulent nobility; and his third, to overthrow for the glory of France the power of the house of Hapsburg.

Richelieu first attacked the pressing problem of the Huguenots. Following the death of Henry IV, who enjoyed their trust, they had become restless and hung on the horizon like a thunder-cloud ready to burst at any moment. Richelieu proceeded cautiously, treated with them as long as negotiation was feasible, and suddenly, when the opportunity came, invested their chief town, La Rochelle. A long siege followed, wherein the endurance of the beleaguered citizens proved no match for the skill of the tireless cardinal, who conducted the operations in person. In vain did the English fleet, sent by King Charles I at the solicitation of the Huguenots, try to relieve the town. In 1628 La Rochelle, having lost 16,000 inhabitants through hunger and pestilence, surrendered at discretion. The next year the remnant of the Protestant forces in the south was likewise disarmed and Richelieu became master of the situation. And now his remarkable moderation came to light. The average ruler of the time would have compelled the beaten minority to conform to the religion of the majority or else be burned or banished. Not so Richelieu, who cherished a toleration far in advance of his time. He confirmed to the Huguenots the civil and religious rights granted by the Edict of Nantes and merely cancelled their right to hold a number of fortified towns and constitute an *imperium in imperio* (a state within the state).

The Huguenot problem

The turbulent nobles intrenched in the provinces, where they constituted to a certain extent the local government, gave the cardinal much food for thought. With his clear eye he saw that they were an anomaly in a state aspiring to exercise an exclusive authority. They carried on a veritable private warfare by their duelling habits and defied the authorities from behind their fortified castles. Hence Richelieu threw himself upon duels and castles, declaring by edict that the time for them was past and executing a few of the most persistent duellists as an example to their class. But the great cardinal must not be credited with miracles. Battlemented castles and duels did indeed gradually disappear but less, on the whole, because Richelieu frowned upon them than because of the great change which gradually came over the upper classes and which moved them to surrender their crude medieval independence for the pleasures and luxuries associated with the more courtly forms of the new age. In the matter of the feudal strongholds more particularly it is not recorded that Richelieu destroyed many of them. More usually they were voluntarily abandoned in favor of open, villa-like mansions better suited to the softer manners of this and especially of the succeeding century.

The taming of the nobility

With the measures aimed at undermining the prestige of the nobility there went hand in hand an effort to create a centralized administration over which the nobles should have no power and which should be responsible exclusively to the king. That this was no new idea originating with Richelieu becomes sufficiently clear when we recall that the vigor of the French king had been intermittently growing for many generations. But in spite of the increasing influence of the crown, the royal officials had not yet been able to make their power felt over all departments of government in a consistent way. Following a lead taken by former rulers but again abandoned, Richelieu appointed agents, called *intendants*, whom he despatched to the provinces to take supreme charge of police, justice, and finance. He selected them exclusively from the commoners (the third estate), because commoners might be expected faithfully to carry out orders and to keep aloof from the intrigues of the local nobles. The intendants set the coping-stone on the historical structure of French administrative centralization, which however, far from inventing, Richelieu merely brought to a logical completion.

Richelieu strengthens the central administration

In the face of this increase of the royal power what became of the States General and the parlements, two institutions which had thus far in some part shared in the government of France and which the king regarded as more or less dangerous rivals? That their position would be impaired by Richelieu's policy of making the king the exclusive arbiter of the French destiny was highly probable. Though the States General, composed of the three estates, clergy, nobles, and commoners, had not succeeded in achieving a place in the French political system comparable to that occupied in England by the parliament, they had been irregularly consulted as late as the sixteenth century and had served to maintain a certain valuable contact between king and people. Summoned in 1614, during the regency of Marie de' Medici, the three groups had quarreled impotently with the government and with each other and had been dismissed not to be summoned again for one hundred and seventy-five years. For this shelving of an ancient institution Richelieu was largely responsible since, owing to his suspicion of everything that might challenge the omnipotence of the king, he carefully refrained during his control from issuing a call for a new session. In this way he set an example which was followed by the rulers after his day until the breakdown of absolutism in 1789 forced a resort to the barely remembered in-

Richelieu's relation to the States General and the parlements

stitution which had proved such an insufficient pillar of popular liberties. The parlements, supreme courts of justice, ten in number in Richelieu's day, could not be shelved like the States General, since they were the apex of the system of national justice. While Richelieu gave full support to their claims as judicial bodies, he vigilantly quashed every attempt on their part to interfere in politics; and this attitude too became characteristic of the French monarchy until its bankruptcy under Louis XVI. In sum, Richelieu exalted the royal prerogative until the power of the crown seemed to depend on itself alone and the king appeared as an irresponsible agent ruling by Divine Right.

Richelieu and the Thirty Years' War

With the Huguenots pacified and the selfish nobility held in check, Richelieu could take up with vigor his foreign plans, looking to the humiliation of the house of Hapsburg. It was a most convenient circumstance that Germany was convulsed at this time with the religious conflict known as the Thirty Years' War. With the instinct of a statesman Richelieu felt that if he interposed to help the German Protestants against the Catholics, represented by the emperor and Spain, he would sooner or later acquire some permanent advantages for France. That he was helping Protestants against Catholics did not disturb him in the least since he was a Frenchman first and a Catholic afterwards. His gradual interference, developing from occasional subsidies of money to the recruitment of large armies, finally secured to his king the balance of power in the German war and made France practical dictator of Europe when the peace of Westphalia (1648) ended the struggle. Richelieu did not live to see this result (he died 1642), but the advantages which France secured in that document may be written down to his energetic conduct of the government.

Debit and credit account of Richelieu's rule

Many criticisms might be urged against Richelieu's ministry. Having no talent for finance, he permitted the government accounts to fall into confusion and all sorts of abuses to creep into the administration. Then again he exaggerated the centralization of power with consequences that brought heavy disasters in the following century. Finally, his aggressive foreign policy produced an endless harvest of wars for both France and her neighbors. However, when all is said, it was he more than any other single individual who welded France into a solid political unit and prepared the way for her supremacy in Europe.

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THE KINGS OF FRANCE

Charles VIII, 1483–1498
Louis XII (nearest male relative of Charles VIII), 1498–1515
Francis I (nearest male relative of Louis XII), 1515–1547
Henry II (son of Francis I, *m.* Catherine de' Medici), 1547–1559
Francis II (son of Henry II, *m.* Mary Stuart), 1559–1560
Charles IX (son of Henry II), 1560–1574
Henry III (son of Henry II),1574–1589
    (Line of Valois extinct; crown passes to head of house of Bourbon, descended from Louis IX, 1226–1270)
Henry IV, 1589–1610
Louis XIII (son of Henry IV), 1610–1643
Louis XIV (son of Louis XIII), 1643–1715

CHAPTER XI

THE THIRTY YEARS' WAR

The Peace of Augsburg a victory for Protestantism and decentralization

The Peace of Augsburg of 1555 must undoubtedly be construed as a victory for German Protestantism. But it was also, since it took the control of religion out of the hands of the central authority, the emperor, and gave it to the princes, a victory for the principle of decentralization. The significance of such a development in a Europe whose states were becoming daily more powerful through the opposite movement of centralization must not be overlooked. Weakened and disunited Germany would draw the covetous gaze of her stronger neighbors and would henceforth be exposed to their attack.

The Peace of Augsburg does not heal the religious divisions of Germany

However, though a victory for Protestantism and decentralization, the Peace of Augsburg did not prove to be a final settlement of the German religious conflict. Unfortunately it left many important matters in suspense. For instance, it recognized Lutheranism without extending any rights whatever to the followers of Calvin. But after the middle of the century Calvinism increasingly gained adherents among individuals of a radical and energetic type and was even formally adopted by some princes and free towns. Not only did such converts fail to enjoy any protection from the law but they encountered the vindictive hostility of Catholics as well as of their Protestant rivals, the Lutherans. Even more important as a source of public disturbance were the features of the peace dealing with Church property, and, more particularly, the article called the Ecclesiastical Reservation. In regard to these and all other disputed matters the Catholics took the position that the limit of concession had been reached. Refusing to be impressed by this attitude, the Protestants continued to secularize monasteries and to appropriate bishoprics whenever the opportunity beckoned. In consequence a very considerable body of territory in the actual possession of the Protestants was angrily declared by their adversaries to be illegally held. If we add to difficulties such as these the hot passion which every question of religion excited in the sixteenth century, we shall easily persuade ourselves that the country was threatened with an early renewal of the civil war.

Adjournment of the issue between the rival faiths

That the domestic conflict was not resumed for over half a century is fairly remarkable and may be ascribed to a variety of causes. In the first place, the immediate successors of Emperor Charles V, Ferdinand I (1556–1564) and Maximilian II (1564–1576), were moderate men, who did their utmost to mediate among the factions. Their peaceful policy was seconded by the leading Lutheran princes, inclined by the natural conservatism of successful men to rest content with what they had won. Besides, these princes entertained the hope that without war, by gradual infiltration into all classes of society and through all districts, Protestantism might make a clean sweep of Germany. And, really, for some years following the Augsburg settlement the outlook for the religious revolution was brilliant. It possessed youth and confidence, and, in the Lutheran form at least, had acquired a legal sanction. It continued to mount, like a tide, until it had covered the whole center and north of Germany and threatened the great bishoprics along the Rhine and the hitherto staunchly Catholic dominions of Austria and Bavaria in the south. To a dispassionate observer it must have seemed not improbable that the Roman Church, undermined in these, its last strongholds, would soon altogether disappear from Germany. But this culminating catastrophe never took place. For one thing, the dominant Lutherans, in distinction from the Calvinists in Holland and elsewhere, were too self-satisfied and unenterprising to make the best of their opportunities; and in the second place, in the very nick of time the Catholic revival reached Germany and completely reinvigorated an apparently dying cause.

The Catholic reaction

We have already taken note of how the Counter-Reformation fortified by the Jesuits and the Council of Trent steadied the wavering Catholic ranks throughout the world. Its effect did not make itself felt in Germany until the last quarter of the sixteenth century, when Rudolph II (1576–1612) was upon the throne. Breaking away from the conciliatory policy of his immediate predecessors, Rudolph resolved to put the Catholic Church again in the saddle and to make use to this end of the Jesuit order. Operating from the court of Vienna as a center, and also from that of Bavaria, whose ruling family was, if possible, even more fervently Catholic than the Hapsburgs, the devoted followers of Ignatius Loyola gradually spread in every direction. Their churches multiplied, and their schools, conducted with energy and intelligence, were largely attended. Before long the Protestant advance was checked all along the line and an energetic Catholic propaganda began to score triumphs in those doubtful regions, chiefly of the south, where Protestantism having but recently gained a foothold was still feeble.

Increasing tension

By the beginning of the seventeenth century the tension between the religious parties was nearing the danger point and every new incident increased the probability of a rupture. A glance at the affair of Donauwörth will show us from what quarter the wind was now blowing over Germany. Donauwörth, on the upper Danube, was a free imperial city (*freie Reichstadt*) and as such enjoyed representation in the Reichstag. Overwhelmingly Protestant, it had a Protestant town council which, though permitting Catholic worship, refused to tolerate Catholic public demonstrations. In spite of this prohibition some Catholic zealots organized (1606) a religious procession which caused a riot. In hot indignation they appealed to Emperor Rudolph, who, maintaining that Catholic rights had been curtailed, put the city under the ban of the empire and at the same time commissioned Duke Maximilian of Bavaria to occupy it with an armed force. Not content with carrying out the imperial orders, the duke, regarding Donauwörth as conquered territory, forcibly reconverted it to Catholicism.

The Protestant Union and the Catholic League, 1608–1609

This decidedly high-handed act greatly excited the more radical Protestant elements, chiefly adherents of Calvinism. They came together for conference and in 1608 formed a union to hinder a repetition of the Donauwörth outrage. Thereupon Duke Maximilian, considering himself threatened by this move, joined with other Catholic estates, chiefly bishops, in a similar association which took the name of the Catholic League (1609). When people among whom no love is lost begin to go about armed the chances of a bloody clash become excellent. Nevertheless so general was the dread of civil war that, in spite of ever increasing animosity, the peace was preserved for another decade.

The occasion that finally precipitated the long-expected conflict was furnished by Bohemia. Bohemia was a kingdom which in 1526 had come into possession of the house of Hapsburg, partly through inheritance and partly through election by the Bohemian diet. Its inhabitants were Germans and Czechs, the Czechs, a Slav people, being decidedly in the majority. In the fifteenth century Bohemia had risen into European prominence through its great citizen John Hus, who initiated a reform movement in the Church and met (1415) a heretic's death at the stake. The wild rebellion of the Hussites, as the reformer's followers were called, was put down after a tremendous struggle. None the less the province continued to seethe under the surface with revolutionary agitation. When, a century after Hus's death, Luther lifted his voice in Saxony, his words raised an answering echo across the Bohemian border. The Reformation made slow but steady progress nor was it seriously resisted by the Hapsburg government until Emperor Rudolph came to the throne. Devoted son of the Church that he was, he tried to put it down, but, crotchety and more than half insane, he only botched matters and was in the end constrained to grant the Protestants a limited toleration in a charter issued in the year 1609. However, both Rudolph and his successor Emperor Matthias (1612–1619) carried out the terms of the charter grudgingly and by a number of irregular acts renewed the animosity of the Protestants. On May 23, 1618, resolved to get rid of the Hapsburg dynasty and give themselves a ruler of their own faith, they rose in revolt. The emperor resided at Vienna and was represented at Prague, the capital of his Bohemian kingdom, by a body of governors. These the insurgents attacked, invaded their castle, and summarily tossed two of them, with a secretary for good measure, out of the window into the moat below. It was a fall of some sixty feet but, wonderful to say, beyond the shock to their bones and the more enduring shock to their feelings, had no evil consequences for the victims. The rebels crowned the day's work by setting up a revolutionary government. While their act was no more than a local Bohemian occurrence, in its consequences it set fire to the inflammable German house and precipitated the struggle known as the Thirty Years' War.

The outbreak in Bohemia, 1618

Whoever makes a study of the Thirty Years' War will be struck by the fact that it is really not so much a single war as an aggregation of related wars. It therefore falls naturally into different periods, designated by the issue which is uppermost at the time. Five such periods are clearly distinguishable: the Bohemian Period (1618–1620), the Palatine Period (1621–1623), the Danish Period

(1625–1629), the Swedish Period (1630–1635), and the French Period (1635–1648). These divisions indicate how the struggle, beginning in Bohemia, spread like a contagion until it included all Europe. From Bohemia, where, we have seen, it had its origin, it ate its way into southern Germany into the region known as the Palatinate — this is the Palatine Period. Then slowly northern Germany and its nearest Protestant neighbor, Denmark, were drawn into its sphere — this is the Danish Period. And finally one and another foreign country was moved to take part, until the war, while continuing to be a German civil struggle, acquired something of the aspect of a world-clash between Protestantism and Catholicism, and something, too, of a duel between the two greatest reigning houses of Europe, Hapsburg and Bourbon.

The periods of the Thirty Years' War

THE BOHEMIAN PERIOD (1618–1620)

The revolutionists at Prague had hardly set up their government when they appealed to the German Protestants for help. The Lutherans of the north denied them even their sympathy, while the Calvinists, inhabiting chiefly the south and constituting the leading element of the Protestant Union, offered advice but little help. The fact was that the Bohemians were in rebellion, and rebellion is a matter which conservative men will always treat with caution. There were, however, in the Union a number of flighty, sanguine characters who were bent on striking, through the Bohemian situation, a blow at the Hapsburgs and Catholicism. Chief of these was the president of the Union, the Elector Frederick, ruling over the region which, loosely strung across southern Germany, was called the Palatinate and boasted as its capital the city of Heidelberg, located on the Neckar not far from its confluence with the Rhine. The Elector Frederick was a Calvinist — a circumstance which helps explain his readiness to take the offensive against Catholicism. From the first he gave the Bohemian rebels secret aid and at the same time attempted to commit the Union to an active policy. In this latter purpose he frankly failed. The Union temporized, adopted a few useless measures, and on the approach of danger dissolved itself (1621). Its record is an unmitigated fiasco.

The Bohemians appeal to the German Protestants

Meanwhile hostilities had begun between the emperor and his revolted subjects. They had not advanced far when the feeble Mat-

1621-1623 -
1625-1629 - Danish
1630-1635 - Swedish

thias, brother and successor of the hare-brained Rudolph, died (March, 1619), and the Hapsburg dominions passed to a better man, Ferdinand II. He had been brought up by the Jesuits and filled by them with their devotion to the Church. He was small and feeble, with hooked nose, weak eyes, and thin hair — plainly not a captain of men who shakes the world with his great purposes. Nevertheless, where his convictions were involved this frail sovereign proved himself more immovable than men of a more heroic mold. Having raised an armed force and secured his capital, Vienna, against attack by the Bohemian rebels, he set out for Frankfort, where the assembly of German electors was convened, after the usual fashion, to name the successor of Matthias. Although three of the seven electors were Protestants, the electoral college so far accepted the time-honored ascendancy of the house of Hapsburg as to raise Ferdinand to the imperial dignity. With the German crown resting on his head, the Hapsburg ruler felt that he must strain every nerve to recover Bohemia. The case seemed to him the more urgent as almost at the same moment that he was acclaimed at Frankfort, the Bohemian struggle had entered a new and more dangerous phase: the revolutionists had made an offer of the crown to the Elector Frederick. Frederick hesitated, torn between anxiety and hope, but in the end, spurred by ambition, set out for Prague, and on November 4, 1619, was crowned king.

Emperor Ferdinand II (1619–37) and the Elector Frederick of the Palatinate

Maximilian of Bavaria

In the course of his preparations for a vigorous campaign, Ferdinand naturally approached the Catholic League for aid. This organization, which was destined to play a very considerable role in the Thirty Years' War, was, in distinction from its rival, the Union, most efficiently managed by its president, Maximilian, duke of Bavaria. He proved himself in the course of the war to be the most capable of the princes of Germany. Brought up, like Ferdinand, by the Jesuits, he shared the new emperor's devotion to the Church but tempered it with a political intelligence wholly foreign to the imperial dreamer and bigot. From the moment of his accession to his Bavarian duchy, he prepared for the coming German crisis by laying up money and drilling an army. In the hard struggles of this world it is generally such men as Maximilian who succeed, men who exercise foresight and energetically carry through well-laid plans. Thoroughly aroused over what he considered the Elector Frederick's usurpation, Maximilian did not require much coaxing to put his forces at Ferdinand's disposal.

The decisive Bohemian campaign of 1620

In the year 1620 there followed the campaign which decided the fate of Bohemia. Was the country to remain Protestant under its new king, Frederick, or to be won back by the Catholics and handed over to Ferdinand? If the Protestants had had a different champion, their outlook might have been more brilliant. Frederick was a man of little brains and such spirit as he had was largely instilled into him by his ambitious spouse, Elizabeth, daughter of James I of England. What further made greatly against his chances was that he was politically isolated. The Union, in spite of his appeals, did next to nothing, while among the Lutherans one man, the powerful elector of Saxony, went the length of actually coöperating with Ferdinand. The forces of the League, controlled by Maximilian but under the immediate command of General Tilly, penetrated into Bohemia until they came within sight of the towers of Prague. They found Frederick's army drawn up on the White Hill to the west of the town, and the ensuing battle was a crushing defeat for Frederick, who fled for his life across Germany to Holland. The Jesuits had mockingly foretold that he would prove but a winter king, a man of snow who would vanish at the first ray of the sun, and they were right. Ferdinand, followed by an army of priests and Jesuits, took possession of Bohemia, confiscated the immense estates of the revolted nobles, and proscribing every shade of Protestantism, imposed the Roman faith as the sole religion of the country.

THE PALATINE PERIOD (1621–1623)

Seizure of the Palatinate

The Bohemian episode was closed and lovers of peace hoped that the war would now end. They were disappointed chiefly because the elated Catholics could not resist the temptation to make the most of their victory. The war entered a new phase when the emperor, egged on by his Jesuit advisers, put Frederick under the ban of the empire and commissioned his two allies, Duke Maximilian and the Spaniards — these latter operating from the Spanish Netherlands as their base — to take military possession of the Palatinate. This was a direct and wanton provocation since the Palatinate was recognized Protestant territory. But Ferdinand and Maximilian reckoned with the incurable divisions among the Protestants and they were fully justified by the event. Although the Protestants gave free rein to their indignation, when it came to helping the Elector Frederick to defend his inheritance against the adversary they backed away. In consequence the Palatinate fell completely into Catholic hands. Victorious beyond his dreams, the emperor now undertook to reward his main supporter. He transferred (1623) the electoral dignity from Frederick to Maximilian, duke and henceforth elector of Bavaria, and in addition made over to him that part of the Palatinate (the upper Palatinate) which was contiguous to Bavaria. At the same time the Catholic army drove the Protestant preachers out of the Palatinate and gradually forced Catholicism upon the inhabitants.

The policy of James I of England

These Protestant disasters alarmed the other Protestant powers of Europe, such as England, the Dutch, Sweden, and Denmark, and started a correspondence among them in favor of a concerted intervention. In any such movement the leadership would naturally fall to England, first, because since the days of Queen Elizabeth England had been the greatest bulwark of the new faith, and second, the reigning sovereign, James I, was, as we have seen, the father-in-law of the Elector Frederick. James, to be sure, had not encouraged Frederick's disastrous Bohemian ambitions; but when his son-in-law lost his inherited territories too, he could not fail to be disturbed. Wisely wishing to avoid war, he developed a plan to compose the German troubles in close association with Spain; and in furtherance of this policy he tried to effect an Anglo-Spanish alliance to be clinched by the marriage of his son and heir, Charles, to a Spanish princess. The Spaniards willingly negotiated in order to keep the English king from actively interfering in the struggle; but as soon as the German prizes were safely in Catholic hands, they made it plain to the duped James that they had no interest in either a matrimonial or a political alliance.

James pushes Denmark into the war

At this discovery James fell into a rage and made up his mind that only war would readjust the German balance. To this end he planned a great Protestant alliance. But here, too, as in so many of the measures of his reign he was pursued by ill-luck. His possible allies were the Dutch, Sweden, and Denmark. As to the Dutch, the Truce of Twelve Years having just expired (1621), the war with Spain had been resumed, and the country, fully occupied with its own problem, had no resources to spare for Germany. The case of Sweden was similar. Gustavus Adolphus, the very capable ruler of Sweden, was involved in difficulties with Russia and Poland which constituted as great a burden as his shoulders could for the time being bear. There remained Denmark, whose king, Christian IV, declared himself willing to strike a blow for Protestantism, provided James supplied him liberally with money. This James agreed to do, but as he had foolishly involved himself in a quarrel with his parliament — a quarrel which under his son led to civil war — he could not get the funds which he required. The upshot was that James pushed the Danish king into a conflict with triumphant German Catholicism and then deserted, his promises of financial support proving to be broken reeds.

THE DANISH WAR (1625–1629)

Wallenstein creates an imperial army

With the entrance into the war of Christian IV in the role of champion of threatened Protestantism, the scene of action was transferred from the south to the north of Germany. Tilly, still in command of the army of the League, moved against him, but Christian had for a time the advantage of position and numbers. Just as he thought he had the situation well in hand, a second Catholic army appeared and threatened his flank. Raised in the name of the emperor, this force was the first *imperial* army of importance put forward in this war — Tilly, it must always be remembered, was employed by the League — and was commanded by Wallenstein. Wallenstein was a Bohemian nobleman who, having remained faithful to Ferdinand in the crisis of 1618, had been rewarded with immense estates taken from the defeated rebels. In order to free his sovereign from military dependence on the League, he had counselled him to raise an army of his own; and when the emperor pleaded poverty, Wallenstein lured him on with a plan which would make the army self-supporting. The general commissioned by the emperor would simply oblige the magistrates of the districts which the army happened to be occupying to furnish him with the supplies and ready money of which he stood in need. Such a system of forced contributions was not exactly plunder, but it was the next thing to it, and without urgent necessity the legal-minded and scrupulous Ferdinand would never have given his consent to anything so irregular. Wallenstein at first exercised some restraint upon his men; but in measure as the country grew poorer and it became harder to squeeze support out of it, the general took without asking whatever he could find. Naturally his rivals were not slow to imitate him, with the result that there now began that awful harrying of Germany, the cold facts of which remain incredible to our ears and confirm the concise saying of a famous American general that war is hell. And this was only the beginning, for there were destined to be twenty and more years of this slow torture. A French historian has declared the fact that Germany did not become an out-and-out wilderness to constitute one of the most extraordinary endurance tests which humanity has furnished.

The organization of an army

A word at this point concerning the armies of this age will not come amiss. To begin with, they were not national but mercenary. A sovereign, wishing to raise a force, first commissioned a number of officers, who hired men at a fixed price wherever they were to be found. In consequence, an army was likely to look more like an international congress than anything else — all races, costumes, and languages were represented. The pay of both officers and privates was liberal, and the cost of an army rose, at least in salaries, to a relatively much higher figure than today. A well-balanced force would be composed of infantry and cavalry in about equal numbers; the artillery was in process of development and did not yet constitute a decisive factor. The infantry was in part armed with rude muskets, but owing to the fact that a general still counted on winning a battle by the push of solidly massed men, the more usual weapon of the foot-soldier was a pike, some eighteen feet in length. In preparation for a battle the cavalry was drawn up on the wings, while the infantry, with the clumsy and ineffective artillery corps in front of it, held the center. All this looks rude and primitive from the twentieth century point of view, but it remains a notable fact that great advances were made in this period, chiefly under the stimulus of Gustavus Adolphus of Sweden. He increased his artillery pieces, turned them to better use, and developed in his troops a greater mobility both on the march and under fire.

Christian defeated by Tilly and Wallenstein

To return to the Danish War, Christian IV proved no match for the combined forces of Tilly and Wallenstein. A single campaign settled his fate. In 1626 Wallenstein defeated Christian's lieutenant, Mansfeld, at the Bridge of Dessau, and in the same year Tilly crushed Christian himself at Lutter. Not only was the king obliged to retire from Germany, but he was pursued into his own dominions and had finally to take refuge in the Danish islands. He had every reason to be thankful when, in the year 1629, the emperor signed the Peace of Lübeck with him, whereby, in return for the abandonment of his German claims and projects, he got back his Danish territories.

Even before the Peace of Lübeck was signed, Wallenstein had overrun the whole Protestant north. Nothing seemed able to resist him. Capable, unscrupulous, and ambitious — the type of the military adventurer — his remarkable mind began to nurse designs so vast and intricate that they have never yet been entirely fathomed. In the main his plan appears to have been to overawe the princes, both Catholic and Protestant, and once again to make the emperor the real master of Germany. As such a revolution in the German political system could be effected only by means of the army of which he was head, he foresaw that in the event of the reëstablishment of German unity the dominant role would be secured to him. However, the plan was bound to encounter powerful obstacles. In the first place Ferdinand soon showed that he had no taste for the part of conqueror which Wallenstein assigned to him; and, further, all the princes, regardless of religion, arrayed themselves in one solid phalanx against the man who tried to diminish their importance.

The revolutionary plans of Wallenstein

If we survey the German situation in the year 1629, the Catholic success seemed to be complete. In the Bohemian and Palatine stages of the war the Union had been scattered and south Germany occupied, while in the Danish stage, the victorious Catholic soldiery had penetrated to the shores of the North and Baltic seas. In the length and breadth of Germany there was no force able to resist triumphant Catholicism. Therefore it was now or never if a decisive blow was to fall on the Protestant enemy. In March, 1629, Ferdinand published the Edict of Restitution, by which the Protestants were dispossessed of all Church territories seized by them since the preliminary Peace of Passau of 1552. The measure was a revolution. At a stroke of the pen two archbishoprics, twelve bishoprics, and hundreds of monasteries were reappropriated by the Catholics. The emperor had hitherto cajoled the Lutherans in order to keep them quiet while he crushed the more radical Protestants, but by this step he removed the mask. It was not Calvinism at which he aimed but at Protestantism of every variety. The Edict of Restitution marks the peak of the Catholic tide.

Zenith of the Catholic triumph and Edict of Restitution, 1629

The policy laid down in the Edict of Restitution meant violence perpetrated upon every Protestant prince and city in the land and could be carried through only by an army. But almost simultaneously with its publication the emperor was guilty of the fatal inconsistency of reducing his strength. In the year 1630 a meeting of the electors was held at Ratisbon (Regensburg) where the long repressed indignation of the German princes against Wallenstein found a voice. His misdemeanors were legion: his army exhausted the country, weighing on Catholic and Protestant alike; his imperial plans were revolutionary; his personal ambition was dangerous and boundless. A unanimous cry went up for his dismissal which the timid emperor could not face. Repudiating the policy of Wallenstein, he deposed his trusty lieutenant at the very moment when the Edict of Restitution for the first time welded the Protestants into a solid mass and when a new and threatening power appeared upon the scene.

Imperial inconsistency. Wallenstein dismissed, 1630

THE SWEDISH PERIOD (1630–1635)

In July, 1630, Gustavus Adolphus, king of Sweden, landed on the Baltic coast at the head of an army. We have seen that some years before, when James I of England attempted to create a great Protestant combination, Gustavus had declined to be a party to it. He was at the time engaged in securing his position in the Baltic area against the Poles. Since then Wallenstein's astonishing triumph against Denmark had filled the mind of the Swedish king with apprehension and alarm. He entertained the ambition of securing for himself the first place on the Baltic, of making, in fact, the Baltic a kind of Swedish lake, and here was Wallenstein apparently reviving the defunct Empire, carrying its banners into the north and talking of launching a fleet upon the sea with a view to reviving the German naval power. Concerned about his safety, Gustavus slowly made up his mind to enter the war for the purpose of driving the imperial forces out of northern Germany. But there was more than this in his bold enterprise. As an ardent Protestant he had sympathized from the first with the Protestants of Germany, but not till the publication of the Edict of Restitution did he feel that, unless a blow were struck for it, Protestantism in Germany was doomed. Thus Swedish patriotism as well as devotion to his faith spurred him to action. Did he act selfishly or unselfishly? An idle question, since human actions can only rarely be classified under such simple categories as good and bad,

Gustavus Adolphus lands in Germany, July, 1630

selfish and unselfish. Naturally he acted as was demanded by his conception of the interests of Sweden. To have done otherwise would have been a disavowal of his responsibilities as Swedish king. But it was perfectly compatible with a broadly national policy to believe that Swedish Protestantism was tied up with German Protestantism and that if the new faith were destroyed in the latter country it would sooner or later be doomed also in the former. Be that as it may, it is clear that he invaded Germany in order to strengthen the Swedish position on the Baltic; but it is also true that, while serving his own country, he rescued German Protestantism from destruction and became a hero in the eyes of Protestants the world over.

Gustavus, the Protestant princes, and Richelieu

Gustavus is the outstanding figure of the Thirty Years' War and succeeded during his brief presence on the stage in bringing into the barren struggle something of an epic movement. Let us follow his brilliant course. His first concern on landing in Germany was to secure the alliance of the Protestant princes, whose salvation, together with the safety of his Swedish kingdom, formed the double object of his coming. And here he straightway encountered difficulties. The Protestant princes had, on account of the Edict of Restitution, little or no affection left for the emperor, but they naturally hesitated about allying themselves with a foreigner and aiding him in getting a foothold in their native land. While Gustavus was in turn coaxing and threatening them, help came to him from another quarter, from France. The French government, since 1624 in the extremely capable hands of Cardinal Richelieu, had followed the German developments with close interest, but owing to domestic troubles with the Huguenots had thus far not been able to interfere. By the year 1629 the Huguenot difficulties had been ironed out and Richelieu became free to pursue a more vigorous foreign policy. Though a great prelate of the Church, he was, above all, a Frenchman eager to advance the power and influence of his country. Clear in his mind that a strong Germany would be a disadvantage to France, he resolved not only to aid the successful plot which at Ratisbon brought about the dismissal of Wallenstein but to welcome with open arms every avowed enemy of the emperor. Expressing therefore from the first his approval of Gustavus's German enterprise, he presently (January, 1631) concluded the Treaty of Bärwalde, wherein he agreed to pay the king of Sweden a considerable annual subsidy toward the prosecution of the war. It was a measure preliminary to entering the conflict in person.

Sack of Magdeburg May, 1631.

Saxony and Brandenburg join Sweden

The first operations of Gustavus were directed to the reduction of the strongholds of Pomerania for the purpose of acquiring a secure base for his campaign. While he was thus engaged, Tilly, who since Wallenstein's dismissal was at the head of the combined forces of the League and emperor, stormed and utterly sacked the great Protestant city of Magdeburg on the Elbe. In the course of the assault a fire started, and when the smoke and fury had passed away only the cathedral was discovered standing among the blackened ruins. Fear and horror turned Protestant sentiment more strongly than ever toward Gustavus, and when, shortly after, Tilly threatened to invade Saxony, its ruler, who was the traditional head of the Lutherans, put an end to his indecision. Together with the elector of Brandenburg, and followed by many minor princes, he came to terms with Sweden. These German alliances so far secured the hold of Gustavus on the north that he was at last able to seek out Tilly for a decisive encounter. In September, 1631, a great battle took place at Breitenfeld, near Leipzig, in which Swedish generalship and discipline astonished the world by utterly defeating the veteran army of Tilly.

Gustavus takes winter quarters on the Rhine

The victory of Breitenfeld laid all Germany at the feet of Gustavus. Never was there a more dramatic change. The Catholics, who a year before had held the reins in their hands, were now in exactly the same helpless position in which the Protestants had found themselves. Gustavus, received everywhere by his co-religionists as a deliverer, marched without opposition straight across Germany to the Rhine. In the episcopal town of Mainz he took up his winter quarters. What more natural than that under the stimulus of a triumph exceeding all expectations, his plans should now have soared higher? With Sweden safe and German Protestantism rescued, his expedition had secured its original objects. But as he looked around and saw Germany helpless at his feet, visions arose of himself as champion and permanent head of the Protestant section of the country. The program was tempting but much work remained to be done before he could carry it out. As long as Bavaria and Austria were unconquered, he could not hope to be the arbiter of German destiny.

In the spring of 1632 he again took the field, aiming straight at the country of his enemies. At the river Lech, Tilly tried to block his passage into Bavaria. Again unsuccessful against his more versatile

Gustavus in Bavaria, 1632

opponent, the veteran general of the League chanced to receive a wound from which he shortly died. Bavaria was now at the great Swede's mercy, who entered its capital, Munich, in triumph. His next and last objective was Vienna, residence of the emperor. If he could enter the Austrian capital, resistance would collapse and Germany be his acknowledged prize. But long before the situation had taken this critical turn, Ferdinand had turned to the one man capable of averting the final doom — Wallenstein. That general, since his dismissal, had been sulking on his Bohemian estates. When Ferdinand's ambassador besought him for aid, he affected indifference, but at length allowed himself to be persuaded to collect an army upon conditions calculated to raise him to a military dictatorship. Protected, as he thought, by the terms secured against a new dismissal, he floated his standards to the wind, and once again the adventurers of all nations and creeds flocked around the famous leader.

The battle of Lützen (1632) and death of Gustavus

In the summer of 1632 Wallenstein and Gustavus, the two greatest generals of their day, took the field against each other. After long, futile manœuvring around Nürnberg, the two armies met for a decisive encounter at Lützen, not far from Leipzig (November, 1632). After the trumpeters had sounded the hymn of Luther, "A Mighty Fortress is our God," and the whole army had knelt in prayer, Gustavus ordered the attack. The combat was long and furious, but the Swedes won the day; they won, but at a terrible cost. In one of the charges of horse, the impetuosity of Gustavus carried him too far into the ranks of the enemy and he was surrounded and slain.

Degeneration of the war

With the death of the king of Sweden the war degenerated into an abominable scramble for the meanest material advantages. Gustavus's great achievement had been that he had turned back the Catholic tide and saved the German Protestant cause. But he left Germany in hopeless confusion. The rage between Protestants and Catholics, now almost unappeasable, was complicated by the wild territorial greed of the princes; and as if such misery were not enough, foreign powers took advantage of the impotence of the nation to appropriate its fairest provinces.

On the death of Gustavus, Wallenstein was the greatest figure left among the leaders of the war, and Wallenstein, a man not without large views, resolved to aim at a general pacification on the enlightened basis of toleration for the Protestants. As he was persuaded that he could never win the emperor and his Jesuit councillors to such a plan, he opened secret negotiations with his Protestant adversaries and thus laid himself open to the suspicion of treason. If his army would have followed him through thick and thin, he might have defied the emperor and become the restorer of Germany; but his officers fell away from him on his renewed dismissal by his master, while some of their number went the length of forming a conspiracy against his life. In February, 1634, in the Bohemian town of Eger, they put an end to him and his grandiose plans.

Wallenstein's treason and death, 1634

Meanwhile the Swedes did not relax their efforts to retain the dominant position which Gustavus had won for them. The political direction fell into the capable hands of the Chancellor Oxenstiern, who ruled in the name of Gustavus's infant daughter Christina, while the military affairs were on the whole very creditably managed by various generals whom Gustavus had trained. None the less, in September, 1634, the Swedes were signally defeated by the Imperialists at Nördlingen and had to evacuate southern Germany. With fortune smiling once more on the emperor, he resolved to take his first sincere step toward peace. Calamity had taught him to moderate his demands, and he declared to the elector of Saxony, still the recognized head of German Protestantism, his willingness to sign with him a treaty of peace, to which all Protestants should be invited to accede, on the basis of a virtual withdrawal of the obnoxious Edict of Restitution. The peace proposal had many imperfections, prominent among them being the failure to make express legal provision for the Calvinists. In spite of these drawbacks, in May, 1635, it was in the city of Prague converted into a treaty by the two German principals, and such was the longing for peace in the exhausted country that before many weeks had passed nearly all the princes and free cities had signified their acceptance.

Swedish interests directed by Oxenstiern

Had Germany been left to itself peace might now have descended upon the land already tormented by seventeen years of civil warfare. Unfortunately the decision between peace and war no longer lay in the hands of the Germans. It now rested with those foreign powers whom the unhappy divisions of the Germans had drawn across the border. Securely ensconced in the heart of the country, the Swedes laughed at the idea that the war was over, especially as France, which had hitherto supported the Scandinavian power only with money, now entered into a new alliance (April, 1635) providing for full participation in the conflict. The death of their great king followed by the disastrous battle of Nördlingen and the resumption of amicable relations between the Catholic and Protestant factions of Germany were doubtlessly heavy blows to the Swedes, but the French resolution to fight henceforward at their side made up for all these losses. The favorable hour which Cardinal Richelieu had been patiently awaiting to deliver a deadly blow at the house of Hapsburg had struck at last. With the domestic troubles of France allayed, Richelieu issued a declaration of war against Spain (May, 1635) and at the same time entered the German war by dispatching an army to the Rhine to coöperate with the Swedes.

France comes to the aid of Sweden

THE FRENCH PERIOD (1635–1648)

The war now entered a new and last phase characterized by the effort of the allied powers of France and Sweden to effect a permanent lodgment in Germany. That religion was no longer an issue of any consequence is sufficiently indicated by the circumstance that of the two invaders of Germany one was Protestant and the other Catholic. They and the German princes still bandied the word religion when they imagined something might be gained by it, but their intimate thought was all about territorial advantages. From year to year following Richelieu's decisive step of 1635 the French policy tended to fall with increasing weight into the balance, chiefly owing to the broad outlook and concentrated resolution of the great cardinal. Taking in with statesman-like vision the whole European scene, he sought the friendship and help of every power, great or small, capable of being mobilized against either of the Hapsburg houses, though it was the Spanish house which his interpretation of French history prompted him to honor with a particular aversion. His most immediate object was to weaken the hold of Spain on the Spanish Netherlands, since from this vantage-ground, as the map will show, a perpetual threat was suspended over the French capital. At the very time (1635) that he drew closer to the Swedes, he entered into alliance with the Dutch, who in 1621, when the Twelve Years' Truce expired, had renewed their war of inde-

The world struggle between the houses of Bourbon and Hapsburg

pendence. Joined to Sweden and the Dutch Republic, he prepared to meet the Austro-Spanish armies. Thus in its last phase the Thirty Years' War is less a German conflict than an immense international struggle for supremacy between the house of Bourbon, on the one hand, and the two branches of the house of Hapsburg, on the other.

The Franco-Swedish plan of campaign

The fighting in Germany during the last or French Period took the form of a stubborn forward thrust across the Rhine on the part of France and a steady movement southward from its Baltic base on the part of Sweden. The object of the allies was to crush the emperor between them. It remains a matter of astonishment that that sovereign, exhausted as he was and ill-supported by the German people, who had fallen into a mortal languor, should have made so stubborn a resistance. In the early years he even won some notable successes. But year after year the French and Swedes fastened upon his flanks and with each season he found it more difficult to shake them off. The nation meanwhile, sucked dry by a soldiery which had grown insensible to every appeal of justice and pity, was dying by inches. The cities fell into decay, the country became a desert. In view of the certainty that the product of labor would become the booty of marauders, nobody cared to work. Hence the people fell into idleness, were butchered, or died of hunger or of pestilence. The only profession which afforded a semblance of security was that of the soldier, and soldier signified robber and murderer. Armies became armed bands organized for pillage and marched up and down the country, followed by immense hordes of starved camp-followers, women and children, who hoped, in this way, to get a sustenance which they could not find at home.

French and Swedish victories bring the emperor to terms

Accumulated disaster finally brought the emperor to terms. The forces of France had been growing gradually stronger and at last, under the leadership of the fiery prince of Condé and the gifted strategist Turenne, penetrated far into southern Germany. The honors of the last campaigns rested chiefly with them, though the Swedes also added to their laurels. Seeing that it was useless to attempt to turn these strangers from the gates, the emperor finally accepted the decree of fate. But it was not Ferdinand II who bared his head to receive the blow. He had been succeeded, on his death in 1637, by his son, Ferdinand III (1637–1657), who opened negotiations with

France and Sweden, and after wearisome and sheer interminable delays, brought them to a successful termination in 1648, in the Treaty of Westphalia.[1]

The main subheads of the Peace of Westphalia

The Peace of Westphalia is, from the variety of matter which it treats, one of the most important documents in history. First, it determined with what territorial concessions in Germany France and Sweden were to be persuaded to retire from the war; second, it laid a new basis for the peace between Protestants and Catholics; and third, it authorized an important political and territorial readjustment within Germany. Let us consider these heads in the order named.

Cessions made to Sweden and France

As to the first point, Sweden received the western half of Pomerania and the bishoprics of Bremen and Verden. By these possessions she was set as guardian at the mouths of the rivers Oder, Elbe, and Weser and put in substantial control of the German seaboard. As to France, she was confirmed in the possession of the bishoprics of Metz, Toul, and Verdun, already occupied since 1552, and received, in addition, the greater part of Alsace, which acquisition carried with it the inestimable advantage of a foothold on the upper Rhine. The free city of Strasburg and a number of other Alsatian towns and lordships were not included in the cession.

Dispute about Church lands settled in favor of the Protestants

Touching the German religious difficulties, the great question was how to settle the seizures of Church property which the Protestants had effected since the Peace of Augsburg. The Catholics, it will be remembered, had always held that these seizures were illegal, and by the Edict of Restitution of 1629 the emperor had peremptorily ordered their surrender. In the peace negotiations the Protestants demanded that they be restored to all the possessions which they had held in 1618, the year when the war broke out, but they compromised at last on 1624. Such former Catholic possessions as were in Protestant hands on the first of January of that year were to remain Protestant; such as were in Catholic hands were to be reserved to the Catholics. This arrangement settled the question of the disputed lands, in the main, in the Protestant interest, but included a concession to the emperor in so far as it gave the sanction of

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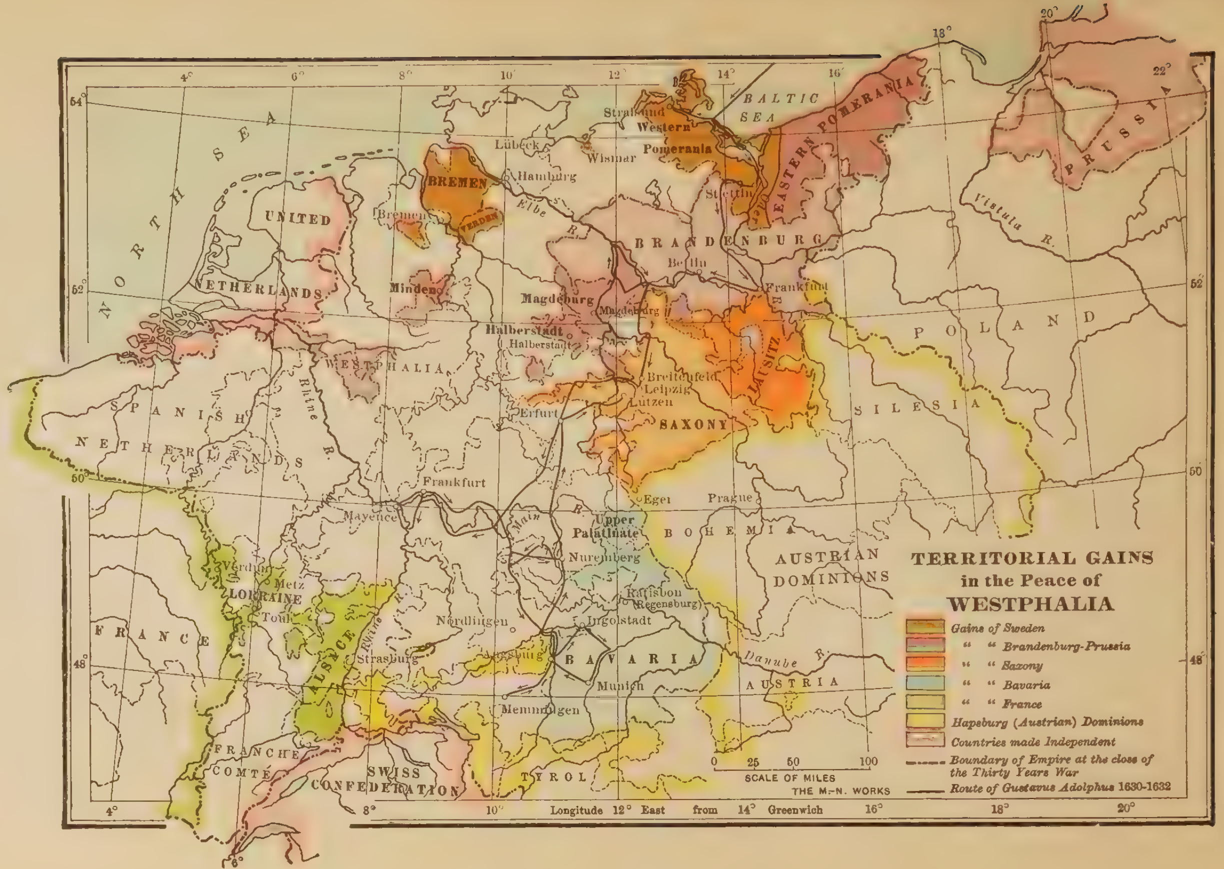
[1] The Peace of Westphalia receives its name from the province of Westphalia on the Rhine, embracing the two cities of Münster and Osnabrück, in which the plenipotentiaries of the powers met.


TERRITORIAL GAINS
in the Peace of
WESTPHALIA
Gains of Sweden
" " Brandenburg-Prussia
" " Saxony
" " Bavaria
" " France
Hapsburg (Austrian) Dominions
Countries made Independent
Boundary of Empire at the close of the Thirty Years War
Route of Gustavus Adolphus 1630-1632
0 25 50 100
SCALE OF MILES
THE M-N. WORKS
Longitude 12° East from 14° Greenwich
NORTH SEA
BALTIC SEA
UNITED NETHERLANDS
SPANISH NETHERLANDS
FRANCE
FRANCHE COMTÉ
SWISS CONFEDERATION
LORRAINE
ALSACE
Verdun
Metz
Toul
Strasburg
Rhine R.
WESTPHALIA
BREMEN
VERDEN
Bremen
Minden
Lübeck
Hamburg
Elbe R.
Wismar
Stralsund
Western Pomerania
Stettin
EASTERN POMERANIA
PRUSSIA
Vistula R.
BRANDENBURG
Berlin
Frankfurt
Magdeburg
Halberstadt
Breitenfeld
Leipzig
Lützen
Erfurt
SAXONY
LAUSITZ
POLAND
SILESIA
Frankfurt
Mayence
Main R.
Eger
Prague
BOHEMIA
Upper Palatinate
Nuremberg
AUSTRIAN DOMINIONS
Ratisbon (Regensburg)
Ingolstadt
Nordlingen
Augsburg
BAVARIA
Munich
Danube R.
AUSTRIA
Memmingen
TYROL
4°
6°
8°
10°
12°
14°
16°
18°
20°
22°
54°
52°
50°
48°

law to the Counter-Reformation carried out after 1618 in the hereditary possessions of the Hapsburgs. In the matter of Calvinism a reasonable solution was found by giving it the same legal standing as Lutheranism.

Political disruption of Germany

Under the third head it is necessary to note a variety of political and territorial changes within Germany. First, the princes were given a number of new sovereign rights, among others the right of forming alliances with each other and with foreign powers. Therewith the decentralization of Germany became complete and the single states were made as good as independent. If the emperor was weak before, he was now no more than the honorary president of a congress of sovereign powers. Of four of these constituent states of the Empire, the Palatinate, Bavaria, Saxony, and Brandenburg, a word remains to be said. The Palatinate, confiscated by the emperor in the early stages of the war, was restored in a mutilated condition to the son of Frederick, ex-king of Bohemia, who had died in the course of the conflict. At the same time this son was recognized as the eighth elector, for Maximilian of Bavaria was left in possession of the electoral dignity as well as a part of the Palatine territory (the upper Palatinate). It admits of no question that under Maximilian Bavaria had played a very effective part and deserved the recognition which it received. From this time on Bavaria aspired to the leadership in southern Germany, while the leadership of northern Germany, exercised since Luther's day by Saxony, passed, largely in consequence of the Peace of Westphalia, to the elector of Brandenburg. This prince received additions of territory — eastern Pomerania and four secularized bishoprics — constituting a possession so considerable as to enable him gradually to replace Saxony as the leading state of Protestant Germany. In 1648 Germany lost the last vestige of its claim to be considered an effective European state. It was broken into about three hundred fragments, of which the four electorates named and Austria alone possessed sufficient power to command a modicum of respect. With Germany no longer a political factor of consequence, interest in German political development centers henceforth in the large principalities and more particularly in Brandenburg and Austria.

A curious detail

As a last curious detail of the Westphalian treaty it may be added that the Swiss Confederation and the Dutch Netherlands (Seven United Provinces), once members of the Empire but long since practically independent, became formally sovereign.

Germany, after her insufferable crisis, lay insensible and exhausted. While the contemporary stories of the ruin done by the war contain an element of exaggeration, it is certain that the country took more than a hundred years to recover from its disasters. From its disruptive political effects it did not recover till the nineteenth century. The simple fact is that the material edifice of civilization, together with most of the moral and intellectual savings of an ancient society, had been destroyed, and what was left was barbarism. The generation which survived the war had grown up without schools, almost without pastors and churches, and to its mental and moral degeneracy it added, owing to the long rule of force, a disdain for all simple and honest occupations. Touching the injury wrought by the war, a few data may help us to realize the desolate situation. Augsburg, the great southern center of trade, had had 80,000 inhabitants; the war reduced it to a provincial town of 16,000. Practically all other towns declined in the same ratio. Thousands of villages were destroyed, whole districts were depopulated. In Brandenburg one could travel for days without meeting a peasant; in Saxony bands of wolves took possession of the empty villages. In general, the population of Germany declined from one-half to one-third of the numbers before the war.

Effect of the war on Germany

The Peace of Westphalia dealt with so many matters not only of German but also of international interest that it may be looked upon as the basis of European public law till the French Revolution. We may also take it to mark a turning-point in the relation to each other of hostile Christian faiths. From the time of Luther the chief interest of Europe had been the question of religion. Europe was divided into two camps, Catholicism and Protestantism, which opposed each other with all their might. In the Peace of Westphalia the two parties recorded what they had gradually been learning — which was, that their quarrel was as futile as it was cruel and that since neither adversary could extinguish the other, it was the part of wisdom to ground arms. Almost imperceptibly men's *minds* had grown more tolerant, even if the *laws* maintained as tenaciously as possible the old exclusive viewpoint. The best proof of the improved state of the European mind toward the middle of the seventeenth century is offered by the practical application of this very peace instrument. The toleration therein granted was merely of the old kind — each prince or free city could choose among the legally

The Peace of Westphalia closes the period of religious wars

recognized religions without any obligation of tolerating dissidents — yet, persecution of individuals was henceforth the exception, not the rule. It would be an exaggeration to say that the principle of toleration was henceforth dominant in Europe or that squabbles for religion's sake ceased, but it may be asserted, without fear of contradiction, that toleration had won with the Peace of Westphalia a standing among thinking and liberal-minded men. During the next one hundred and fifty years the principle filtered gradually, through the literary labor of many noble thinkers, to the lower strata of society and became in the era of the French Revolution a possession of all mankind.

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EMPERORS OF THE HOUSE OF HAPSBURG IN SUCCESSION TO CHARLES V

Ferdinand I, 1556–1564
Maximilian II (son of Ferdinand I), 1564–1576
Rudolph II (son of Maximilian II) 1576–1612
Matthias I (younger brother of Rudolph II), 1612–1619
Ferdinand II (cousin of Matthias I), 1619–1637
Ferdinand III (son of Ferdinand II), 1637–1657
Leopold I (son of Ferdinand III), 1658–1705
Joseph I (son of Leopold I), 1705–1711
Charles VI (younger brother of Joseph I), 1711–1740
(House of Hapsburg extinct in male line)

CHAPTER XII

EUROPEAN CIVILIZATION TOWARD THE MIDDLE OF THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY

After bringing the politico-religious movement among the European states down to the middle of the seventeenth century, we may pause to have a look over the whole expanse of western civilization.

The European man breaks with the limitations imposed on him during the Middle Age

We have seen that, beginning with the Renaissance, the European man gradually broke away from his medieval heritage with its primitive social organization, with its backwardness in the arts, and with its emphasis, in the daily affairs of life, on God's marvelous plan of salvation. By imperceptible stages he developed a new viewpoint involving a more experimental existence than had been countenanced by the Middle Age together with the healthy exercise of functions hitherto either forbidden or subject to strict control. A stirring as of stagnant waters followed. Man engaged in trade on an ever enlarging scale, he recovered the ancient art and literature, he reorganized his economic activities, resting them on individual enterprise and capital, he crossed the perilous seas to discover Asia and America, and he did a score of things besides, which revealed to him the earth, the heavens over the earth, and finally, himself.

Then from the new ground gained Luther challenged the authority of the Church and precipitated the great struggle of the Reformation and the Counter-Reformation. Judged by its purely mental content, the Reformation had undoubtedly a reactionary flavor since it once more brought theological controversies to the fore. On the other hand, by attacking the prestige of the great institution which sanctioned the medieval scale of values it promoted the liberation of the human spirit by asserting, though often with timid hesitation, the all-important right to private judgment. In the view of certain modern critics by no means moved by Catholic partisanship, the Reformation proved to be, on the whole, a misfortune for Europe since it put an

Did the Reformation smother the Renaissance?

end to the broad, humanitarian promise inherent in the Erasmian philosophy. A more just and sober judgment would seem to be that the religious revolution did indeed apply the brakes to some of the liberating tendencies of the Renaissance; but that it signified a reversion to the Middle Age is a prejudiced contention in hopeless conflict with the facts. In this chapter we shall review the evidence which proves that the expansive forces of the Renaissance, considered in the mass, continued steadily to gather strength behind the theological controversies which filled so much of the foreground of the age's consciousness. We shall show conclusively that Europe continued with very little interruption its march upon the paths cleared for it by the alert and enterprising spirits who broke through the medieval barriers.

Gradual decline of art in Italy

Let us begin with the Fine Arts. As we have already followed their course in Italy, we are aware that they swung through a cycle of development which registered no sudden break at the coming of the Reformation. Such leading figures as Michael Angelo and Titian did not disappear from the scene until well after the middle of the sixteenth century, and from them the artistic movement traveled on in perfectly intelligible stages to ever new communications. True, these later Italian phases, rated by critics as manifestations of decline and designated by the name baroque, reflect, particularly in their altarpieces the rather theatrical devotion of the Counter-Reformation; but they also indicate by their continued attachment to scenes from common life that the naturalistic impulse of the Renaissance was slow to exhaust itself. If art declined in Italy — which can not be denied — it was primarily because the wretched political and economic conditions sapped the vigor of the nation.

Renaissance art in Germany and Spain

Elsewhere the Fine Arts showed a similar persistent tendency toward realism. In Germany Albrecht Dürer (d. 1528) and Hans Holbein (d. 1543) exhibit in their altarpieces much of the old devotional feeling, but their saints and Holy Virgins are manifestly steeped in the earth-loving spirit of the time. In their many admirable portraits of contemporary worthies of all ranks of society this immediacy of living reaches its most varied and unhampered expression. Since Dürer and Holbein had no notable successors, it might in their case be contended that the Reformation controversy served to dampen the artistic impulses in Germany, if one could not, as in the case of Italy, point to the depressing effect of an intolerable politico-economic situation. Besides, in Spain, where the narrowest type of religious bigotry prevailed, artistic expression was apparently hardly stifled by it at all. In the Iberian peninsula we are confronted with a remarkable development of painting which, drawing its vigor from a Renaissance tap-root, came to a head in the seventeenth century. Its greatest figure, Velasquez (d. 1660), belongs to the era of Spanish national decline identified with King Philip IV. His extraordinary vitality, which makes Velasquez one of the most enduring influences of pictorial art, must be accepted as evidence of the presence in Spain of liberating and vivifying forces persisting under the pall of the blackest Counter-Reformation achieved anywhere in Europe.

Renaissance art in Holland and Flanders

The small northern folk, the Dutch, who ventured to challenge the majesty of Spain, experienced simultaneously with their turning to what to our generation may seem an arid Calvinism, a remarkable expansion of the Fine Arts, and again, in accordance with what appears to be a Renaissance rule, chiefly in painting. Aware that the Renaissance was passionately earth-directed, we are not surprised to learn that the inspiration of Dutch painting was a realism frankly redolent of its native soil. Dutch canvases revel in scenes of every-day life and constitute an unsurpassed record of contemporary activities on land and water, in shop and tavern. In Frans Hals of Haarlem (d. 1666) and Rembrandt of Amsterdam (d. 1669) these tendencies reached their supreme expression, although the labor of a score of artists, hardly inferior to these masters, should be borne in mind if we wish to be just to the multiplication of artistic genius in the heroic age of the republic. And, as if to dissuade us from making too much of the theological din of the period, the southern provinces of the Netherlands, which remained faithful to Catholicism and Spain and therefore, according to current stereotyped judgment, suffered their light to be extinguished, put forth hardly less notable flowers of art, as the distinguished names of Rubens (d. 1640) and Van Dyck (d. 1641) sufficiently attest.

These swift indications will have served their purpose if they have convinced the reader that the spirit of the rebirth did not perish with the Reformation, at least so far as the Fine Arts are concerned. The same is true of literature. In France Rabelais (d. 1555) produced *Gargantua* and *Pantagruel*, tales which deal satirically with struggling and deluded man and of which it may be said

The Renaissance spirit in French literature

summarily that rarely has there been more zest of life crowded within the covers of a book. A little later Montaigne (d. 1592) expressed in his *Essays* an attitude toward life which, if more temperate and sceptical than that of Rabelais, is none the less a noble assertion of man's intellectual freedom. True, both of these writers were impatient of the barren dogmatism touching predestination and similar matters which threw a spell over their contemporaries; but their case would seem conclusively to prove that neither their country nor their time ever wholly succumbed to the absorbing folly of doctrinal warfare. And when in the days of Richelieu the religious pettifogging began to go definitely out of fashion, French literature took a fresh start and in the works of Corneille (*Le Cid*, 1636) asserted the characteristic Renaissance theme of the dignity of life. There followed on the heels of Corneille the great outburst connected with the reign of Louis XIV. It lies outside the scope of this chapter, but that it is a delayed expression of sixteenth century energy hardly admits of doubt.

The Renaissance spirit in Spanish and English literature

The case of Spanish literature, like that of Spanish art, is peculiar for no other reason than that we are disinclined to admit that Spain was at all touched by the Renaissance spirit. But as soon as we agree that in Spain, too, the modern spirit found entrance, though always in subordination to certain dominant national ideas, we have smooth sailing ahead. The great figure of Spanish letters is Cervantes (d. 1617), who in his romance of *Don Quixote* aimed a dart compact of humor, satire, and pathos at the declining chivalry of the Middle Age and drove it, a contemptible wraith, out of the world of living men. Lope de Vega (d. 1632) and Calderon (d. 1681) devoted themselves chiefly to the drama, which, in spite of the ever watchful Inquisition, served as the outlet of a mental life remarkably alert within a narrow compass. Richer however, and of far wider range than the Spanish drama was that of Spain's chief foeman, England. In the "spacious times of great Elizabeth" the English drama achieved its full stature almost at a single leap. If it was Christopher Marlowe (d. 1593), who in such plays as *Tamberlane* and *Faustus* first sounded the majestic note to which the English stage was destined to be keyed, it was William Shakespeare (d. 1616), who in an incomparable succession of tragedies and comedies measured all the heights and depths of life. We are sometimes inclined to forget that Shakespeare made his appearance amidst a galaxy of lesser but still brilliant luminaries, such as Ben Jonson, Webster, and the usually inseparable collaborators, Beaumont and Fletcher. The English drama was therefore a general and national assertion of the love of life. But even while these singers were lifting their triumphant voices there slowly rose and gathered round them the somber mists prophetic of that Puritanic eclipse which in the succeeding generation blotted the theater from view and caused Shakespeare himself to become for a time hardly more than a myth. In England more sweepingly perhaps than anywhere else the Reformation, when it conquered, stifled that free and untrammeled self-expression which is the soul of art; but even in England the Puritanic righteousness proved only a phase which before the seventeenth century came to a close was already passing.

The Renaissance development of music: opera and oratorio

Another art, destined to become an especial glory of the Modern Age, owes much to the enlivening touch of the Renaissance, even though its origin and youth fell within the medieval period. Music is the daughter, certainly not the least noble, of the Catholic Church, and was developed, beginning as far back as the seventh century, in order to lend to the service of the Lord the solemn dignity of the organ and the moving expressiveness of the human voice. Its technical means, such as counterpoint and harmony, were so gradually perfected that it was not till the Italian, Palestrina, wrote (1565) his famous *Mass of Pope Marcellus* that ecclesiastical music attained the full command of its resources. A little earlier a development of another kind among the Protestants, under the direct inspiration of Luther, was destined to produce notable consequences, particularly in Germany. This was the publication (1524) of the first hymnal, a collection of admirably simple melodies for congregational singing. But at the very time that these new prospects opened to music in respectively the Catholic and the Protestant Churches the religious exclusiveness of this art, so long maintained, broke down. How could it have been otherwise in an age that lavished all its resources on its love of earthly and familiar things? Far and away the most important turn taken by music in the sixteenth century was that it was gradually appropriated as a vehicle for the common feelings of men and women in their purely human relations. It was characteristically in Italy that this broadening and secularizing were inaugurated by the invention of two new forms, the opera and the oratorio, the opera being conceived as a musical accompaniment to a strictly worldly tale and the oratorio as a tonal setting to a sacred theme embodying a spiritual conflict. While the oratorio, religiously inspired, sought to retain an ecclesiastical connection, the opera frankly abandoned itself to entertainment. It was in the year 1600 that the first productions in both kinds saw the light, simple and tentative sketches which in the subsequent decades were steadily elaborated. So great was the favor that both new forms, but especially the opera, elicited that they quickly established themselves throughout Europe. Even so, toward the middle of the seventeenth century the secular expansion of music had no more than begun. The great conquests of the art in the field both of technical equipment and of subject matter do not take place till the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. However, the step here indicated, taken under Italian prompting, deserves to be set down since it opened still another path to the adventuring spirit of the modern man.

Progress in geography and the related sciences

Owing to the undisputed preëminence of science in our time there are those who would be content to evalue the successive advances of western civilization by the phases of this single factor. Although the application of so simple a measuring rod is not in accord with the views propounded in this book, we may admit that science is so determining a feature of our modern life that we must give the closest scrutiny to its unfolding through the centuries. Having learned that the scientific beginnings made in the Renaissance affected chiefly geography, medicine, and astronomy, we are prepared for further conquests, first of all, in these fields. Geography was particularly favored by the new outlook and activities. So continuously was it enriched by the voyages of discovery that by the time of the Thirty Years' War the main land-masses of the earth had been located and their contours determined with reasonable accuracy. As the cartographer's art eagerly kept pace with these acquisitions of new material, Europeans enjoyed the advantage of maps and globuses of a steadily improved quality. Presently a movement of specialization set in which has continued uninterruptedly down to our own day. The geographers found themselves in possession of such immense masses of information covering the plants, animals, and minerals of the different continents of the earth that their efforts at the mastery of their data necessarily led to the staking off of the fields of botany, zoölogy, and mineralogy. Many other studies, such as chemistry and pharmacology, began to outline themselves and claim each one its own particular band of devotees. In this way an intensification of nature study, prompted by the abundance of new facts, was indicated in more refined subdivisions of knowledge, without however leading to the discovery of any great classificatory principles within the time embraced in this chapter.

Progress in surgery and physiology

The imposing anatomical advance, due to the practice of dissection and brought to a high level by the work of Vesalius, gave, as we are aware, medicine its first scientific foothold. The increased knowledge of body-structure redounded to the advantage, in the first instance, of the surgeons, as the case of the Frenchman, Ambrose Paré, would seem to prove. Living in the second half of the sixteenth century, Paré was enabled to publish a book (with illustrations), which, dealing with his actual practice in amputation, put the surgeon's art on a broad and promising basis. Before long anatomy stimulated the related study of physiology, where slow accumulations of discovery culminated at last in the notable disclosure made (1628) by Harvey, a London doctor, of the circulation of the blood. Fruitful as these advances were, they were slow to affect that department of medicine which is called therapy and deals with the actual treatment of disease. A stubborn traditionalism moved the physicians to cling to the remedies and procedures of the Greek authorities and accounts for the persistence of barbarous practices, such as cupping (blood-letting), which offer reasonable ground for the suspicion that the physicians were a leading cause of the disconcertingly high European death-rate.

Progress in mathematics

However, the really memorable and decisive advance made by science in this period was in astronomy and the related subjects of mathematics and physics. The bold achievement of Copernicus, of which we have already spoken, proved to be tremendously stimulating to the imagination. As the Copernican hypothesis needed for the confirmation of its propositions the support of mathematics, the work, already inaugurated in the fifteenth century, of recovering the mathematics of the Greeks and Arabs was continued until there had been completely mastered not only the geometry of Euclid but also the arithmetic and algebra invented by the Moslems. The incorporation in the Arab arithmetic of that ingenious device, the decimal system, made possible much more accurate calculations than had ever been dreamed of by the Greeks. On these borrowings, as a foundation, the Europeans proceeded to build up their own mathematical structure with the result that by the middle of the seventeenth century they had greatly improved upon the algebra and geometry of their teachers, besides adding wholly new tools to their resources such as logarithms and trigonometry.

Primacy of physics and astronomy

When all is said it is the remarkable development of physics and astronomy, the Siamese twins of science, which lends a particular luster to this period; for out of the occupation with these fields came that invaluable conquest, a scientific method, the application of which in later times to other fields has procured us that amazing control of nature which is in our day our chief pride. The main advances made are connected with the great names of Kepler and Galileo, the scientists, and Bacon and Descartes, the philosophers. Not that this classification is to be taken too literally, for the former pair had philosophic inclinations and the latter were certainly concerned with natural science. In the seventeenth century, when specialization of knowledge was just beginning, no one as yet dreamed of confining himself to a single type of study and investigation. In respect, however, to the main contribution, on the one hand, of Kepler and Galileo, and on the other, of Bacon and Descartes, their classification respectively as scientists and philosophers is incontrovertible.

Kepler and Galileo; birth of a scientific method

John Kepler (1571–1630), a German, was called at an early age to Prague, where the Danish astronomer, Tycho Brahe, had, at the bidding of the Emperor Rudolph II, created the most scientifically equipped astronomical observatory then in the world. Before long Kepler had elaborated the celebrated three laws of planetary motion which bear his name and fittingly complete the system of Copernicus. It will serve our purpose if we reduce these laws to the simple statement that Kepler, taking advantage of the new mathematical resources, proved that the planets describe not a circle but an ellipse around the sun and that their distance from the sun is in a determinable relationship to the time of their revolution. While the German scholar was making these discoveries, Galileo, an Italian, (1564–1642) was carrying on experiments in physics which so fully established his command of a practicable scientific method that it could be described and recommended to others. With Galileo science shook off the last medieval and ancient chains and stood forth like an athlete stripped and ready for the race. Galileo's most famous achievement in the immediate realm of physics was his discovery and formulation of the laws of falling bodies. That he invented or shared in inventing the telescope is hardly less interesting, since it shows that he was throughout his life concerned in perfecting mechanical devices capable of supplementing man's limited powers of observation. But his most valuable contribution was, as already noted, a scientific method of universal applicability in dealing with natural phenomena. Its outstanding parts or features are four in number: (1) observation brought to perfection by special training; (2) the isolation of phenomena in laboratories for the purpose of experimentation; (3) the appeal to precision instruments such as scales, barometer, telescope etc.; (4) the hypothesis as an avenue for penetrating into the unknown but conscientiously treated as merely a hypothesis until fully confirmed by the evidence. This method proved so fruitful and generally valid that it needed only to be refined in its details in order to revolutionize in the course of time the whole body of human knowledge. And indeed the enormous advance since the seventeenth century in our command of scientific fact may unhesitatingly be declared to have its source in the Galilean method.

Francis Bacon

In turning to the Englishman, Francis Bacon (1561–1624), we take up a many-sided man who, although he practised law and rose to the highest office under the king, the office of Lord Chancellor, remained animated all his life by a passionate interest in purely intellectual problems. To Bacon it became clear that the old method of treating human experience followed by the medieval philosophers and enjoying the weighty sanction of Aristotle, was essentially barren because it began with metaphysical assumptions, from which it descended to the particular phenomena of nature by a process of logical deduction. Instead of such an unprofitable subjection to general propositions, Bacon recommended in his *Novum Organum* that the searcher for knowledge begin modestly with his personal experience, that is, with the objects close at hand, in order, on the strength of accumulated instances, to rise at last to general conclusions. He advocated an inversion of the thinking process familiar to the logic of his age, the process of *deduction*, by the adoption of the *inductive* method. This was tantamount to the proposal slowly and patiently to accumulate minute evidence in the hope that the abundance of instances might stimulate Nature, as it were, to explain herself. That this was exactly what Galileo had been actually doing in his work in physics Bacon never even took the trouble to learn, for he was a philosophical thinker rather than a professional scientist and therefore not abreast of the discoveries of his day. Nevertheless the advocacy by a Lord Chancellor of England of a new, the inductive method in the sciences — a method essentially that of Galileo — was enormously helpful in securing for it an authoritative standing among the intellectual classes of Europe.

Descartes and the birth of modern philosophy

The effect of the new discoveries in the world of nature together with the elaboration and adoption of a new method which could not be waved aside because it was so extraordinarily fruitful was to discredit the inherited medieval philosophy based on the articles of the Christian faith. Not that the truths of Christianity themselves became subject to doubt — for so fundamental a challenge the seventeenth century was not yet prepared — but the old intellectual props hewn and set in place by the scholastic carpenters began to give way. In fact the time was ripe for a new philosophy which would take account of the new scientific data; and the significance of the Frenchman, Descartes, lies in the circumstance that he was moved to act on this situation, thus fairly earning the title of the first modern philosopher. In distinction from his philosophical predecessors as well as from the theologians of his own day, Descartes (1596–1650) based his philosophical system, the purpose of which was to explain the universe in accordance with contemporary intellectual criteria, not on Christian revelation but on what was to him simple, incontrovertible experience: *the reality of the individual.* Of this reality Descartes claimed every man has ample assurance on the strength of the simple proposition: *cogito ergo sum* (I think, therefore I am). On this (seeming) rock set in an uncertain sea, he built up by the deductive resources of the human reason the essential truths of life, which, it was found, in no way quarreled with the recent discoveries of natural science. Since he boldly exalted reason, he was not so far removed from the despised scholastics as he thought, for they also had exalted it within its proper sphere; notwithstanding it is certain that by frankly abandoning the basis of the old philosophy and by detaching his system entirely from the dogmas of faith, which however he did not dream of disputing, he enabled European philosophy to keep abreast or nearly abreast of the movement of science.

We have seen that the agency which brought flux into the stationary medieval society was the town and that the town remained a fundamental phenomenon of the Renaissance. We have looked into its commerce and industry and noticed how these activities, gradually multiplied, led, on the one hand, to the voyages of discovery and, on the other, to the more effective economic organization denoted by capitalism. That the urban movement was in any way halted by the spirit of the Reformation would be ridiculous to pretend. The contrary is clearly indicated by the fact that it was the towns which chiefly took up the Reformation, largely no doubt because this movement, especially in its Calvinistic form, favored the increased power of the townsmen by transferring the control of religion from the ancient order of the clergy to themselves. The towns, meaning particularly the leaders of trade and industry, the burghers, rose throughout the period here under consideration to an ever-expanding importance.

The Reformation largely a town movement

In turning to the vast social-economic changes, which belong to the Reformation period and chiefly turn about the towns, we may profitably look first at the colonial movement. As a result of the conditions under which the oceanic discoveries took place, only two European states succeeded, in the first instance, in building up colonial empires, Spain and Portugal. First on the ground, they actually succeeded for a time in their plan of dividing the new world between them. From their earliest fortified outposts in the West Indies, Mexico, and Peru, the Spanish adventurers, supported by the armed power of their government, radiated in every direction until the vast area lying between the Gulf of Mexico and the southern tip of South America was substantially in their hands. They settled at important points bodies of their own people sufficient not only to keep the natives in subjection but also to assimilate them gradually to Spanish speech and culture. While Emperor Charles V and his son, Philip II, were with an enormous political and military apparatus asserting their primacy in Europe, their Spanish subjects, a picturesque company of sea-rovers, soldiers of fortune, gold-seekers, and adventurers of every sort, laid the foundations of an empire beyond the Atlantic, beside which the mother-country shrunk to Lilliputian dimensions. In sharp contrast to this territorial empire, Portugal, which the momentum supplied by Prince Henry the Navigator and his successors had carried steadily eastward, was content with a purely commercial enterprise. It claimed and held as its own the fortified route around the Cape of Good Hope to India and the Spice Islands (Moluccas), and by the

The colonial empires of Spain and Portugal

exercise of a jealous monopoly of the rich oriental trade harvested enormous profits. True, by planting a chain of settlements along the Brazil coast, the kingdom engaged also in the territorial game of Spain and no doubt particularly annoyed its larger neighbor by forcing a wedge between the northern and southern settlements of Spanish South America. Though trouble often threatened between the two Iberian rivals, it was in general avoided by each sticking to its own vast and well-marked zone. Besides, for a period of sixty years (1580–1640) Portugal was absorbed by Spain and all rivalry was suspended. And when, in 1640, the smaller state reasserted its independence, the European situation had become so profoundly altered that, instead of Portugal and Spain crossing swords with each other, the two declining kingdoms had their hands full defending their too vast possessions against the youthful impertinence of the English, French, and Dutch.

The Dutch, English and French break down the Spanish-Portuguese colonial monopoly

It was in the days of Philip II that the colonial monopoly so long maintained by the Spaniards and Portuguese began to give way. The two countries owed the control which they had exercised to their overwhelming sea-power, and when this broke down — the failure (1588) of the Invincible Armada supplies us with an approximate date — the English, Dutch, and French were prompt to take advantage of the discomfiture of their Iberian antagonists, rolled into one since 1580 by accession of Philip II of Spain to the Portuguese throne. The problem for the three assailants was to penetrate either into the Portuguese sphere of the east or into the Spanish sphere of the west in order to seize and, if possible, keep a firm hold on whatever of value came to hand. As the Dutch were fighting for their lives with Philip, it is not surprising that they gleefully took the lead in this invasion. Behind them followed the English and behind the English the French, slowed up by their disastrous civil wars, which were not wholly terminated till the days of Cardinal Richelieu.

With sound commercial logic the Dutch threw themselves first upon the oriental trade, in which they had long been interested since, though the spices were brought in Portuguese bottoms to Lisbon, they were distributed over Europe from the Netherlands, notably from Antwerp. In the first phase of Dutch expansion numerous merchant-adventurers made their way into Asiatic waters in competition with one another and at their own risk; but when this was found to lead to disorder and even mutual destruction, the Dutch government consolidated the various existing enterprises, issued a charter to them under the name of the Dutch East India Company (1602), and promised the company all the naval protection in its power.

The Dutch build up a world trade and a colonial empire

Shortly after, the Dutch fleet drove the Portuguese navy from the waters of the eastern archipelago and at the same time cleared the paths of the Atlantic by administering a signal defeat to the Spanish navy near Gibraltar. By these two victories the Dutch acquired an effective, though constantly challenged, mastery of the oriental route and bit by bit picked up the Portuguese posts and commerce in the Far East. Not content with this triumph, they presently organized (1621) a Dutch West India Company which, while cruelly raiding the Spanish settlements in America, won its greatest glory in wresting, though only for a time, a part of Brazil from its Portuguese masters. Nor was this all. Taking advantage of a North American claim which owed its origin to a voyage, under Dutch auspices, of the famous seaman, Henry Hudson, the West India Company promoted colonial enterprise along the majestic American river to which Hudson had given his name, and in 1626 founded, on the strategic island of Manhattan, the settlement of New Amsterdam. In a word, the Dutch roamed the Seven Seas and when, at the signing of the Peace of Westphalia, their republic achieved its unqualified independence, it had also reached the acme of its power, for it had supplanted Spain as mistress of the seas and created a carrying trade which brought the Dutch flag to every known port and made the Dutch metropolis, Amsterdam, the focus of the world's commerce.

Aware of the potentialities of the eastern trade, Queen Elizabeth had chartered (1600), two years before its Dutch rival, an English East India Company; but the Dutch pursued their opportunities

The English and French East India companies deflected to the mainland (India)

with more unflagging vigor and, having ousted the Portuguese from the East Indies, refused to split their profits with their neighbors from across the channel. Successful in crowding both the English and French competition out of the islands where the spices chiefly grow, they organized them as their exclusive dominion with the capital at Batavia on the island of Java. The English East India Company and, later, a similar French concern were obliged to give up the East Indies as a field of exploitation and to content themselves with edging their way into the Portuguese trade with the Asiatic mainland, more particularly with India. In this way they gradually built up the respective Indian interests which in the eighteenth century came into fatal conflict.

France and England establish themselves in North America

The successful preëmption of the eastern spice trade by the Dutch persuaded England and France to compensate themselves by turning westward. They were the more readily persuaded to this course since they had already in the age of discoveries established vague claims to the certain coast areas of North America and since, further, the still powerful arm of Spain hardly interfered with projects so far north of actual Spanish interests. With the new, the seventeenth century the two powers at last seriously set themselves the task of securing some part of the American shore for colonial development under their auspices. As though propelled by a secret impulse, both moved almost simultaneously. In 1608 the great explorer, Champlain, founded Quebec as the first permanent settlement of France in the New World and by this act staked off the huge basin of the St. Lawrence as prospective French territory. The year before a company of English adventurers, chartered by James, King of Great Britain, had cast anchor off the mouth of a river, which in their sovereign's honor they called the James, while to the settlement they planted on the river they gave the name of Jamestown. During the difficult period when this colony was engaged in getting a firm foothold on Virginian soil, King James's persecution, in the interest of the Anglican Church, of the radical Protestants called Puritans, assumed more serious proportions and drove many of them to consider the advisability of deserting their native land. In 1620 a small vessel, the *Mayflower*, brought the first group of these exiles to the inhospitable shore of Massachusetts, where amidst incredible hardships they established the colony of Plymouth. From these two slender beginnings, Jamestown and Plymouth, there came a relatively rapid development which secured to the English ever new sections of the coast. Inevitably the continued extension of English colonial enterprise would sooner or later lead to a clash with the Dutch settlement at Manhattan as well as with French posts distributed along the St. Lawrence. If during the early formative period, here considered, the conflict was avoided, it was none the less certain that a future age would ring with a colonial struggle of the three vigorous northern nations with one another as well as with their oldest competitor, Spain, provided with more territory than it could properly utilize.

From the colonial expansion here rapidly indicated there flowed tremendous consequences for Europe, some of which must be imperatively enumerated. Most immediately apparent was a change in the goods brought to the European market. What Europe had in the Renaissance chiefly got from the orient was spices, silks, and objects of art which, essentially luxuries, were neither heavy nor of great bulk. As soon as the European ship made an unbroken journey from India, it became possible, on the one hand, to import such quantities of spices that their price was reduced sufficiently to bring them within the reach of the common man, and, on the other hand, to carry bulky goods like rice, sugar, tea, and coffee. Gradually these articles of consumption, unknown in the older, simpler days, became so firmly incorporated in the European diet that, taking rank almost as necessities, the demand for them experienced an unbroken increase. As compared with these cherished eastern or Asiatic articles, the western products furnished by America were at first few. In fact the gold and silver of the mines of Mexico and Peru constituted for a long time the only notable importation, although sugar from the West Indies became an item as soon as the transfer of African slaves to the American soil secured a reliable supply of plantation labor. From approximately the beginning of the seventeenth century tobacco, which with the more useful, if not more esteemed, potato represents the most famous contribution from America's native herbarium to European civilization, leaped into prominence, and in measure as Europeans acquired the tobacco habit, led to a greater and ever greater import trade.

Effect of colonial trade on European diet and habits

American gold and silver, if indicative of a rather undiversified stream of commerce, had at least the startling effect of setting European economy almost on its head. The continent was only just emerging from the system of barter and exchange in kind, and the sudden influx of specie greatly hastened the decline of this primitive system. It did more Flowing in great quantities into Europe, especially after the middle of the sixteenth century, exactly like any other over-produced commodity it declined in value, causing a rapid appreciation of all articles of use measured in terms of money. No one could remember that any such amazing inflation had ever occurred before. Having not yet taught themselves to think scientifically about economic processes, men were a good deal dazed and manifested considerable

Influx of bullion and revolution of prices

social unrest, specially among the lower orders, until in response to an inevitable adjustment, wages had been advanced sufficiently to meet the increased cost of living. All these phenomena taken together — the new quantity wares from the east, the influx of American bullion, the more general use of money in place of barter and services, the universal rise in prices — have been often represented as constituting a Commercial Revolution coincident with the invasion of Asia and America. It is a serviceable suggestion, provided we are not led to regard the Commercial Revolution of the sixteenth century so much in the light of an isolated event as a perfectly natural consequence of the tremendous economic reorganization inaugurated in the Renaissance and signalized preëminently by the advent of capitalism.

Growth of capitalist enterprises

In treating of capitalism in its Renaissance phase we noted that it was heralded by such outstanding features as these: the coming of the merchant-adventurer and the merchant company; the breakdown of medieval town economy by reason of a growing dominance of the national and world market; and the dissolution or at least weakening of the gild system. All these tendencies continued to make themselves felt in the era of the Reformation, strengthened and accelerated by the contemporary Commercial Revolution. Manifestly the waxing trans-oceanic trade conducted by merchant-adventurers would cause this class and the trading and banking companies through which they operated to bulk more largely than ever in the daily affairs of men. The capital which they commanded grew by leaps and bounds. If the Medici of Florence represented the richest company of the last half of the fifteenth century with resources equivalent in our money to about $8,000,000, they were in the first half of the sixteenth century completely outstripped by the Fuggers of Augsburg, who operated with a capital calculated at about $40,000,000. While these latter formidable figures reflect the larger dimensions of the Reformation world, they do much more since they also attest that the center of world trade and finance had moved across the Alps to southern Germany. Before the middle of the sixteenth century it shifted again, this time to the Netherland seaboard and, more particularly, to Antwerp. This Flemish city, favorably located on the Scheldt, at a point where important river, sea, and land routes converged, assumed around 1550 an unchallenged trade primacy until, toward the end of the sixteenth century, it suffered an eclipse through its conquest at the hands of Alexander of Parma (1585). It was then replaced by the near-by Dutch metropolis of Amsterdam, to be succeeded in its turn, but not within the period here considered, by London.

New organization of business; the Joint Stock Company

By the time business had reached the development indicated by the ascendancy of Antwerp and Amsterdam, the form in which the original merchant-companies had been cast was found to be no longer serviceable. The old companies had been a family partnership, which, subject to sudden dissolution through death or withdrawal, lacked that security and permanence which capital instinctively covets. To replace the family partnership there was invented the joint stock company, which, based on negotiable shares, secured continuous operation and was entrusted to a manager of outstanding business talent chosen by a board of directors. After 1600 all the great trading companies, as, for instance, the Dutch and English East India Companies, were joint stock concerns. The negotiability of shares gave birth to that eminently modern institution, the stock exchange, while the small size of the individual shares made it possible for men with even trifling savings to become stock-holders and so contribute their part toward turning the mills of capitalism.

Growing control of the business element in England, France, and Holland

By the first half of the seventeenth century it had become clear that it was the Dutch, the English, and, to a somewhat less extent, the French, who were taking full advantage of the new economic developments. The Latin countries, Italy, Spain and Portugal, had been left behind, as was also the case with Teutonic Germany. where fatal divisions precipitated the destructive Thirty Years' War and almost wiped the nation off the earth. It is therefore to the group of three powers around the English Channel and the North Sea that we must turn if we would study at close range the economic aspect of the most advanced section of European society. Here capitalism had become most firmly rooted, and here a body of men, called burghers in Holland, bourgeoisie in France, and middle or upper middle class in England, came to the front, who, no longer merchant-adventurers of the earlier type but increasingly specialized as wholesalers, bankers, and shippers, handled all business of a national and international character, employed thousands of clerks, seamen, stevedores, and other laborers, and wielded a tremendous, if indefinable, social influence. That this could at need be converted into political power was conclusively proved first, in the case of the Dutch Republic and afterwards, during the Puritan Revolution, in England. In the following century, in the great upheaval of 1789, it was also proved in France. That the established governments of the three countries under consideration would not find it easy, with their lingering feudal and ecclesiastical traditions, to adjust themselves to the demands of the rising business class was no more than to be expected. The point to note is that in every instance they either came to terms with the representatives of capital or lived to see themselves overthrown by revolutionary action.

England replaces the gilds with the capitalist system of production

But let us guard against exaggerating the importance either economic or political of the "big" business men. They were in the seventeenth century still in process of formation and from long habit looked upon themselves as inferior to the landed gentry. Besides, the landed gentry often possessed a political experience which the bourgeoisie lacked. And the men of "big" business faced another, by no means insignificant rival in the "little" business men (shopkeepers and craftsmen) organized in the gilds. To the new men, the great merchants and capitalists, the gilds with their charters, their privileges, and their regulations touching every phase of production and sale, represented so many economic shackles which would have to be got rid of if enterprise was ever to become free. The masters and other beneficiaries of the gilds, however, wished to retain the system and were everywhere influential enough to gain their point with the single exception of England. In England alone the free contract system came into vogue and gradually reduced the gilds to hollow shells. By the new system, also called the *domestic* or *putting-out* system, the capitalist gained control by buying the raw product, let us say, wool, and *putting it out* among workmen on terms mutually acceptable. Plainly such workers, though owning their tools and utilizing their homes as a workshop, were wage-earners, much reduced from the status and dignity of medieval gildsmen. But as the new system, because conducted by trained and responsible specialists, produced more and cheaper goods than the gild system with its conservative attachment to time-hallowed methods and with its elaborate restrictive regulations, it was destined to win out everywhere, though in the seventeenth century it was victorious only in England. The advantage gradually acquired by England over the continent in all departments of manufacture (an advantage patent even to casual observers by the eighteenth century) must be ascribed to the virtues of the new system, which put at the disposal of the English capitalists a mass of free labor entirely unprotected by the gild or any other form of workingman organization. On the continent, in sharp contrast to England, the gild system, although showing many evidences of dissolution, continued to weigh upon production until the coming of that hurricane called the French Revolution, which, destructive to so many vested interests, shook also to the ground the long since hollow edifice of the gilds.

War a permanent feature of European civilization

The Europe of the seventeenth century, dedicated to the rapid multiplication of wealth and dominated increasingly by the middle classes, continued to be constantly and terribly devastated by wars, the immediate effect of which was to destroy wealth and to deliver authority into the hands of professional soldiers. Here was a striking anomaly which would not fail to trouble the middle and intellectual classes, chiefly identified with the forward movement of civilization; and, as might be expected, they raised their voices in moving lament over the political disorganization which kept the sword of Damocles suspended over the unfolding and promising society of their time. While they were ready to admit that an advance had been made by the development of treaties of peace and commerce constituting a growing body of international law,[1] they were distressed to discover that the international system proved so little effective. Undeniably it had a makeshift character and often crumbled suddenly and without warning because it rested on no principle of right enjoying a general European recognition. The first step to formulate such a universal principle was taken by Hugo Grotius.

Grotius and the modern revival of international law

Grotius (1583–1645) was a Dutchman identified by birth and interest with that burgherdom which had beaten the might and majesty of Spain. A philosophical and legal thinker of rare genius, he was enabled to transcend his class and nation and to raise himself to a level from which he could survey Europe as a whole and ponder its mutually destructive rivalries. Thus prompted to broad thinking, he took over from the ideology of the Middle Age the concept of a united Christian society living in peace and concord. That leading school of humanists which claimed Erasmus as its head had championed the same dream. But since both the medieval and

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[1] See p. 89.

Erasmian programs were to be realized through the authority of the universal Church, they had with the Reformation, if not already with the Renaissance, become utterly impracticable. For, let us again remind ourselves, as soon as Europe had abandoned the medieval transcendentalism and turned to earth and man, it set itself the task of elaborating a worldly type of civilization which would refuse to accept revelation and the Bible as the basis and presupposition of international amity. The formulation of a new basis in better accord with the modern outlook on life is the merit of Grotius's famous work, *De jure belli et pacis,* published in 1625. Its chief proposition is that there exists behind the appearances filling the foreground of experience an immutable law of nature, to which all men are subject and which, so far as the relations among states are concerned, operates as the law of nations. Grotius was cautious about drawing conclusions of too sweeping a nature from his doctrine but he did envisage a European and even a world society, the constitutive units of which pursued their ends in mutual forbearance on the basis of a universally valid system of natural rights. In the eyes of the great jurist these natural rights were the moral counterpart of the body of physical laws discovered by the astronomers from Copernicus to Galileo and equally binding and unescapable. Reducing his achievement to its simplest terms, we may say that Grotius attempted to provide a modern and generally acceptable sanction for those longings of unity and concord which had been eclipsed but not extinguished with the passing of the ideas and institutions of the Middle Age. The mere proposal of a new sanction was an important step forward; but let us in this connection observe that "just measure" extolled by the Greek philosophers and agree that, in spite of a general and unbinding theoretical acceptance, the new principle of natural rights did little toward bringing Europe to a practical realization of fraternal living. So great at all times has been the chasm yawning between the visaged ideal and the hard and cruel facts of life!

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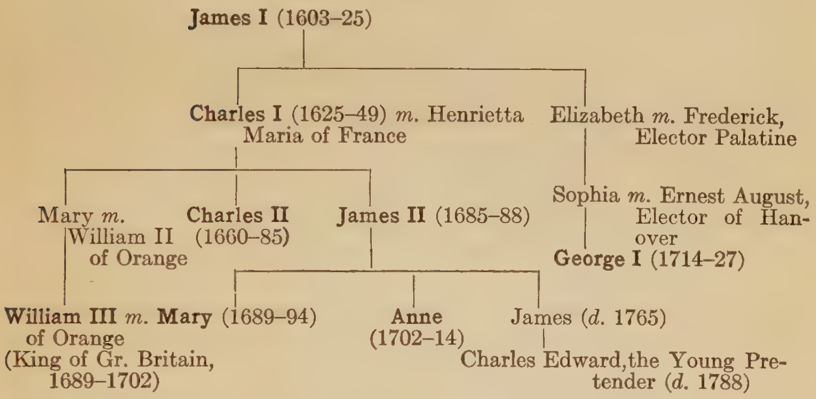
SECTION III

THE ABSOLUTE MONARCHY FROM 1648 TO 1789

CHAPTER XIII

THE STUARTS AND THE PURITAN REVOLUTION

The House of Stuart


James I (1603–25)
Charles I (1625–49) m. Henrietta Maria of France
Elizabeth m. Frederick, Elector Palatine
Mary m. William II of Orange
Charles II (1660–85)
James II (1685–88)
Sophia m. Ernest August, Elector of Hanover
George I (1714–27)
William III m. Mary (1689–94) of Orange (King of Gr. Britain, 1689–1702)
Anne (1702–14)
James (d. 1765)
Charles Edward, the Young Pretender (d. 1788)

The Scottish king becomes king of England

When Elizabeth died in March, 1603, she was succeeded by the son of Mary Stuart, who had been king of Scotland almost from his birth under the name of James VI and who figures among English monarchs as the first of that name. James's accession opened the prospect of that union between England and Scotland for which several far-sighted statesmen beginning with Henry VII had carefully prepared the ground. However, the plan still encountered opposition. So deep-rooted were the long-standing antagonisms and jealousies of the two nations that they refused to consolidate their institutions and fortunes, though James himself gave his ardent adhesion to the project. In consequence, Scotland kept its own parliament, laws, and officials, and the accession of James did little more for the present than give England and Scotland a common sovereign.

It was unfortunate that at a time when the sovereign exercised enormous power the crown should have descended to such a man as James. He had an ungainly figure, a shuffling gait, distasteful personal habits, and was obstinate, weak, and cowardly. A person less royal to look upon had not sat upon the English throne in many a century. He had crammed himself with a considerable stock of knowledge which had not matured into wisdom and which his vanity prompted him to exhibit on every occasion in order to hear himself acclaimed by the flattering courtiers as the British Solomon. His display of pedantic information brought down upon him from Henry IV of France the remark that he was the wisest fool of Christendom.

Character of James

All this would have merely exposed him to more or less amiable ridicule if he had not made himself really dangerous by holding the most exaggerated idea of his royal office. It was he who first carried into English political discussion the theory of the Divine Right of kings. The English constitution, which was the product of custom and certain specific enactments like Magna Charta, vested the government in king and parliament. While the king was undoubtedly the head of the state, the parliament had exercised a considerable, though varying amount of control. During the Tudor period its rights and claims had considerably declined; but it was highly probable that they would be brought forward again the moment the sovereign lost touch with the nation. And that is exactly what happened under James. Not content with the *substance* of absolutism inherited by him from the Tudors, he craved its open acknowledgment and asserted his claims in terms so boundless that he seemed almost to be set on rousing opposition. On one occasion he edified his hearers with the following typical pronouncement: "It is atheism and blasphemy to dispute what God can do; . . . so it is presumption and high contempt in a subject to dispute what a king can do, or say that a king cannot do this or that." The Tudors, as has been said, held this identical theory; but they came at the time of a great national crisis and acted in the main in close accord with the people. Should the first Stuart undertake to act against the people and their real or supposed interests, it might well be that he would find his power challenged and the nation prepared to fall back on that older conception of the role of parliament which the Tudor absolutism had supplanted. This is the precise turn James brought about, thereby precipitating a struggle between

His conception of his office

himself and his people destined to put an end to the "strong" monarchy of the Tudors and to inaugurate a parliamentary régime.

The foreign and domestic situation at James's accession

The accession of James occurred amid circumstances which augured a happy reign. The defeat of the Spanish Armada had placed the independence of England beyond question, and subsequent events on the sea and in the Netherlands had so weakened Spain as to remove all danger from that quarter. In consequence, James wisely enough negotiated with Spain a treaty of peace (1604). In domestic affairs the chief interest revolved around the Anglican Church established by Elizabeth on the basis of the Acts of Supremacy and Uniformity (1559). By the time of her death her creation had acquired an air of permanence. The Catholics were a waning power and the Puritans, influenced but not yet dominated by Calvinism, demanded certain concessions, based chiefly on their aversion to the surplice, kneeling in service, and similar externals. It must be remembered that they were as yet, in overwhelming majority, friendly to the national Establishment, accepted the religious headship of the sovereign and the episcopal form of government, and merely advocated the simplification or purification, as they called it, of divine service. If James would know how to conciliate them, the religious troubles of England might be accounted as over.

James and the Puritans

But James did not know how to conciliate them. Shortly after his accession, in 1604, he called a religious conference at Hampton Court for the purpose of discussing a Puritan document, called the Millenary Petition from the fact that almost a thousand clergymen had given their adhesion to it. Unfortunately he lost his temper during the debate and flared up wildly against the petitioners. He declared that they were the enemies of episcopacy — which was not yet the case — and affirmed with unnecessary emphasis that that system of church government had his unwavering support. His personal spite becomes explicable when we remember that he had been brought up in Scotland, where he had made the acquaintance of the Presbyterian system, by which the church was withdrawn from the control of the king and bishops and put in the hands of the ministers and the people. Having made the pleasing discovery that in England the sovereign ruled the church through the bishops, he was jealously on the lookout against the importation of Presbyterian ideas. He went the length of identifying episcopacy with monarchy and formulated his opinion in the epigrammatic assertion, "No bishop, no king." Acting on the unjustified assumption that the English Puritans were Scotch Presbyterians in disguise, he dismissed the Millenary petitioners gruffly and shortly after issued a proclamation ordering every clergyman who refused to meet exactly and literally the prescriptions of the Book of Common Prayer to be removed from his living. In this way the king made it clear that, instead of conciliating the Puritans, he intended to drive them from the church.

The gunpowder plot, 1605

Toward the Catholics, whom James to his credit regarded with a tolerance much in advance of his time, he initiated a temperate but unsuccessful policy. He began by lightening some of their burdens of persecution, but when, owing to the pressure brought to bear upon him by his Protestant subjects, he faltered in his resolution, a group of disappointed and desperate Catholics resolved to destroy the whole Protestant government — king, Lords, and Commons — by one gigantic stroke. They heaped gunpowder in barrels in the cellars beneath the parliament buildings and set November 5, 1605 — the day of the opening in state of a new session — for the monstrous crime. Suspicion, however, had been awakened by hints thrown out by some of the conspirators; and luckily, on the eve of the planned disaster, Guy Fawkes, the hardiest of the conspirators, was discovered keeping watch among the explosives. While he and his associates were hunted down and executed with all the barbarity characteristic of the period, a much more regrettable consequence of the plot was that the English people were confirmed in that intense distrust and hatred of the Catholic faith which long remained the leading article of their religious and political creed.

James and the parliament

Such was the relation of James to the religious question — the ritualistic wing of the national Church was vigorously sustained, the Puritan or reform wing was opposed and actively repressed, and the Catholics, not without a decent reluctance, were persecuted and crushed. However, the religious situation might of itself not have provoked a crisis, if James had not created a second difficulty by antagonizing his parliament. To understand this new development we have but to recall to mind that to the practical absolutism of the Tudors he wished to give the force of theory and of law.

The quarrel began almost immediately. James needed money, partly for legitimate reasons due to the mounting costs of government, partly because he was extravagant. The required revenues had, of course, to be voted by parliament, and if that body had been managed after the Tudor fashion, it might have granted supplies as readily as in the days of Henry or Elizabeth. But James's talk about a monarch being above the law had aroused suspicion and moved the parliament to ask in return for a redress of grievances. The king, thereupon, in a huff, began to help himself to funds by arbitrarily increasing the impositions on certain articles of import and export. Undoubtedly the legality of the measure was open to question. When a merchant, named Bate, refused to pay the imposition on a consignment of currants from the Near East, he was tried and sentenced by the judges. Thus, technically, James triumphed, but the victory only added a limited amount to his revenue, did not settle his financial difficulties, and exasperated the parliament so greatly that it prepared to oppose every demand, reasonable or unreasonable, which the king might make. On the angered James dissolving one parliament, he found its successor still more unwilling to bow to his dictation. Out of what was originally a simple matter of supplying revenue for the crown's legitimate outlay had grown by James's arrogance and tactlessness an issue, at the core of which was the all-important question as to who had the last say in matters of taxation: king or parliament.

The question of the finances

Over impositions and related revenue issues James quarrelled with his parliament throughout his reign, with the result of an increasing irritation on both sides. In the year 1621 the wrath of the Commons reached the point of a savage attack on the whole administration, culminating in the impeachment of the highest official of the realm, the Lord Chancellor. This was none other than the philosopher, Francis Bacon, one of the greatest Englishmen of the period. By taking fees from suitors while their cases were still pending in his court, he had become technically guilty of bribery. His excuse was that the acceptance of gifts was a long-established custom of his office, but with a disarming candor he avowed that the practice was indefensible. "I beseech your Lordships," he added, "to be merciful to a broken reed." Bacon was fined and dismissed from office, the sentence being declared by himself "just, and for reformation's sake fit"; but he would not have been attacked at all if the parliament had not been set on vicariously striking the king through his leading official and intimate political adviser.

Impeachment of Bacon, 1621

Bacon's trial took the form of an impeachment, in itself an ominous sign that the parliament was raising its claims as the best answer to the king's attempt to exalt his own position. Impeachment was a means by which, in earlier times, the parliament had exercised control over the king's advisers, but which had become obsolete under the Tudors, when the humbled parliament was obliged to abandon all influence upon the royal ministers. Its revival at this juncture meant that the parliament was furbishing up the old weapons with which it had once held the monarchy in check. An impeachment was a somewhat complicated process. The house of Commons appeared at the bar of the house of Lords to present to it the offender against the commonwealth, and the house of Lords, after listening to the charges, declared them founded or unfounded and pronounced sentence accordingly. The significance of the impeachment of Bacon was not lost upon James, who vaguely divined that a serious struggle was at hand.

The revival of impeachment

The unpopularity caused by his harsh treatment of the Puritans and his violent quarrel with the parliament was increased by the foreign policy of James. We have remarked that shortly after his accession he had concluded peace with Spain. His general program was to further the cause of religious peace in Europe by maintaining a close relationship with his late enemy. But such a policy, creditable to his Christian temper, would depend for its success on Spain's willingness to meet him half-way. The test came in the year 1618. In that year occurred the Bohemian incident which led to the Thirty Years' War. James was interested in the struggle from the first not only because Protestantism had once more locked horns with Catholicism, but also more immediately because Frederick of the Palatinate, elected king of the Protestant faction of Bohemia, had married his daughter Elizabeth. None the less James looked feebly on when Frederick was driven from Bohemia; and only when Frederick was expelled from the Palatinate, too, was the British sovereign roused sufficiently to make an appeal to Spain to help restore his son-in-law to his inheritance. That power was delighted to find him so docile, made temporizing proposals, but too thoroughly approved of the Catholic success in Germany to do anything to check it.

James's foreign policy

Thus matters dragged on until the year 1623, when the young and handsome duke of Buckingham, who was the king's all-powerful favorite, proposed to take a last step to bind Spain to England in a close alliance and to secure the settlement of the Palatinate question without war. He developed the plan of a secret journey with Charles, the prince of Wales, to Madrid in order to take the Spanish court, as it were, by storm. By an impetuous attack he hoped to persuade it to affiance the Spanish Infanta to the English heir and at the same time to sign the desired treaty of alliance. It was a plan as hare-brained as it was impolitic, but James, teased and wheedled by the two young men, at last gave his blessing to the enterprise. After many adventures Charles and Buckingham arrived at Madrid, but their reception was very different from what they had anticipated, and their hosts, although scrupulously polite, met them with evasion at every point. Utterly disgusted, they came back resolved to break with the king's timid policy. James was vigorously plied till he consented to essay the reconquest of the Palatinate by war. Though the parliament voted supplies, the monies were insufficient and the expedition, entrusted to a German adventurer, Count Mansfeld, proved a disastrous failure. In the midst of these fresh difficulties, the distracted king died (March, 1625).

Charles and Buckingham journey to Madrid

REIGN OF CHARLES I (1625–1649)

The new king, Charles I, was outwardly very unlike his father. His face, familiar to us from Van Dyck's many portraits of the English royal family, was handsome and his manner kingly. Unfortunately he was liberally endowed with the Stuart traits of perversity and obstinacy and shared his father's exaggerated views of the royal prerogative.

Charles I

The two main difficulties created by James bore immediate and dangerous fruit in the new reign. By antagonizing the Puritans James had driven them into open opposition to the national Church and by quarreling with parliament he had raised the question as to who controlled taxation. Determined to follow in his father's footsteps, Charles succeeded in an incredibly short time in arousing such opposition to himself that the Commons, who had been servilely docile under Elizabeth and had, even while protesting, been deeply respectful under James, plainly put the question: Who was sovereign in England, parliament or king?

Charles continues to antagonize Puritans and parliament

Shortly after his accession Charles married Henrietta Maria, a sister of Louis XIII of France. This marriage with a Catholic, extremely unpopular on its own account, was rendered doubly so by the suspicion, only too well founded, that Charles had entered upon an agreement with Louis to relax the penal laws against the English Catholics. When parliament assembled, it showed immediately signs of restlessness, and presently grew still more excited on discovering that a small party of churchmen, closely associated with the court, was advocating views that savored of Romanism. Not only did they defend an elaborate, ritualistic service but they also attacked some of the teachings of Calvin and in particular the doctrine of predestination. As the king felt the same way about these matters, he naturally gravitated toward them, while they for their part adhered to his theory of the royal prerogative. To the Puritans, whose fervor and numbers were steadily increasing, such an association looked very much like the alliance of popery and tyranny. Maintaining that the Church of England was, in point of doctrine, Calvinist, they permitted themselves to be carried away by their feelings to the point of declaring that the High Church advocates were innovators embarked on a dark intrigue to carry England back to Rome. Heatedly opposed to Charles on ecclesiastical grounds, the Puritans naturally joined forces with those individuals and groups who resented his political claims; and thus it came about that the absolutist and High Church parties had no sooner united than the two oppositions, Puritan and parliamentarian, fused in their turn. Under this alignment Charles's tumultuous reign began; and under it, after fierce and prolonged controversy, the country plunged disastrously into civil war.

The rising tide of Protestant fervor

In view of the strained relations between king and parliament, it is intelligible why the parliament took a most unusual course with regard to the chief revenue of the crown, called Tonnage and Poundage. Tonnage and Poundage was the name given to the customs dues on wines and merchandise commonly voted at the beginning of each reign for the whole period of the sovereign's life. Partly from occupation with other business, partly from desire to bring pressure to bear upon the king, the parliament now failed to make the usual life grant; but Charles, who could not well carry on the government without Tonnage and Poundage, continued, through his officials, to collect it.

Tonnage and Poundage

With the heavens darkening over him by reason of these domestic infelicities, Charles invited additional criticism by his extraordinary mismanagement of foreign affairs. The war with Spain furnished the occasion. Since it was he who had forced it on his father, he was bent on prosecuting it with vigor. Inclined to give him support, for the war with Catholic Spain was popular, the parliament did, however, expect that the money which it granted would be spent in giving the Spaniards a sound beating. But Charles, with his customary lack of insight, entrusted the conduct of the war to the duke of Buckingham, his father's favorite and his own; and the duke of Buckingham, a handsome, dashing, and romantically minded individual unfit for weighty affairs of state, reaped nothing but disaster. We have already noted that the first campaign, aimed at the immediate object of contention, the Palatinate, was a complete failure. Nothing daunted, Buckingham resolved to level a blow directly at Spain by an expedition to Cadiz. It ended in an ignominious retreat (1625). Thereupon the Commons refused to make additional grants until the blundering duke had been removed; and as the king resented as an impertinence the attempt to dictate to him his policy and his advisers and angrily dissolved (1626) the parliament, the threatening deadlock became definite.

Disastrous management of the war with Spain

In the year 1627 matters grew worse. The king, not content with the unsuccessful war with Spain, allowed himself to be dragged into conflict with France in behalf of the French Huguenots, who were being besieged by Richelieu in La Rochelle. As the Huguenots were hard pressed and there was no other way of getting money for a rescuing expedition, Charles adopted a perilous device: he asked first for voluntary gifts; and when the nation failed adequately to respond, he levied a forced loan. When citizens would not pay their quota, he quartered troops upon them, and in order to spread a general terror, threw some of the more conspicuous recalcitrants into prison. Not only were these measures dangerous, but the sums thus extorted brought no blessing. A relief expedition which sailed for La Rochelle under Buckingham failed as miserably as the attack upon Cadiz, with the discouraging total result that fresh disgrace was added to the ignominy already incurred in the war with Spain.

War with France

The new parliament, which Charles, hard pressed for supplies, was obliged to call in 1628, was amply justified in its outbreak of wrath against the government. Before granting another penny, it insisted that the wrongs of the nation be redressed, and in a document called the Petition of Right it enumerated the most outstanding grievances. The Petition of Right declared gifts, loans, and taxes not voted by parliament illegal; it insisted that no freeman should be imprisoned without cause shown; and it condemned the use of martial law in times of peace as well as the quartering of troops upon householders. As there was no other way of getting money, the king had to swallow the bitter morsel. The Petition of Right, celebrated as a renewal of Magna Charta, was accepted by him and became the law of the land (June, 1628).

The Petition of Right

Unfortunately the Petition of Right did not settle all questions at issue between sovereign and legislature. In the first place Charles continued to collect Tonnage and Poundage, although it had not yet been voted, on the ground that it belonged to the sovereign by right of custom. Secondly, he persisted in showering favors upon the High Church element and in supporting the obnoxious Buckingham. Proof of the unassuaged hatred engendered by the party strife was offered soon enough. While a new expedition to La Rochelle was being prepared at Portsmouth, a fanatic patriot, John Felton by name, assassinated the hated duke (August, 1628). Though deeply shocked by the murder, the king did not for a moment swerve from a policy for which he was passionately enlisted.

Murder of Buckingham

The parliament had no sooner met in the following year (1629) than it reopened the combat. Vehemently the members complained that the king was collecting Tonnage and Poundage, though the duty had not been voted; and they were no less wroth at his continued support of the ritualistic churchmen. In mingled alarm and disgust, Charles determined to break up their session; but before his command to adjourn was read in the house, resolutions expressing the general indignation were put, and, while the speaker was forcibly detained in his chair, carried by acclamation. The resolutions (often called from their proponent the Eliot resolutions) declared that whoever introduced innovations savoring of popery into the national Church, and whoever paid or advised the payment of Tonnage and Poundage, was an enemy of the English people.

The memorable session of 1629

Thus, over the two questions of the ceremonial character of the Church and the control of Tonnage and Poundage, war was virtually declared between king and parliament. All prospect of an amicable settlement had disappeared. Either the king would impose his system and crush the parliament or the parliament would do the same by the king. Immeasurably embittered, neither side was in a mood for compromise.

The hopelessness of peace

For the next eleven years (1629–1640) the victory or seeming victory was with the king for the simple reason that by not summoning the parliament he gave it no opportunity to contest his preëminence. In this proceeding custom played into his hands, for a king was not obliged to summon parliament at stated intervals and usually did not summon it at all unless he wanted a money grant. In fact, it should be clearly understood that Charles always prided himself upon acting within his rights as defined by the constitution: not he, but the parliament, had broken with English law and tradition. But his plan of getting along without the parliament necessitated extreme economy and demanded the immediate termination of the expensive wars with France and Spain. Before the end of 1630 Charles had made his peace with both these powers. His outlook was now, on the whole, not unhopeful. Tonnage and Poundage, although condemned by the Commons, was regularly paid into the exchequer by a people not yet ready to renounce their king; and Tonnage and Poundage, with a number of other revenues appertaining to the crown or scraped together by hook or by crook, was found to be sufficient or almost sufficient for ordinary current expense.

Charles governs without the parliament

Charles's chief advisers during this eleven years' interlude of practically absolute government were Thomas Wentworth, for civil matters, and William Laud, for ecclesiastical affairs. As the king's person was still hedged about with something of divinity, all the unpopular measures carried in Church and state during this period were laid at the door of these two men, who, as the years came and went without a parliament, became the target of a wild, unreasoning hatred.

Wentworth and Laud

Laud stood for the tendency in the English Church which emphasized dignity and ceremony — the same tendency with which the king had already identified himself. In fact, it was because of his inborn love of ceremony and order that the king had bestowed his favor upon the inflexible and earnest churchman, had made him, first, bishop of London, and finally, in the year 1633, archbishop of Canterbury and primate of all England. Therewith Laud was in a position to put his own

The ecclesiastical policy of Laud

and the king's ecclesiastical convictions into practice. By means of visitations which brought every parish of the kingdom into line and by penalties imposed by the ecclesiastical court, the Court of High Commission, controlled by him, the fiery archbishop forced on all Anglican ministers a strict adherence to prescribed forms. Indeed he did not hesitate to favor the return to partially abandoned features of an older time. At his instigation the communion table was assigned a fixed position in the east end of the church, and by being surrounded with an iron railing was given, at least in Puritan eyes, something of the appearance of a Catholic altar. As part of the same policy the Declaration of Sports was issued authorizing and encouraging games on Sunday. To the strict Sabbatarianism of the Puritans the reëstablishment of the frolicsome medieval Sunday was a tremendous moral shock. The consequence of all these measures was to drive the remaining Puritan ministers from the Church and to bring about the final estrangement of the Puritan population from the national Establishment.

The political system of Wentworth

Wentworth was a man of far greater intellectual powers than either Laud or Charles. His theory of government was that a king who governs well is better than a babbling, distraught parliament. As a natural corollary, he held that the executive power should be strong, efficient, and large-minded, and that it should steer its course without fear or favor. This system of a forward-driving, enlightened despotism he designated by the name of "thorough." Admitted to the Privy Council, he uniformly encouraged the king to keep up a bold front; but it would be a mistake to make him responsible for all the measures, many of them ill-advised, which followed the dissolution of 1629, for as early as 1633 he was sent as Lord Deputy to Ireland and was for some years out of touch with English politics.

Ship-money

Certainly Wentworth can not be charged with the great blunder committed in connection with ship-money. We have seen that Charles's system left him in constant need of funds. So slim were his revenues that he could not even maintain a navy large enough to enforce respect for the English flag upon the waters of the channel. The legal remedy for the inconvenience would have been to call a parliament and ask for supplies, but that step Charles refused to consider. He hit upon a subterfuge. In former times monarchs had, when the country was in danger, ordered the ports and seaboard counties to furnish ships. In issuing such an order in 1634 he therefore had a measure of legality on his side. It was against all precedent, however, when in the two following years he ordered the *inland* counties to contribute money to the same end.

The case of John Hampden

Although a navy might be good in itself, plainly Charles's way of getting it was a piece of very sharp practice. Indignation swelled like an advancing tide, and when a country gentleman, John Hampden by name, preferred, rather than pay his assessment, to suffer arrest and trial, he made himself the hero of the hour. When the case came up in court, the judges by a bare majority decided against Hampden, but so general was the disaffection following upon his trial, that it required only an occasion to show that the loyalty which had bound England for ages to her sovereign had suffered fatal impairment.

Charles stirs up a Scotch hornet's nest

That occasion was furnished by Scotland. We are aware that the northern kingdom had established the Presbyterian kirk, which, resting on the combined action of clergy and laity, was virtually an independent power free of control by the state. While this situation had been highly displeasing to the autocratic self-importance of King James, he had contented himself with a few measures giving the sovereign a larger nominal influence over the Scottish system. Desiring the substance as well as the name of power, Charles made the foolhardy attempt to foist the episcopal and ceremonial features of the Anglican Church upon the northern establishment. His measures, gradually introduced, culminated in 1637 in the imposition on the kirk of a new service book fashioned largely on the English Book of Common Prayer. At once a hurricane was loosed. The Scottish people, radical Presbyterian Protestants almost to a man, not only refused to bow to the royal decree but answered it with a solemn National Covenant which every Scotsman rushed to sign and which pledged the utmost resistance to any attempt to force religious innovations on the kirk. The unanimity and enthusiasm of the people gave them an irresistible power. In the face of it Charles was moved to open negotiations; but on discovering that he must either completely reverse his policy or fight, he chose the latter.

There followed the campaign of 1639 against the Scottish Covenanters, known as the First Bishops' War in derisive reference to the bishops whom Charles planned to put over the northern establishment. The campaign was a miserable fiasco. Owing to lack of funds, the king led northward an undisciplined rabble, and when he came upon the Scots, found himself compelled to sign a truce. Between his Scottish and his English subjects whom he had alike alienated, his position was now thoroughly humiliating. In order to avenge himself upon the Scots, he required effective money-help from England, and effective money-help from England involved calling a parliament. In one direction or the other he had, therefore, to make concessions. Charles fought a hard battle with his pride, but finally, feeling that the Scottish matter was more pressing, he summoned the English parliament (1640).

War with Scotland

Thus the long period of government without a parliament had come to an end. When, however, the parliament, known as the Short Parliament, began, instead of voting money for the enslavement of the Scots, to remind the king of the nation's grievances, Charles flamed up as of old and dismissed it. Once more, in spite of his lack of funds, he conducted a campaign, known as the Second Bishops' War, against the Scots (1640). But when the second experiment failed more completely than the first, he had to acknowledge himself finally and irrevocably beaten.

The Second Bishops' War, 1640

In November, 1640, he summoned another parliament, which he knew would have him at its mercy. It has received the name of the Long Parliament and is the most famous legislative body in English annals. It sat, though not without an important interruption, for two decades, witnessing, and itself initiating, the transformation of England.

The Long Parliament

The Long Parliament had no sooner assembled than it practically took the whole government into its own hands. The king's innings were over and it was now the turn of his offended rival. Burning for revenge, the Commons turned first upon Laud and Wentworth and ordered them both under arrest. Wentworth, who had lately been created earl of Strafford, was impeached for treason, but when the case against him threatened to break down because the evidences of treason were insufficient, the Commons simply legislated him out of the world by a bill of attainder.[1] The dismayed king reluctantly signed the act, which on May 12, 1641, sent the most energetic defender of the throne to the scaffold. The aged Laud was spared for the present,

Revenge taken on Strafford and Laud

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[1] "An impeachment followed, in some sort, legal rules; a bill of attainder was an act of power for which no reasons need be given" (Gardiner).

but in 1645 he too paid with his life for having aroused the relentless hostility of the Puritans.

The king is stripped of his authority

At the same time the Commons threw themselves on the accumulated grievances of the past. As the Scots, who had invaded the northern counties, would not leave England till their expenses had been made good to them, Charles, to get money, had to accept every proposal. Filled with exultation, the parliament resolved to leave the swollen power of the king no single leg to stand on. The special courts, such as the Star Chamber and High Commission, which had furnished arms to the tyranny of Charles and Laud, were abolished. Star Chamber, it will be remembered, had been created by the first Tudor in order to curb the lawlessness which the common law courts were unable to reach, but Charles had employed it chiefly to punish the too free expression of Puritan opinions. With act following deliberately on act parliament condemned the king's position relating to Tonnage and Poundage; declared ship-money illegal; and provided against the future elimination of the legislature by the Triennial Act which made it obligatory on the king to summon parliament at least once every three years. As a crowning measure it decreed that the present parliament should not be dissolved without its own consent. If Charles in his abasement accepted these intolerable chains, it was perfectly certain that he would attempt to cast them off at the first opportunity.

The Commons split over the religious issue

That opportunity dawned for the king on the appearance in the ranks of the Commons of the first serious division. Admirably united on the *political* measures at issue between them and the sovereign, the Commons ran into difficulties from the moment they proceeded to debate the *ecclesiastical* settlement. The inevitable consequence of the Laudian tyranny and the concomitant growth of a vengeful, persecuted Puritanism was that a decisive majority of the Commons desired to destroy episcopacy and all its works. No sooner, however, had this project been bruited than it was found that a minority, cherishing a natural sentiment of loyalty toward the Church of their youth, deprecated sweeping changes. Alarmed at the wild agitation which threatened to turn the country topsy-turvy, they manifested a certain conservatism and prepared to defend not only the remaining rights of the king but, first and foremost, the national Establishment. The emergence of a royalist and Episcopalian party within the Commons not only delighted the king but moved him to resume his former policy and to engage in plots against the parliament. Such dangerous manœuvres that body resolved at last to crush by a frank disclosure of them to the nation. It drew up (December, 1641) the Grand Remonstrance, wherein it enumerated article by article all the abusive and deceitful acts by reason of which Charles had lost the confidence of the people's representatives. It was ominous that the Grand Remonstrance passed the Commons only by a small majority. That fact seemed to indicate that at the close of its first year of power, parliament and the nation which it represented were hopelessly and almost evenly divided.

The king's attempted *coup d'état*

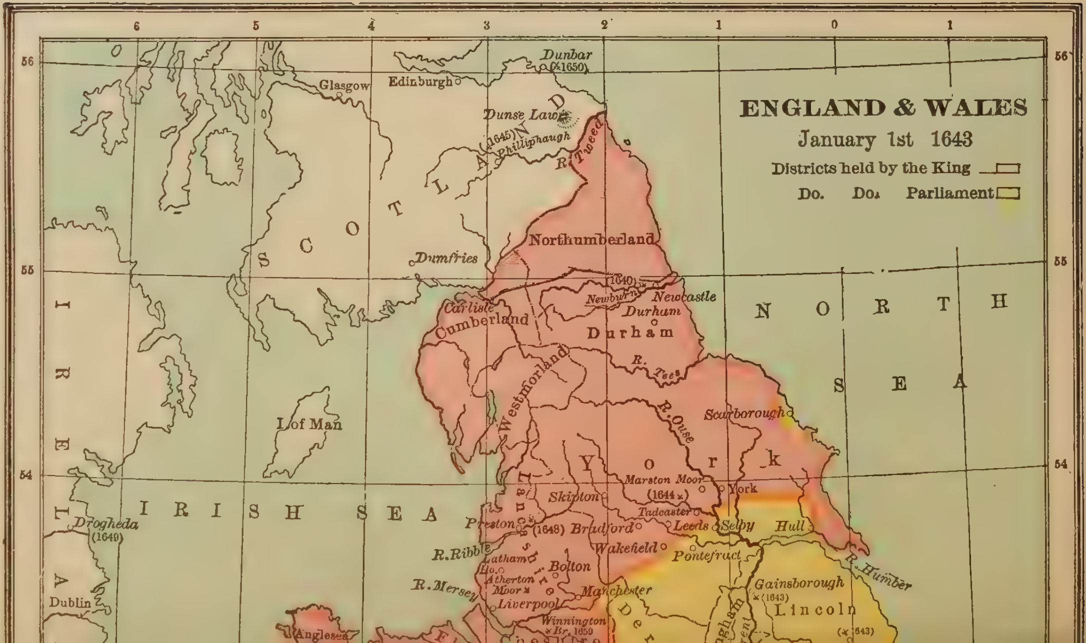
This knowledge was enough to spur the incautious king to the attempt to force the parliament to its knees. On January 4, 1642, he marched at the head of his guard to Westminster Hall, the meeting-place of the parliament, and entering the house of Commons, attempted to seize the five leaders, Pym, Hampden, Hazelrigg, Holles, and Strode, in order to bring them to trial on the charge of treason. But forewarned, the intended victims had fled and the king was balked. London rose clamorously to express its indignation, and fearful of their safety, the king and royal family withdrew into the country.

The civil war begins, 1642

The dramatic invasion of the house of Commons by the king was tantamount to the declaration that rather than continue to wear the yoke of the Puritan majority he would resort to force. That diplomatic relations were not at once broken off blinded no one to the fact that the die had been cast. On August 22, 1642, Charles, unfurling the royal banner at Nottingham, bade all loyal Englishmen rally to their king. The parliament in its turn gathered an army and prepared to take the field.

Early successes of the king

The parties thus about to engage were at first rather evenly matched. The king's party, known by the proud name of the Cavaliers, held most of the northern and western counties, while the adherents of the parliament, derisively dubbed Roundheads because many of them, in order to show their contempt for the fashionable curls of their opponents, cropped their hair close, held the south and the east, with London for their center. Neither side was really prepared for war; but the fact that the slashing, fox-hunting country gentlemen crowded into the king's service gave the royal side at first the advantage. In the early cam-


ENGLAND & WALES
January 1st 1643
Districts held by the King
Do. Do. Parliament
SCOTLAND
IRELAND
NORTH SEA
IRISH SEA
Dunbar (×1650)
Edinburgh
Glasgow
Dunse Law
(1645) Philliphaugh
R. Tweed
Dumfries
Northumberland
(1640)
Newburn
Newcastle
Durham
Durham
Carlisle
Cumberland
Westmorland
R. Tees
R. Ouse
Scarborough
York
Marston Moor (1644×)
Tadcaster
Skipton
Lancashire
Preston (1648)
Bradford
Leeds
Selby
Hull
Wakefield
Pontefract
R. Ribble
Latham Ho.
Atherton Moor
Bolton
Manchester
R. Mersey
Liverpool
Winnington Br. 1650
R. Humber
Gainsborough (1643)
Lincoln
(1643)
I. of Man
Drogheda (1649)
Dublin
Anglesea
6
5
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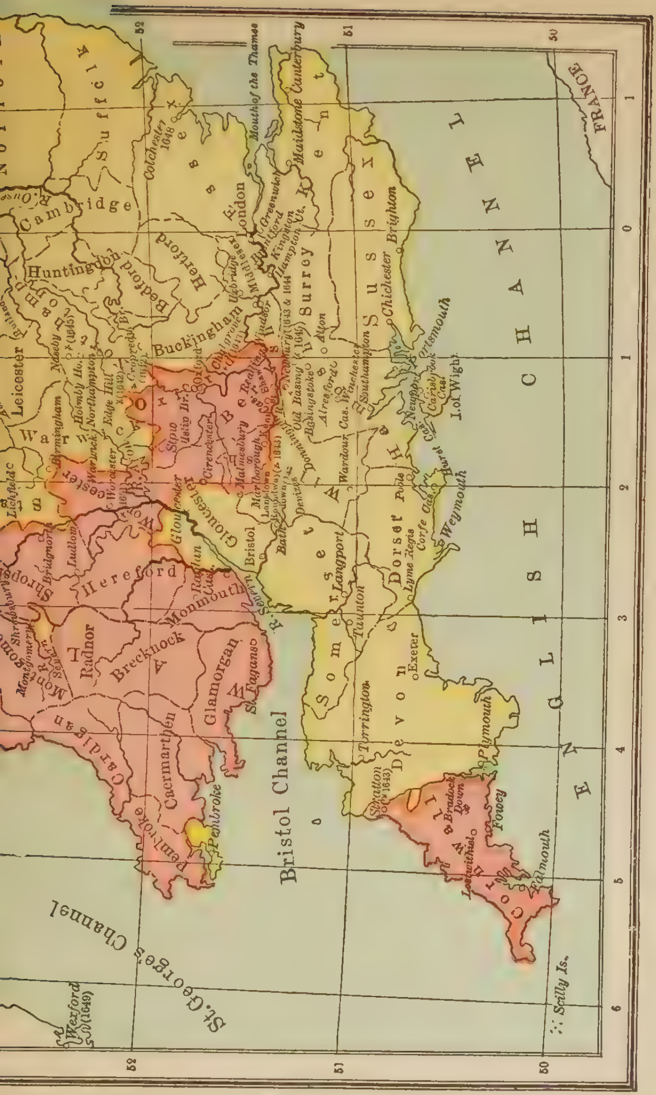ENGLISH CHANNEL
Bristol Channel
St. George's Channel
FRANCE
Mouth of the Thames
Cambridge
Huntingdon
Bedford
Hertford
Buckingham
Leicester
Warwick
Worcester
Gloucester
Oxford
Hereford
Shropshire
Radnor
Brecknock
Monmouth
Glamorgan
Caermarthen
Cardigan
Pembroke
Montgomery
Suffolk
Essex
Kent
Surrey
Sussex
Berks
Wilts
Hants
Dorset
Somerset
Devon
Cornwall
Middlesex
London
Colchester 1648
Greenwich
Canterbury
Maidstone
Kingston
Hampton Ct.
Brighton
Chichester
Portsmouth
Southampton
Winchester
Alresford
Basingstoke
Old Basing
Newbury (1643 & 1644)
Reading
Windsor
Uxbridge
Chalgrove
Alton
Naseby (1645)
Northampton
Holmby Ho.
Edgehill (1642)
Cropredy Br.
Birmingham
Lichfield
Bridgnorth
Ludlow
Shrewsbury
Worcester (1651)
Stow
Islip Br.
Cirencester
Malmesbury
Marlborough
Devizes
Roundway (1643)
Lansdown
Bath
Bristol
Raglan Cas.
Severn R.
Avon R.
St. Fagans
Langport
Taunton
Wardour Cas.
Poole
Corfe Cas.
Weymouth
Lyme Regis
Exeter
Torrington
Stratton (1643)
Plymouth
Braddock Down
Lostwithiel
Fowey
Falmouth
Newport
Carisbrook Cas.
Hurst Cas.
I. of Wight
Scilly Is.
Wexford (1649)
Pembroke
52
51
50
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2
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4
5
6

paigns the armies of the parliament suffered many reverses, and on one occasion London, the chief parliamentary stronghold, almost fell into the king's hands. It was really not until the year 1644 that the parliament began to develop anything resembling an efficient army. Simultaneously there rose into prominence the man who was destined to overthrow the king and bring the war to a conclusion — Oliver Cromwell.

Oliver Cromwell

Oliver Cromwell is one of those surprising characters who sum up in themselves a whole period of their nation's history. He was a country gentleman of the east of England whose life had become bound up in the Puritan cause. With moral firmness and religious enthusiasm he combined an extraordinary amount of practical good sense, which enabled him to see things exactly as they were. When everybody else was in consternation over the victories of the king, he went straight to the core of the military problem with which the Commons, in which he sat, was vainly wrestling. He thus expressed himself to his cousin, John Hampden: "Your troops are, most of them, old, decayed serving-men and tapsters. . . . Their troops are gentlemen. Do you think that the spirit of such base fellows will ever be able to encounter gentlemen? You must get men of spirit or else you will be beaten still." His sound judgment had discovered the thing needful and his love of action urged him to go about it without delay. He took the field and gradually collected about himself a special cavalry troop of men of his own mind — earnest Puritans who had their hearts in the cause; and his troop soon won for itself the grim title of Cromwell's Ironsides.

The Ironsides at Marston Moor

In the campaign of 1644 Cromwell's Ironsides first prominently showed their metal. On July 2, 1644, at Marston Moor, near York, was decided the fate of the northern counties, and here for the first time Cromwell's troopers broke the charge of the hitherto invincible royal cavalry commanded by Prince Rupert, the king's nephew. When night descended upon Marston Moor, the king had lost his hold upon the north. At the battle of Newbury, which took place a few months later, it is probable that the king himself would have been captured, if Cromwell had not been thwarted by a sluggish and incapable superior.

That winter Cromwell fiercely denounced in parliament the lax method of carrying on the war which had hitherto prevailed; and so convincing were his criticisms that both houses agreed at last to vote a sweeping military reform. By means of two ordinances, the Self-denying Ordinance and the New Model, the army was completely reorganized. By the Self-denying Ordinance all members of parliament agreed to surrender their commands in favor of men exclusively concerned with the conduct of the war; and by the New Model the army was adequately financed from national revenues and put on a strictly professional basis. The spring of 1645 found Sir Thomas Fairfax at the head of the reformed forces and the fiery Cromwell in command of the horse.

Army reforms

The effect of the change made itself felt at once; the campaign of 1645 proved decisive. At Naseby, in the heart of England, the king made his last formidable effort. The gallant Rupert plunged, as so often before, through the squadrons of horse opposed to him, but his reckless pursuit took him miles away from the battlefield, and before he could return, Cromwell had broken the king's left and center and won the day. For almost a year the king still held out, vainly hoping for relief from this or that small circumstance. In May, 1646, judging that all was over, he surrendered to the Scottish army in possession of the English north.

Naseby, June 14, 1645

How had the Scots been drawn upon the scene? Aware of the king's continued secret opposition to the Presbyterian system, they had followed with sympathy the struggle of the English Puritans, and in September, 1643, yielding to the solicitations of the parliament, had signed a treaty of alliance called the Solemn League and Covenant, and taken the field. However, in return for their help against the king, they had exacted a grave concession: the parliament was obliged to promise to reorganize the English Church on a Presbyterian basis. Since the outbreak of the civil war, the situation in the parliament in respect of the religious settlement had in so far suffered a change as the Episcopalian minority had surrendered its seats and deserted to the king. Hence the Puritans were in now unchallenged control, and as a religious solution other than episcopacy had to be found, many looked with favor on Presbyterianism. Others inclined the same way on the purely political ground that a Presbyterian England was the only certain guarantee of continued Scottish support. A majority of the Commons therefore was ready to come to the Presbyterian solution; but a minority, calling themselves Independents, voiced a determined protest on the ground that the possibili-

Alliance of England and Scotland

ties of tyranny under a Presbyterian establishment were every whit as great as under Episcopalianism. What the Independents desired was the authorization of free, congregational units under an act of toleration covering all Protestant sects — a project frankly repulsive to the Presbyterians, who were as little inclined as their Episcopalian rivals to tolerate the slightest departure from their system.

Presbyterians and Independents

Though the Independents were at first no more than a handful in the Commons, they enjoyed an influence out of proportion to their vote through the circumstance that they commanded the powerful backing of Cromwell and the army. As a result the Presbyterian majority was obliged to proceed with caution, especially so long as the war continued and the troops had to be kept in fighting humor. But no sooner had the battle of Naseby been won and the enemy scattered than the quarrel asserted itself with irrepressible vehemence.

The king's calculation

When the king surrendered to the Scots he was well informed of these differences of opinion among the victors, and hoped, in his shifty way, to find his profit in them. Let the army, representing the Independents and their view of tolerance, only fall to quarrelling with the majority of parliament, representing the Presbyterians and their system of religious uniformity, and his turn would come. As soon as his enemies took each other by the throat, he would step in and seize the spoils.

The Second Civil War

Herein Charles calculated both well and ill. In the year 1647 the Scots, after trying in vain to bring him to a settlement with themselves, surrendered him, on the payment of their campaign expenses, to the parliament. When the Commons, having him in their power, tried to hurry through a Presbyterian settlement with him, the watchful army plucked him from the hands of parliament and negotiated with him on the basis of an Independent program. Meanwhile the Scots resumed negotiations on their own behalf and in their resentful anger with the anti-Presbyterian army plotted with the king to invade England in conjunction with a new royalist rising. As a result of all these intrigues, of which Charles was alike the cause and manipulator, a second Civil War broke out in the summer of 1648 with the Scots perversely fighting for the king. If this support seemed to promise success to the royal cause, the Stuart trickster none the less fared ill, for the army had become an irresistible power which it was folly to arouse. In a brief campaign Cromwell scattered the invading Scots like chaff, while

Fairfax suppressed the unimportant rising of their allies among the English royalists.

Pride's Purge and the triumph of the army

Unquestionable masters of the situation, Cromwell and his friends resolved to tolerate no further negotiations with "that man of blood," Charles Stuart, but to bring him to his trial and death; and when the Presbyterian majority, incurably addicted to compromise, again resumed negotiations with the perfidious monarch, the army leaders no longer scrupled to attack the parliament. On December 6, 1648, they stationed a troop under the command of Colonel Pride at the door of Westminster Hall with orders to exclude one hundred and forty-three Presbyterian members from the Commons. The "Rump" that remained was no longer a truly representative body and continued its enfeebled existence at the mercy of the army.

Trial and death of the king

With the army in unchallenged control the trial of the king could have begun at once, except for the fact that the army leaders desired to give their proceedings the appearance of legality. They had the servile Rump pass an act redefining treason in such manner as to embrace the misdeeds of the king, and followed this up with the creation of a special High Court of Justice. Its sentence was a foregone conclusion. It found the king guilty of treason as defined for this particular occasion, and, on January 30, 1649, he was executed on a scaffold erected in front of his own palace of Whitehall. He had never been shaken in the conviction that the right, during the whole course of the civil war, had been with him, and he died not without dignity in that belief. No sooner had he been laid in his tomb than his partisans invested him with the halo of a saint and martyr, who had come to his tragic end through devotion to the cause of the true Church and the true constitution.

The army in power

The violent events connected with Charles's death had dispersed the English government. King and Lords had disappeared, the Commons were a fragment. The power lay exclusively with the army, and the burning question of the day was whether the military leaders would be able to build a new constitution grounded in sound principles and acceptable to the country.

For eleven years the army and, more particularly, Cromwell attempted with unquestionable zeal and sincerity to realize their ideal of government. That ideal was born of the deep religious conviction that every man must indeed be a follower of Christ, but that he should be allowed to worship after his own fashion. In consequence, Cromwell and his friends desired a government of upright Puritan men which tolerated every belief but popery. Unfortunately the vast majority of contemporary Englishmen were either Episcopalian or Presbyterian and royalist to the core. Therefore the Puritan experiment, though not ignobly inspired, was doomed to end in failure.

The ideal of the Puritan republicans

THE COMMONWEALTH AND THE PROTECTORATE (1649–1660)

The Commonwealth

On the death of the king, the Rump voted that England was a Commonwealth without king or Lords, and appointed, provisionally, a Council of State to act as the executive branch of the government.

Cromwell conquers Ireland and Scotland

There was work enough ahead for the young republic. In Ireland, which had been in rebellion since 1641, the rebels refused to recognize the new government, while in Scotland Charles II, the oldest son of the dead sovereign, had been proclaimed king. In the clear recognition that the Commonwealth could not live with Ireland and Scotland ranged against it, Cromwell was despatched to reduce the neighboring kingdoms to submission. In an irresistible campaign of the year 1649, he disposed of the Irish, not scrupling to break their spirit by two bloody massacres at Drogheda and Wexford. Then a rule of force was established such as Ireland had not seen before, while a project was set afoot which confiscated vast tracts of land for the benefit of the conquerors. This done, the victor turned to Scotland. At Dunbar (1650) Cromwell's soldiers, whose tempers were like the steel with which they smote, scattered the Scottish army; and when a second army, with Charles II in its midst, struck across the border in the hope of stirring up an English rebellion, Cromwell, starting in pursuit, met it at Worcester, in the heart of England, and won the crowning victory of his life (1651). Charles II escaped after many romantic adventures to the continent; but the Scots, with whose kirk Cromwell was too wise to meddle, were compelled to align themselves politically with the victorious Commonwealth.

With peace reëstablished throughout the British isles, the question of a permanent government became more pressing than ever. Everybody clamored for a settlement and the termination of the long disorder. Only the Rump was in no hurry, and the fifty or sixty

Dismissal of the Rump

members who composed it not only clung to office, but even planned to perpetuate their power. With the characteristic impatience of soldiers the army grew ever more restive over the long delay. In April, 1653, Cromwell, despairing of good from so narrow and legalistic a body of men, resolved to have done with them. He invaded the Rump with a detachment of troops and ordered the members home. "Come, come," he shouted in indignation, "we have had enough of this. It is not fit you should sit here any longer." Thus the last fragment of the old constitution vanished from the scene.

Barebone's Parliament, 1653

A new parliament, freely elected by the nation, would have been the normal solution of the difficulties which now confronted Cromwell. But such a parliament would have immediately called back the Stuarts, and Cromwell was ready to try all other means before he declared that the great Puritan cause, which to his fervid mind was that of God Himself, had failed. In conjunction with a number of officers he, therefore, *nominated* an assembly of Puritan partisans who were to discuss the bases of a new government. In an opening speech he told them that they were called to service because they were godly men. Undoubtedly well meaning, they were inexperienced and crotchety. The town wags, immensely amused at their provincial manners and ideas, called them Barebone's Parliament, from a certain worthy member whose excessively evangelical name of Praise-God Barebone invited their ridicule. Luckily, after a few weeks a party among the nominees recognized its own unfitness and brought about the end of the session (December, 1653).

The Protectorate

It was now the turn of the officers to try their hand with a plan. Accordingly, they drew up a constitution in forty-one articles, called the Instrument of Government, which placed the chief power in the hands of Oliver Cromwell under the title of Lord Protector. By the new constitution the Lord Protector, together with a Council of State, was to exercise the executive power, while a parliament of a single house, from which all partisans of the Stuarts were excluded, was to perform the legislative functions of government. The Instrument of Government came nearer to being a workable scheme than anything tried by England since the outbreak of the civil war; but it must not be overlooked that it was grounded on the disfranchisement of the royalists and that such success as it achieved should be attributed to the fact that it placed in supreme control a man of extraordinary natural gifts.

The domestic difficulties of the Protector

The five years (1653–1658) of Oliver's rule as Protector were beset with ever-recurring difficulties. His very first parliament insisted on revising the Instrument of Government. As that was tantamount to calling the whole settlement in question, Oliver in high dudgeon dissolved the parliament (January, 1655). For over a year following this disappointment he ruled without a legislature. There were frequent attempts upon his life, republican conspiracies, royalist risings, the cares and annoyances inseparable from rule. The Protectorate, with its one-man power, was, if possible, even more offensive to the strong republican element which had come to the front in England than to the royal adherents of the Stuarts. Oliver confessed with sorrow that "it was easier to keep sheep than to govern men." But his brave spirit was undaunted and he met every difficulty as it arose. In the year 1656 he called a second parliament and with this he got along more smoothly for a while. The traditional English conservatism came to the front in this assembly and it tried to get back to the forms of the old constitution. It created a second house to take the place of the abolished house of Lords and offered to make Oliver hereditary king. But Oliver, who had no love of baubles and who, besides, already exercised a virtual kingship as Protector, wisely declined a title repugnant to the republican sentiments of his army adherents. When this same parliament came up to London for a second session and attempted to limit the powers of the executive, Cromwell reproachfully dismissed it, like its predecessor (February, 1658). His bitter experience with his successive parliaments must have convinced him, if he stood in need of proof, that the nation was not with him. Disguise the fact as he might, his rule rested upon the army and was a military despotism.

The failure of toleration

In all this time the great principle of toleration, which Oliver had mainly at heart, made no progress. His original plan, laid down in the Instrument of Government, was to give to all Christians, except such as adhered to "popery or prelacy," the protection of the law. That meant state support for the whole diversified body of Protestant sects. He even conceded the private use of the Prayer Book and, while excluding the Catholic mass, greatly relaxed the penalties in force against the Catholics. But he could not put out the fierce religious fires that, in accordance with the temper of the time, kept flaring up all over the country. Like all who march too far ahead of the mass of mankind he was left without support, and long before his life closed he had the bitter conviction that the government of his beloved Puritan Commonwealth rested on no single principle that had taken root in the nation.

At best but moderately successful at home, Oliver heaped triumph upon triumph abroad. From 1652 to 1654 there was a war with the Dutch, caused by English jealousy of the immense commerce of the rival republic. In a measure passed by the Rump in 1651 and known as the Navigation Act this English attitude found vigorous expression. As this act declared that foreign ships were permitted to bring to England only such goods as were produced in their own country, the Dutch, who were carriers for the whole world, were dealt a severe blow. In the course of the war the English, after a few preliminary losses, got command of the channel, thus enabling Cromwell to sign (1654) a favorable peace which greatly strengthened his credit in the eyes of the world.

War with the Dutch, 1652–1654

Soon after, in 1655, Oliver engaged in a war with Spain, finally joining in an alliance with France against the common foe. By the seizure of Jamaica England gained a firm foothold in the West Indies, and by defeating, in conjunction with the French, the Spanish forces in the Netherlands, the English army was enabled to occupy Dunkirk,[1] one of the best ports in Flanders (1658). Not since the days of Elizabeth had England held so lofty a position in the councils of Europe. Oliver's arm reached even to the Alps, and at his command the duke of Savoy ceased persecuting the Protestant peasants and herders of the upper Alpine valleys.

Oliver makes war upon Spain

Thus to the end the Protector held the rudder firmly. But his health was broken by his great responsibilities and on the third day of September, 1658, he passed away. It had been his "fortunate day," the day of the great victories of Dunbar and Worcester, and was to his mind, heavy with the disappointments of office, perhaps no less fortunate because it brought the end of tribulation. His last prayer, which breathes his peculiar Puritan fervor, has been recorded for us. "Lord," ran a part of it, "Thou hast made me, though very unworthy, a mean instrument to do Thy people some good. . . . Pardon such as desire to trample upon the dust of a poor worm, for they are Thy people too."

The death of Oliver

Cromwell's death was followed by a year of anarchy. As the Commonwealth was founded on the power of the army and not on the consent of the people, its continuance depended on the army's finding a successor of the same metal as the great Protector. But that was impossible. Oliver was succeeded in the protectorate by his inoffensive and incapable son, Richard, who in May, 1659, resigned an office calling for powers which he did not possess. Then the Rump came back, arrogantly insisting that it was the true and authentic English government. At the same time the generals, who with the death of their leader had lost their cohesion, quarreled with the Rump and with each other. Clearly the only way out of the intolerable confusion was to call back the son of the dead king. The people themselves were more than willing, but to insure success a resolute man at the head of an armed force would have to take the enterprise in hand.

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[1] Dunkirk was held only till 1662, when Charles II sold it to France.

Anarchy

The savior wanted was found in General George Monk, one of Cromwell's most capable lieutenants and his representative in Scotland. At the head of his army Monk marched to London and, recalling the Long Parliament, obliged it to dissolve after issuing writs for a new election. With the way thus cleared, Charles II from his exile in Holland issued a general pardon, and when the new parliament met was enthusiastically invited to mount the throne of his ancestors. The new parliament declared that "the government of this kingdom is, and ought to be, by king, Lords, and Commons." When Charles entered London on May 28, 1660, the houses emptied their eager population upon street and square and the reimpatriated king was cheered like a conqueror.

General Monk brings back the Stuarts

THE RESTORATION. CHARLES II (1660–1685)

Charles II was one of the most popular monarchs England ever had, but, as has happened before and since in history, his popularity was due not so much to his virtues as to his vices. In this connection let us remember that the Restoration signified a sweeping general reaction. Not only did it mark the abandonment of the republican political experiment but also a sharp revulsion from the austere and somber scheme of life which the Puritans had imposed upon society. Like one who had thirsted a long while, the Englishman of the Restoration threw himself greedily upon splendor and distractions. As for the restored Stuart, he had lived long in France, where his self-indulgent nature had drunk its fill of the

Character of Charles II

gayety and licentiousness which characterized the sumptuous court of Louis XIV. Upon his return to England he became the advocate of French manners and, making profligacy fashionable, added to his constitutional function of sovereign the far more congenial role of master of the revels. The country, out of sorts with the Puritan ideals, applauded, admired Charles's witty sallies and studied courtesy, and joined the dance and sounded the pipe around the "Merry Monarch" of an England passionately resolved to be likewise merry.

His political opportunism

Charles, though endowed with a good deal of natural sagacity, had little mental energy and not the faintest suspicion of that rectitude which we define as character. His pleasures went before everything else, and when a conflict threatened with either ministers or parliament, he was in the habit of giving way, with the jocose fling that whatever happened he did not care to start again upon his travels. Intelligent, supple, and unencumbered with either the obstinacy or the principles of his father, he succeeded in making himself both popular and secure.

The reaction

No sooner was the monarchy restored than the desire seized the victors to be revenged upon their Puritan adversaries. The king's general pardon issued from Holland was subject to parliamentary revision, and the parliament, far more vindictive than the sovereign, resolved to punish all who had been instrumental in bringing Charles I to death. Thirteen regicides were executed, and a contemptible and revolting vengeance was wreaked upon the body of the great Cromwell. Dragged from the tomb, it was for the length of a day suspended with iron chains from the gallows on Tyburn hill.

The revolution not in vain

Such scenes apart, the Restoration was far less violent than similar reactionary occurrences in history, owing largely, it must be admitted, to the lack of rancor of the king. Yet to the defeated and dejected Puritans, whose leading survivor was the great poet Milton, it looked as if the return of Charles had closed upon them the gates of paradise and rendered vain both the civil and religious struggle of the past generation. But such was not quite the case. As the Petition of Right and most of the early enactments of the Long Parliament had received the royal assent, they remained in vigor, thereby substantially reducing the royal prerogative. Never again did an English king dispute the right of parliament to control taxation. Nevertheless, the royal power was still so great that an energetic monarch might feel encouraged to carry through a personal program in the teeth of the opposition of both parliament and people. In that case a new conflict was certain. But that so unenterprising a reveller as Charles II would undertake, and having undertaken, would sustain such a conflict was far from probable.

The Cavalier Parliament, 1661–1679

The Cavalier Parliament, as Charles's second parliament, convened in 1661 and allowed to hold power for eighteen years, was significantly called, exuberantly expressed the reaction which had taken hold of the country. It was, at least so far as the expression of its sentiments went, more royal than the king. One of its earliest acts was to vote that no one could lawfully take arms against the sovereign, that is, it proclaimed the late civil war a felony and a rebellion and affirmed an unqualified doctrine of non-resistance. The most pressing issue which confronted it was the question of religion. During the last twenty years every conceivable form of Protestant dissent had sprung into existence and Presbyterians, Congregationalists (Independents), Baptists, and Quakers disputed the ground with Anglicans and Catholics.

Intolerance of the Cavalier Parliament

Were all these denominations to be tolerated or was England to go back to a uniform national Church? In the Cavalier Parliament — a body of royalist reactionaries — there was only one opinion: the Church of England and nothing but the Church of England. It undertook, therefore, to restore the historical Church and persecute every deviation from it with relentless severity.

A new Act of Uniformity; the Dissenters

In the year 1662 the parliament imposed a new Act of Uniformity on the reëstablished Church. By its provisions the Prayer Book was made obligatory, and two thousand clergymen who would not bend their necks to the yoke were ejected from their livings. Among the dismissed ministers were many zealous and honorable men of all denominations who were henceforth classed together as Dissenters. In the religious history of England this formal and definite ejection of the Puritan element from the Church marks a notable mile-stone. It will be remembered that the Puritans in general had not wished to separate from the national Church, but desired rather to modify its forms in such a way that it might include or "comprehend" them. From now on all hope of comprehension was given up. Accepting their exclusion from the national Church as an irrevocable fact, the Dissenters henceforth directed all their efforts toward acquiring toleration for their own distinct forms of worship.

But the Cavalier Parliament was the last body in the world to give ear to a request for religious liberty. As in its opinion the proper way to treat Dissenters was to suppress them, it developed a highly perfected system of persecution. Already in 1661 it had enacted the Corporation Act, providing that no man could hold office in a corporate town unless he took the sacrament according to the Church of England. In 1664 the Conventicle Act was passed, by which the meetings of Dissenters for religious purposes were punished with fines culminating in transportation; and a year later (1665) there followed the Five Mile Act, by the terms of which no Dissenting minister was allowed to live within five miles of any corporate town unless he made submission in a form which, as an honest man, he was bound to reject.

Repressive legislation against Dissenters

It is not probable that the Cavalier Parliament would have insisted on the national creed with such vehemence, if it had not been persuaded that toleration granted to the Dissenters would open a loop-hole for the Catholics. And just then the suspicion against Catholicism was stronger in the land than ever because of the machinations of the king and his intimates in its behalf. Indeed with each passing year the atmosphere of the court became more markedly Catholic. Before long many courtiers, with the king's younger brother, James, duke of York, at the head, openly avowed their return to Rome, while Charles was restrained from taking the same step by nothing more noble than his fear of what might happen to him at the hands of his people.

Catholicism is the enemy

A monarch who identified himself so little in religious matters with his people was not likely to serve them in the foreign field. In fact, his guidance of England was of a piece with his superficial and selfish view of life. Disliking the bluff, republican Dutch and admiring the sumptuous Louis XIV of France, he permitted this question of taste to play a large part in determining his public conduct.

The foreign policy of Charles

We have noticed the growing commercial rivalry between the Dutch and the English. The Navigation Act, passed in 1651 by the Rump, and the short war that followed gave ample evidence of it. When to conflicting colonial claims in the East Indies and along the American coast going back to the beginning of the century was added the animosity created by the reënactment (1660) of the obnoxious Navigation Act, war could not long be averted. For three years (1664–1667) the adversaries engaged each other upon all the seas; but when peace was signed, the Dutch were obliged to cede their American colony with its capital of New Amsterdam. Renamed New York in honor of the duke of York, head of the English navy, it soon gave evidence of commanding one of the most favorable commercial sites in the western world.

First Dutch War of the Restoration, 1664–1667

This was the time of the ascendancy of France in European politics. The leading fact of the general situation was that Louis XIV was planning to extend his territory and power at the expense of his neighbors. The logical policy for England, as the rival of France, would have been to support the victim against the aggressor; but it was the peculiarity of Charles that he looked at the situation from a personal rather than a national angle. Since he led a riotous and disordered life, flinging fortunes away on entertainments and mistresses, he was in perpetual financial straits. To get money, therefore, and more money became his great object in life; and Louis XIV, who was not without a shrewd streak amid his lavishness, was perfectly willing to oblige his brother of England, if he could by this means buy England's aid, or even her neutrality in the conflicts he anticipated. Now the French king began his systematic aggression in the year 1667 by invading the Spanish Netherlands; but after taking a few towns he was forced to desist, chiefly owing to the energetic protest of the Dutch, supported temporarily by England and Sweden. No wonder that the haughty Louis resolved to have revenge on this nation of traders and republicans. By the Treaty of Dover (1670) he won over Charles by means of an annual grant to join him in his projected war against the Dutch; and Charles, in his turn, stipulated to avow himself a Catholic, as soon as the occasion served, and to call on Louis for military aid in case his subjects, on the news of his conversion, rose in revolt.

Charles leans toward France

When, in the year 1672, everything was at length ready, Louis and Charles fell suddenly like two highwaymen upon the Dutch, engaging in what in England is known as the Second Dutch War of the Restoration. Just as the war was about to break out, Charles, not yet daring to go the whole length of announcing his return to Rome, published a decree of toleration, the so-called Declaration of Indulgence, which, overriding the statutes of parliament, suspended the execution of all penal laws against both Catholics and Dissenters. While the measure was a movement in behalf of a broad toleration, it is necessary to remember, in judging it, that its motives were impure and that it nullified the laws of England by an arbitrary royal act. The outcry was general; and when parliament met it vehemently insisted on the king's withdrawing his Declaration. Reluctantly Charles yielded (1673), but with this retreat the war had lost its interest for him; and as at the same time the English people were learning to feel more and more strongly that their real enemy was France and not the Dutch, he further gave way to popular pressure and concluded peace (1674). Thus the treason hatched out in the Treaty of Dover came to nothing, except in so far as it involved the Dutch in another heroic struggle for life and liberty. So stubborn was their defense under their stadtholder, William III of Orange, that Louis XIV, baffled and discouraged, finally followed Charles's example and ended the war (Peace of Nimwegen, 1678).

Second Dutch War of the Restoration, 1672–1674

Though triumphant in the matter of the Declaration, parliament was not satisfied with its victory. Thoroughly suspicious of the pro-Catholic policy of the court, it added (1673) a crowning act to its intolerant religious legislation, the Test Act, which provided that all persons holding civil or military office under the crown should publicly receive the sacrament according to the national Church. In consequence, only avowed adherents of the Church of England could henceforth hold office, and no less a person than the duke of York, the king's brother and prospective successor, had to resign the post of Lord High Admiral because he was a Catholic.

The Test Act

Unfortunately the specter of Catholicism, aroused by the king's secret cabals, continued to stalk through the land, leading at times to outbreaks which would have been ludicrous, if they had not been so profoundly tragical. The most famous of them belongs to the year 1678 and is known as the "Popish Plot." A certain Titus Oates, a discredited adventurer and confessed scoundrel, told a rambling story before a magistrate to the effect that he had discovered a conspiracy on the part of the Catholics to institute in England a second and more terrible massacre of St. Bartholomew. Although Oates's story was palpably absurd, it won general credence; and as a result of the frantic agitation which seized the country a score of prominent Catholics were executed on

The "Popish Plot"

false and trumped-up charges, while a corollary was added to the Test Act by which Catholics were barred from sitting in either house of parliament.

The death of Charles

Charles died in the year 1685 after a reign of twenty-five years. On his death-bed he received first, privately the sacrament according to the Church of Rome; and then, keeping up his life-long comedy to the last, died, as it were, publicly and a second time according to the prescriptions of the Anglican Church of which he was the official head.

Whigs and Tories

The reign of Charles is marked by an advance in the political life of the nation which merits close attention. The gushing loyalty which accompanied the first acts of the Cavalier Parliament did not last. The distrust engendered by the Catholic tendencies of the court had already impaired it, when the prospect of the succession of the Catholic James, duke of York, gave it a staggering blow. A party, called the Whigs, arose which aimed to exclude the king's brother from the throne on the ground of religion; a second party, called the Tories,[1] stood stanchly by the principle of legitimate succession. By adroitly taking advantage of the extreme violence of the Whigs, Charles managed to arouse a strong Tory sentiment in the country which made him more powerful at the close than at any time during his reign. While the king undoubtedly on this occasion secured a personal triumph, the real historic import of the succession controversy lies in the circumstance that for the first time in English experience two opposed parliamentary parties came into being with a definite program and something like a permanent organization. For over two hundred years after their appearance the Whigs and Tories (latterly under the names of Liberals and Conservatives) were destined to dispute the government of England between them. As for the succession issue, over which the two parties originated, its intimate connection with the question of religion will not escape the reader's attention. The Tories, defending the succession of the Catholic James, drew their strength from the uncompromising supporters of the Church of England, while the Whigs, standing for an exclusively Protestant succession, found it profitable to lean upon the Dissenters and to advocate religious toleration for every variety of Protestant. If ever the Whigs came to power the Dissenters could count on something being done for them, while as long as Tory opinion ruled the state they were sure to be oppressed.

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[1] These names were originally taunts, flung by excited orators at the heads of their opponents. Tory is derived from the Irish and signifies robber. Whig comes probably from Whiggam, a cry with which the Scotch peasants exhorted their horses. Applied as a party name, it was intended to convey the idea of a rebellious Covenanter.

JAMES II (1685–1688)

James II

James II, who succeeded his brother Charles, was not only an open and avowed Catholic, which, of course, raised an impassable barrier between him and his subjects, but he was resolved, if possible, to bring England back to the Roman fold. Sincere and honest, he scorned to resort to the political trickery of his predecessor. He was cordially acclaimed on first mounting the throne but by a succession of rash and ill-judged measures was with extraordinary rapidity reduced to a state of icy isolation.

Catholic measures of James

As James was a Catholic among suspicious and embittered Protestants, he would have been wisely inspired at the very least to let sleeping dogs lie. But his conscience prompted him to move heaven and earth in behalf of the Catholic cause. He did not even trouble himself to proceed cautiously. Overriding the Test Act, he put his co-religionists into important positions in the army and civil service. Soon after, in 1687, he published, in imitation of an earlier act of his brother's, a Declaration of Indulgence suspending all penalties against Catholics and Dissenters alike. He justified his action in these matters by the *dispensing power* inhering in the kings of England which was supposed to confer the right to suspend in a given case the execution of a law. Regardless of the universal discontent, he published, in 1688, a second and more sweeping Declaration which he ordered to be read from all the pulpits. By this ill-judged measure he mortally offended the Anglican clergy, the main supporters of obedience to the king's will and the backbone of Tory opinion through the country. An overwhelming majority of ministers refused to communicate the royal order to their flocks and seven bishops went the length of presenting a written protest to the king. James's answer was an order that legal proceedings be taken against them. Immense excitement gathered around the trial of the seven bishops which occurred in June, 1688.

Meanwhile other irregularities and violences of the king had added to his unpopularity. In the year of his accession, the Protestant duke of Monmouth, an illegitimate son of Charles II, had invaded England with a small force, but was defeated, captured, and executed. James might have been satisfied with this success. He preferred to institute a general persecution. He sent into the west, among the people who had supported Monmouth, the savage and infamous Judge Jeffreys for the purpose of ferreting out the adherents of his nephew. The mockery of justice engaged in by Jeffreys is known as "the Bloody Assizes." The inhuman monster was not satisfied until he had executed three hundred and twenty victims, mostly poor peasants, and transported eight hundred and forty to the West Indies. The odium of these misdeeds fell, of course, upon the king.

Monmouth and "the Bloody Assizes"

The distressing situation was for a time put up with by the people because the next heir to the throne, James's daughter Mary, who was the child of his first marriage and the wife of William of Orange, was a Protestant. The nation looked forward to her succession with the more pleasure as her husband, too, was, through his mother, of Stuart blood. When, however, James's second wife gave birth, in June, 1688, to a son, who by the English law would take precedence over Mary, consternation seized the whole people. The son, it was forseen, would be educated in the Catholic religion and thus the Catholic succession would be perpetuated. As the birth of the son and the trial of the seven bishops befell at the same time (June, 1688), England was filled with excitement from end to end. Forgetting their differences, a group of Whig and Tory leaders sent a secret letter inviting William of Orange and his wife Mary to come to England's rescue.

Birth of a son

In November, 1688, William landed in England, and joyously and spontaneously the people of all classes rallied around him. When some of James's officers went over to the enemy and the whole army wavered in its allegiance, the wretched king could no longer close his eyes to the fact that he stood alone. Suddenly and utterly discouraged, he sent his wife and child to France and shortly after followed in person. All history hardly reports a more swift and bloodless revolution.

William lands in England

When parliament met it was confronted by the difficult task of harvesting the fruits of the popular success. Declaring that the throne had become vacant through desertion, it offered the succession conjointly to William and Mary. By this act it plainly committed itself to the view that the king did not rule by hereditary Divine Right but was the choice of people and parliament. Henceforth a king of England could boast no better claim to the crown than a statute of the realm. With the succession disposed of, the victorious parliament proceeded to complete the edifice of its power. Throughout the seventeenth century the conflict had raged between king and parliament over their respective spheres of control. The Petition of Right (1628) was the first act which had effectually clipped the wings of the monarchy. The Long Parliament was engaged in completing the work of royal subjection, when the civil war intervened and buried the issue beneath the din of arms. At length the flood of loyalty, once again set in motion by ten years of military rule, brought Charles II back to the throne, without, however, restoring him to the ample prerogative of his grandfather, James I. The only means of tyranny left in his hands was the claim that, as a divinely appointed king, he was above the laws and could suspend their execution at his pleasure. While Charles, a cautious and timorous man, had invoked this traditional right only occasionally, the infatuated James erected on it a sweeping Catholic policy. This last remaining loop-hole of arbitrary rule the parliament now proceeded to stop up by means of a Bill of Rights (1689), wherein the royal dispensing power was declared abolished and the king was in every respect subjected to the law. Further, the Bill of Rights enumerated and condemned all the illegal acts of James and formally and solemnly excluded Roman Catholics from the throne. One may say summarily of this famous measure that it terminated the long constitutional struggle by giving the victory and the fruits thereof to the parliament. With the Bill of Rights England entered on a new era, the era of parliamentary government.

The reorganization of the monarchy. The Bill of Rights

If the revolution of 1688 closed the long political conflict by seating the parliament in the place of power, it also led to a measure which pointed the way toward a solution of the religious troubles. Chiefly with the support of the Whigs, parliament passed, almost simultaneously with the Bill of Rights, a Toleration Act conceding to the Dissenters the right of public worship. Though the intolerant legislation of Charles II's reign was not repealed, non-Anglican Protestants could henceforth serve their God as they pleased, and that, after the long persecution they had suffered, was a very substantial blessing. But to the adherents of the pope the current Anglican bigotry refused to make the slightest concession. Against them tests and penal laws continued in full force. None the less by mollifying the strong Puritan element the Toleration Act greatly promoted

The Toleration Act

religious peace and, taken together with the Bill of Rights, defines the historical significance of the "Glorious Revolution."

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CHAPTER XIV

THE ASCENDANCY OF FRANCE UNDER LOUIS XIV

Louis XIV (1643–1715) *m.* Marie Therese, oldest daughter of Philip IV of Spain
Louis, the dauphin
Louis, duke of Burgundy — Philip, duke of Anjou, who, as Philip V becomes founder of the Spanish line of the house of Bourbon
Louis XV (1715–1774)

The work of Richelieu

The work of Richelieu, as we have seen, cleared the way for the supremacy of France in Europe. By destroying the political privileges of the Huguenots, by reducing the power of the nobility, and by discontinuing the States General he had freed the royal authority from the last restraints which weighed upon it and had rendered it absolute. At the same time the great minister had engaged France in the Thirty Years' War and had reaped for her the benefits of the Peace of Westphalia (1648). But just at this point, as France was about to assume a dominant position, she was threatened once more, and as it proved for the last time under the old monarchy, by civil war.

The regency of Anne of Austria

Richelieu's king, Louis XIII, died only a few months after him, in 1643, leaving behind a five-year-old son, in whose name the queen, Anne of Austria, assumed the regency. At the same time the post of leading minister, which had been occupied by Richelieu, fell to the confidant of the regent, another churchman and an Italian by birth, Cardinal Mazarin. Trained under the eyes of Richelieu, the new minister tried to carry out faithfully his predecessor's program, and though he achieved fresh and startling successes in the foreign field, he gained them by such reckless expenditures that the financial confusion inherited from Richelieu became intolerable. At last the parlement of Paris resolved to make itself the spokesman of the popular discontent by protesting against the ever new taxes which the government was prolific in inventing in order to meet its crushing obligations. It will be remembered that it was an issue of taxation which had led to the civil war in England, just then coming to a close with the complete defeat of the self-willed king. Doubtless the parlement was encouraged to resist financial oppression by the English example, but it did not stop to reflect that it was not suited either in respect of its personnel or its functions to play a truly popular role. For the parlement was not only a supreme court, that is, a judicial body, but its officials were irremovable and hereditary, that is, they constituted a close, privileged corporation. In spite of these drawbacks the parlement in January, 1648, boldly opened the struggle with the monarchy by demonstrating against a fresh series of tax edicts. Encouraged by the acclaim of the Parisians, the members thereupon took the further step of drawing up a sweeping reform program which aimed at nothing less than the conversion of France into a constitutional monarchy. To Regent Anne and her minister Mazarin this meant a revolution to which they would submit only under duress. In consequence a civil war resulted known in French history as The Fronde.

The Fronde

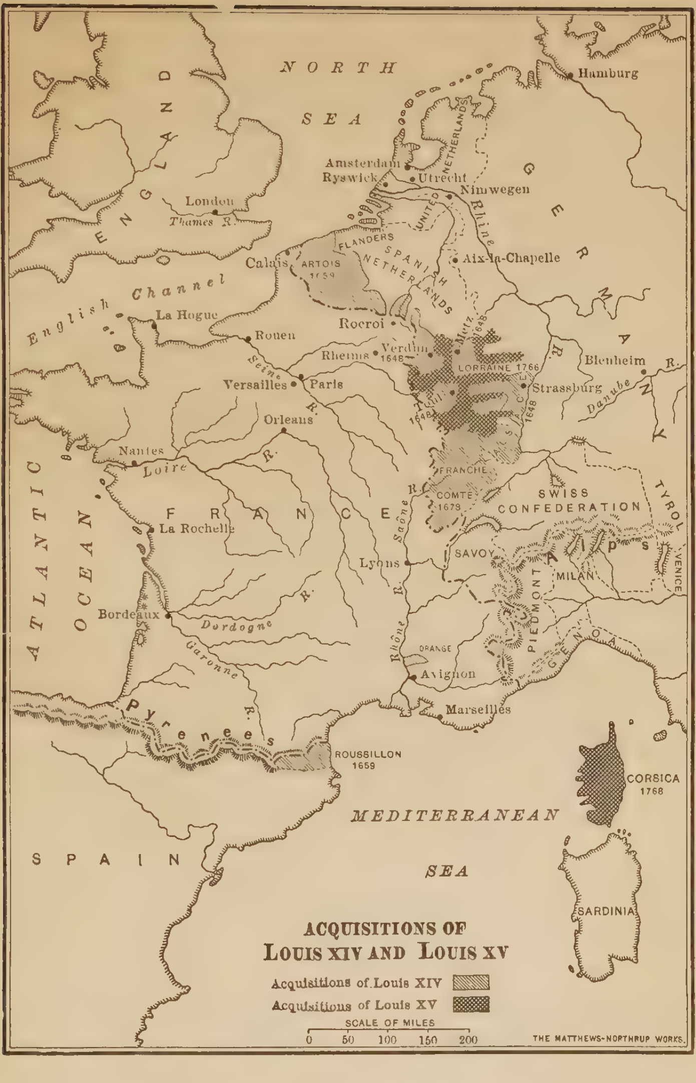
The Fronde lasted five years (1648–1653) and ended in the complete triumph of Mazarin for chiefly two reasons. The first has already been indicated in the fact that the parlement, being neither a legislative nor a representative body, was not the natural rallying-point of the French people in a constitutional struggle. It never furnished more than a half-hearted leadership and in a surprisingly short time permitted the control of the movement to slip into the hands of the nobles. Here lies the second reason for Mazarin's success. For since this turbulent order cared not a straw for either the people or constitutional government and fought only to recover its ancient power, the citizens rather than see the return of feudal disorder rallied once more around the throne. In short, if Mazarin came out on top it was because when the revolution was deflected from its original purpose, the nation, left to choose between king and nobles, declared unequivocally for a single master. The Fronde turned out to be the last rebellion of the nobles, who henceforth accepted the loss of their political influence. True, they retained their great landed estates, their immunity from direct taxation, and their immense social prestige, but they degenerated more and more into a body of docile courtiers content to squander their time and resources upon the games, intrigues, and entertainments of the court. Their story as a proud, self-willed feudal order ends with the Fronde to be succeeded by their record as a soft, pleasure-loving, and purely ornamental aristocracy.

The Fronde was only a few months old when Mazarin signed the Treaty of Westphalia (1648), which, by concluding triumphantly the war with the Austrian branch of the house of Hapsburg, brought immense advantages to France. However, as the Spanish branch was unwilling to accept Mazarin's terms, the war between France and Spain continued after as before 1648. Owing to the embarrassments caused by the Fronde, the French were for a number of years obliged to stand on the defensive. Under these circumstances the Spaniards regained much of the lost ground. But as soon as the Fronde was broken, the energetic cardinal pushed the fight with fresh vigor and soon forced his proud neighbors to come to terms. Borne down by foreign wars and internal revolutions, Spain was in fact at her last gasp. On signing (1659) with France the Peace of the Pyrenees, she signed away with it the last remnant of the supremacy which she had once exercised in Europe. France, the victor, took the place of Spain and signalized her triumph by acquiring certain Spanish territories. These were Roussillon, lying on the north or French slope of the Pyrenees, and Artois, which gave the monarchy a more favorable boundary toward the Spanish Netherlands.

The war with Spain concluded by the Peace of the Pyrenees (1659)

With the glory of the Peace of the Pyrenees still lingering in the skies of France, Mazarin's life turned to its setting (1661). The skillful Italian will always be remembered among the great ministers of his adopted country. On his disappearance from the scene the young king, Louis XIV, assumed the government in person; but when he announced with quiet pride that he would henceforth be his own prime minister, many smiled and doubted. However, he kept his word, and while he lived the government rested squarely on his shoulders. He is said to have boasted once: *l'état c'est moi* (I am the state). Even if he never employed the phrase, as is now generally admitted, it expresses admirably the spirit of his reign, for he held himself to be the absolute head of the state, source of every authority exercised throughout the country. No wonder that even his ministers were in his view no better than clerks who met daily in Council to receive his orders. He chose the sun as his emblem, because he was pleased to imagine that as the earth drew its sustenance from the central luminary, so the life of France emanated from his person. *Le roi-soleil* (sun-king) was the title given him by idolizing courtiers. Absolutism, that is, monarchy strengthened by the ruin of the feudal

The system of Louis XIV


ACQUISITIONS OF
LOUIS XIV AND LOUIS XV
Acquisitions of Louis XIV ▨
Acquisitions of Louis XV ▩
SCALE OF MILES
0 50 100 150 200
THE MATTHEWS-NORTHRUP WORKS.
NORTH SEA
ENGLAND
London
Thames R.
English Channel
La Hogue
ATLANTIC OCEAN
Hamburg
GERMANY
Amsterdam
Ryswick
Utrecht
Nimwegen
UNITED NETHERLANDS
Rhine
Aix-la-Chapelle
FLANDERS
SPANISH NETHERLANDS
Calais
ARTOIS 1659
Rocroi
Rouen
Seine R.
Rheims
Verdun 1648
Metz 1648
LORRAINE 1766
Toul 1648
ALSACE 1648
Strassburg
Blenheim
Danube R.
Versailles
Paris
Orleans
Nantes
Loire R.
FRANCE
FRANCHE COMTE 1678
SWISS CONFEDERATION
TYROL
La Rochelle
Saône R.
Lyons
SAVOY
Alps
MILAN
VENICE
PIEDMONT
GENOA
Bordeaux
Dordogne R.
Garonne R.
Rhône R.
ORANGE
Avignon
Marseilles
Pyrenees
ROUSSILLON 1659
CORSICA 1768
MEDITERRANEAN SEA
SARDINIA
SPAIN

powers, had existed in France and Europe long before Louis XIV; so had the theory of Divine Right which had been invoked by sovereigns ever since the Middle Age. But Divine Right seemed to have acquired a new glamour when the French sovereign carried his absolutism to a completeness and splendor never seen before. Louis himself spared no pains to minister to his own exaltation. It is here that Versailles comes in, the court or rather the royal city which he built for himself to the southwest of Paris. By withdrawing to Versailles, he removed himself from contact with the common herd and lived surrounded, like a pagan divinity, with acolytes and worshippers. It is remarkable to what degree Versailles aroused the admiration of the world. That was not so much because of its, after all, trivial splendors as because, first, it symbolized the new absolutism, envy of all the other monarchical governments in the world, and second, because its central figure, to borrow the words of a contemporary, undoubtedly was "the greatest actor of majesty that ever filled a throne."

Improved administration

But strong and omnipresent as the ceremonial element was in Louis's conception of his office, he had a sense of duty which obliged him to attend strictly and regularly to business. To this unflinching acceptance of responsibility must be added a remarkable feeling for symmetry and system which enabled him to add the finishing touches to the rather haphazard governmental organization which had been put together during several previous generations. With administrative centralization carried through, in principle, by the royal agents of Richelieu's invention, the intendants, the next step was to rearrange and energize the central departments destined to serve as the brains of the system. Of incalculable value in this work of unification were the devoted officials trained in the school of Richelieu and Mazarin. To Lionne must be given credit for the effective organization of the foreign office under an unequaled staff of diplomats, while the tireless Louvois, minister of war, created a standing army not only considerably larger than any seen in Europe since the Roman Empire, but, what was still more important, supplied from government arsenals and stores and completely dependent on the king. In fact, Louvois may be regarded as the man who gave the standing army its modern form and who by causing it to be generally imitated imposed it on Europe.

However, Louis's most important collaborator was without doubt the controller general (minister of finance), Jean Colbert. On being put in 1661 at the head of the French treasury, he found himself flung into a veritable Augean stable choked with the accumulated refuse and disorder of the previous half century. By firmly eliminating peculation and by establishing a system of strict accounting he succeeded, without the aid of new taxes, in liberating the government of its burden of debt and in converting the annual deficit into a surplus. Colbert might even have proceeded to a reduction of taxation, if after a few years of a welcome peace the country had not been again plunged into war. War became the very breath of Louis's nostrils and long before his end threw the country back into the financial abyss from which Colbert had rescued it. Since the great minister died in 1683, he was spared the pain of facing the worst consequences of his master's military mania.

Colbert, minister of finance

But Colbert was more than a good financier, much more, for he was also an economic thinker. With the science of political economy not yet formed, it was a step toward its creation when Colbert arrived at the conclusion that the question of revenues must be considered in connection with the whole problem of production, and that the primary object of a good minister of finance should be the increase of the total wealth of the nation. Colbert therefore undertook to foster agriculture, manufactures, and commerce to the best of his ability. His system, often called Colbertism, except for the severer logic of its application, hardly differs from that mercantilism which dominated the policy of all European states in his day. Mercantilism favored home industries by a heavy tariff on imported manufactures and encouraged exports in the hope of creating a favorable balance of trade. In spite of its many fallacies, mercantilism must not be regarded as wholly barren even from a strictly economic angle. Of the mercantilist, Colbert, more particularly it may be said that he succeeded in promoting the manufacture of certain articles suited to the French genius such as silks, brocades, laces, furniture, and glass. Also he improved communications by the building of roads and canals; and he unfolded a considerable colonial activity in Canada, India, and the West Indies. True, his commercial companies (East India Company, West India Company), formed on the Dutch model, failed to achieve much success; and even many of the manufactures which he called into existence by means of special privileges went under

The economic policy of Colbert

when France plunged deeper and deeper into war. But fair-minded critics will incline to ascribe these and other failures in the economic field less to Colbert and his system than to the unfortunate militarism of his lord and master, Louis.

While the king took pleasure in ample revenues and was of course by no means averse to bourgeois prosperity, he was none the less particularly eager for military fame, the fame beside which every other kind of reputation seemed to him to shrink to nothing. Though only twenty-two years old at Mazarin's death, he was already the cynosure of Europe. In all truth he could regard himself as the leading power of the western world. But in measure as he found that his neighbors were no match for him, he began to be tempted by the thought of making himself their acknowledged master. A questionable ambition, this, but like other rulers, before and since, grown arrogant with power, Louis succumbed to it. Accordingly, in 1667 he formally inaugurated a career of conquest which, after a few brilliant results, led to such a succession of disasters that the man whose early actions had been attended by clouds of incense wafted by admiring courtiers, closed his career under a deepening shadow.

Louis resolves on a career of conquest

Four great wars substantially filled the rest of Louis's life. They were: (1) The War with Spain for the possession of the Spanish Netherlands (1667–1668); (2) the War with the Dutch (1672–1678); (3) the War of the Palatinate (1688–1697); (4) the War of the Spanish Succession (1701–1714).

His wars

When Louis, in the year 1667, surveyed the political situation, and noting his own resources and the weakness of his neighbors, resolved on a career of conquest, he must have debated carefully where to deliver the first blow. He decided finally to push the French boundaries toward the east. Spain, intrenched in the Spanish Netherlands, seemed moribund, and, besides, France needed from a purely military viewpoint to be strengthened, most of all, on this side. By choosing to expand eastward, however, Louis was bound to antagonize the three countries which were directly threatened by this move — Spain, the Dutch, and Germany. Sooner or later, too, he was likely to arouse the jealousy of the ancient rival of France, England. Did Louis, when he began war so lightly, reckon with the chance of a European coalition against him? Probably not. He saw only the contemporary divisions of Europe and his own brilliant

Louis certain to unite Europe against himself

opportunity, and like every other adventurer he let the future take care of itself.

The War of the Spanish Netherlands, 1667–1668

In 1667 Louis suddenly and frivolously invaded the Spanish Netherlands. The fact that he tried to justify himself by putting forth some wholly irrelevant claims of his Spanish wife, daughter of Philip IV, to these territories, only added hypocrisy to violence. His magnificent army, brought to an unrivalled pitch of perfection by the labors of Louvois, took place after place. Decadent Spain was unable to offer resistance, and if the Dutch, frightened at the prospect of such a neighbor as Louis, had not bestirred themselves, Louis would have overrun the whole of the Spanish Netherlands. The Triple Alliance of the Dutch, England, and Sweden, formed by the rapid ingenuity of the republican patriot, John de Witt, just then the controlling member of the Dutch government, bade Louis halt. He was still at the beginning of his career and not yet stubbornly set on having his way regardless of consequences. In answer to the threat of the Triple Alliance, he declared himself satisfied with a frontier strip and abandoned the struggle. The Peace of Aix-la-Chapelle (Aachen) formally secured him in his bold acquisition (1668).

Louis isolates the Dutch and then falls upon them

For the next few years Louis seemed to be dominated by a single thought — revenge upon the Dutch. The Dutch had been the soul of the Triple Alliance; the Dutch primarily hindered his expansion eastward. The plan he now formed was to sever the Dutch from all their friends and allies and then fall upon them unawares. The diplomatic campaign preliminary to the declaration of war was a masterpiece. Sweden and the emperor were lulled into security by special treaties, while the despicable Stuart, Charles II, was by an immense bribe drawn into an active alliance with France (Secret Treaty of Dover, 1670). In the spring of 1672 everything was ready. While the combined French and English fleets engaged the Dutch fleet under the celebrated Admiral Ruyter in the channel, the French army, led by Condé and Turenne, invaded the territory of the Seven United Provinces by following the course of the Rhine.

In a few weeks most of the provinces, owing to the decay into which the too secure de Witt had permitted the army and fortresses to fall, were in the hands of the French. And now one of those panics to which men are but too unfortunately heir took possession of the alarmed people. They fell upon and murdered de Witt, and would be satisfied with nothing less than the triumphant reinstatement of the house of Orange, which some twenty years before, following the successful conclusion of the war with Spain, had been excluded from the public service. In an outburst of enthusiasm William III of Orange was made stadtholder and supreme commander on sea and land. William, a young man but twenty-one years of age, was far from being a genius, but he was sprung from heroic stock, and the responsibility for a nation's safekeeping, put upon him in a stern crisis, brought out his best qualities. The English ambassador invited him to look about him and submit, urging that it was easy to see that the Dutch were lost. "I know one means of never seeing it," he replied, "to die on the last dyke." It was this spirit that now steeled the temper of the little people and enabled them to emulate the deeds of their ancestors against Spain.

The house of Orange to the front

Before Louis could take the heart of the Netherlands, the city of Amsterdam, the Dutch had, at the order of William, cut the dykes and restored their country to the original dominion of the waters. Louis was obliged to retreat; his opportunity was lost. Moreover, the fear of France now became general, and before many months had passed Spain as well as the emperor and a large number of German princes had rallied to the cause of the Dutch. In the year 1674 the position of Louis was still further weakened. In that year the angry state of English feeling forced Charles II to abandon Louis and make his peace with the Dutch. Thus Louis found himself faced with a great continental coalition with no ally but remote Sweden. The odds in such a struggle were patently against Louis, and although the continued superiority of the French army both in organization and leadership enabled him to win every pitched battle with his foes, he was glad enough to end the war when peace was offered. By the Treaty of Nimwegen (1678) he had to acknowledge his failure in his main purpose, for the Dutch did not lose a foot of territory; but he was permitted, in recognition of his military successes, to incorporate with France the Franche Comté (Free County of Burgundy), a detached eastern possession of the king of Spain.

The Dutch war becomes general

The second war, too, although it had roused a European alliance against Louis, had brought him its prize of a new province. Louis was now at the zenith of his glory. The adulation of his court became more and more slavish, until the flattered monarch imagined that he could do everything with impunity. His imperious temper is well exhibited by his resolve to continue his aggressions in time of peace. He submitted the interpretation of the Treaty of Westphalia, an international instrument, to the French law-courts, subject to his dictation, and on the strength of their one-sided verdict insolently occupied a number of districts of the German border with an armed force. His most considerable acquisition made in this manner was the Alsatian city of Strasburg. Seized (1681) in open disregard of the public law of Europe, it was promptly incorporated in France.

Louis seizes German districts in time of peace

A no less high-handed treatment was accorded to a group of his own subjects, the Huguenots. Since the suppression of their political privileges by Richelieu they had been satisfied with the civil and religious liberties guaranteed them by the Edict of Nantes and had consistently conducted themselves as faithful subjects of their king. But the Catholic clergy never ceased to protest against the presence of a tolerated heretical minority among the orthodox majority. Unable to bring such wise statesmen as Richelieu and Mazarin to their point of view, they achieved a better success from the moment they began to deal with Louis. It is undeniable that even Louis, bigoted believer though he was, hesitated at first to take vigorous measures against the Huguenots; but surrounded by Catholic zealots and under the influence of Jesuit confessors, he adopted gradually a policy of petty annoyances expressive of his instinctive aversion for the dissident minority. The next, more serious step was a succession of illegal encroachments which deprived the Huguenots of their printing-presses, schools, and temples; and when, finally, the king authorized the seizure of their children in order to hand them over for training to Catholic priests and teachers, the royal protection guaranteed by treaty had become a mockery. By the early eighties it remained only to apply the last indignity in the form of a forceful conversion of those who still clung to their faith. Rude soldiers were quartered in their houses to torture them at pleasure until they murmured their willingness to be confessed by a priest. When in 1685 his councillors reported to Louis that all or nearly all the Huguenots had returned to Mother Church, Louis revoked the Edict of Nantes on the ground that it no longer served any useful purpose. By a unique mixture of hypocrisy and violence approximately one million people had been deprived of their religious rights and, in so far as they did not succeed in winning security by accepting Catholicism, became outlaws.

Persecution of the Huguenots and Revocation of the Edict of Nantes

The responsibility for this monstrous and inhuman policy rests squarely on the shoulders of Louis and the Catholic clergy of France. The outraged Huguenots, however, were inclined to throw much of it on Madame de Maintenon. A remarkable woman brought up as a Huguenot, she had become a convert to Catholicism and, like many another convert, distinguished herself by a passionate devotion to the Church. By being appointed governess of some of Louis's illegitimate children, she made his acquaintance and by the natural ascendancy of her character quickly gained a remarkable influence over him. When his first wife, Marie Therese, a Spanish princess, died, he married Madame de Maintenon (1683) and at the same time surrendered his loose and libertine habits in favor of her severe and impeccable moral code. The woman who could work this miracle with an habitual rake was naturally credited with an inordinate influence over his policy. The suspicions of the Huguenots, already ill-disposed to her as a renegade from their faith, are therefore comprehensible. However, when we remember that the policy of persecution considerably antedates Madame de Maintenon's time, we are obliged to declare that her share in the Huguenot tragedy has been exaggerated and that she figures in it with certainty only in the last act. That tragedy, revoltingly inhuman, brought loss and sorrow not only to the immediate victims. In a very true sense the heaviest loser was France herself, for several hundred thousand active and resolute people, chiefly of the artisan class, made desperate by their ruler's cruelty, fled across the border and carried their industry, their culture, and, above all, their unflinching spirit to the rivals and enemies of their country.

Madame de Maintenon

The seizure of Strasburg and the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes befell in a period of nominal peace. They spread such a feeling of uneasiness and insecurity that William of Orange resolved to prepare for the worst by a new coalition, and by 1686, he had persuaded Spain, the emperor (Austria), and a large number of German states to join him in a league of mutual protection. The war between Louis and this new combination had already become inevitable, when a happy accident brought England into the fold of the allies. In 1688, James II, who, like his brother, Charles II, cultivated friendly relations with France, was overthrown by the "Glorious Revolution" and William of Orange became king of England. As the temper of the English people had at the same time become thoroughly anti-

England joins the coalition against Louis

French, William found no difficulty in persuading them to join Europe against the French monarch. Thus in the new war — called the War of the Palatinate from the double fact that with his usual effrontery Louis put forth an unfounded claim to the Palatinate and that the war began with a terrible harrying by fire and sword of that poor Rhenish land — Louis was absolutely without a friend.

The War of the Palatinate, 1688–1697

This third war (1688–1697) is, for the general student, thoroughly unmemorable. Battles were fought on land and on sea, in the channel, in the Netherlands, and along the Rhine, and, generally speaking, the French proved their old superiority; but they were no longer strong enough to reap any benefit from their successes against the rest of Europe, and in 1697 all the combatants from mere exhaustion were glad to sign, on the basis of mutual restitutions, the Peace of Ryswick.

The Spanish inheritance

The War of the Palatinate was the first war by which Louis had gained nothing. That and the circumstance that England had now definitely joined the ranks of his enemies, should have served him as a warning that the tide had turned. And indeed he must have felt less secure than had once been the case, since he gave a most anxious consideration to the problem of the Spanish succession just then looming before Europe. The king of Spain, Charles II, had no direct heir, and at his death, which might occur at any time, the vast Spanish dominion — Spain and her colonies, Naples and Milan, the Spanish Netherlands — would fall no one knew to whom. The Austrian branch of Hapsburg naturally put forth a claim, but Louis fancied that his descendants had a still better title in right of his first wife, who was the oldest sister of the Spanish king. The inheritance was so involved by a long succession of treaties and renunciations that even at this day no scholar would venture authoritatively to declare who, in a strictly legal sense, was the heir of Charles II.

Louis signs and rejects the Partition Treaty

Old enough to have grown cautious, Louis approached his chief adversary, William of Orange, as soon as the Peace of Ryswick had been signed, with the sensible proposal to come to some arrangement with him over the Spanish inheritance by which war might be averted. Accordingly, the two leading sovereigns of Europe pledged themselves to a plan of partition as the most plausible settlement of the impending difficulties. But when, on the death of Charles II, November, 1700, it was found that the Spanish king had made a will in favor of Philip, duke of

Anjou, one of Louis's younger grandsons, Louis, intoxicated by the prospect, forgot his obligations and threw the Partition Treaty to the winds. He sent young Philip to Madrid to assume the rule of the undivided dominion of Spain. The house of Bourbon now ruled the whole European west. "The Pyrenees have ceased to exist" were, if we may believe Voltaire, Louis's exultant words.

The Grand Alliance

It was some time before Europe recovered from the shock of its surprise over this bold step and nerved itself to a resistance. The hoodwinked and angered William was indefatigable in arousing the Dutch and English and by 1702 had succeeded in creating the Grand Alliance, the reconstituted coalition of the previous war. Before the conflict had fairly begun, however, William, the stubborn, lifelong enemy of Louis, had died (March, 1702). In the new and supreme struggle against the ambition of Louis, a struggle familiar under the name of the War of the Spanish Succession (1702–1714), it is not merely fanciful to imagine his indomitable spirit marching with and heartening the hosts of the allies.

The combatants compared

In the new war the position of Louis was more favorable than it had been in the preceding struggle. He commanded the resources not only of France but also of Spain; his soldiers carried themselves with the assurance of troops which had never been beaten; and his armies had the advantage of being under his single direction. The allies, on the other hand, were necessarily divided in council and interest. What advantages they had lay in these two circumstances, which in the end proved decisive: they possessed greater resources of money and men and they developed superior commanders. The brilliant generals of Louis's youth, men like Condé and Turenne, had long since died, and their successors, with the exception of Vauban, the inventor of modern military engineering, and the intrepid Villars, were all, like Louis himself, without a spark of fire and originality. In the highest commands, where France was weak, England and Austria on the other hand proved themselves particularly strong. They developed in the duke of Marlborough and in Eugene, prince of Savoy, two eminent commanders.

The War of the Spanish Succession a world struggle

Not even the Thirty Years' War had assumed such proportions as the struggle in which Europe now engaged. It was literally universal and raged, at one and the same time, at all the exposed points of the French-Spanish possessions, that is, in the Spanish Netherlands, along the upper Rhine, in Italy, in Spain itself (where the Hapsburg claimant, the

Archduke Charles, strove to drive out the Bourbon king, Philip V), on the sea, and in the colonies of North America. The details of this gigantic struggle have no place here. We must content ourselves with noting a few striking military actions and the final settlement.

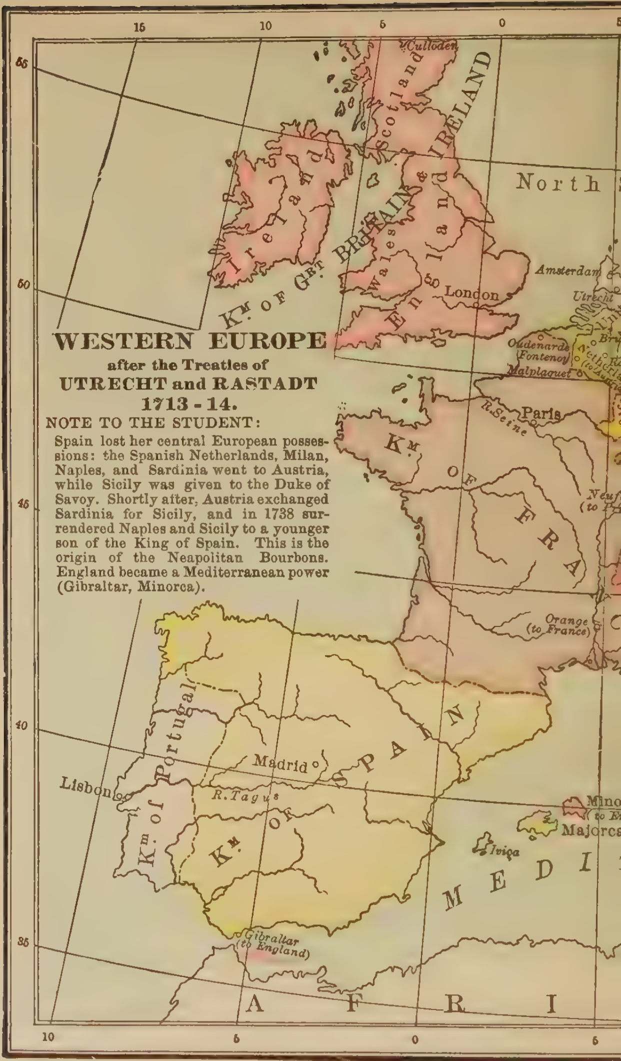
The victories of Eugene and Marlborough

For the first few years the French showed their strength by maintaining an offensive which aimed at nothing less than the termination of the war by the capture of the Austrian capital, Vienna. In 1704 this over-daring plan led to a great catastrophe. Securely planted on the upper Danube, the French were proceeding eastward, when to their great surprise they were confronted with the combined armies of Marlborough and Eugene. Against all expectations the two audacious generals had carried their forces, one from the lower Rhine, the other from Italy, to throw a sudden barrier across the French advance. In the resulting battle of Blenheim the allies administered a crushing defeat to France, which not only broke the long chain of French victories but demoralized both army and government. Following up their success at Blenheim, the allies scored triumph on triumph. In 1706 Marlborough won a splendid victory at Ramillies, in the Netherlands, and in the same year Eugene defeated the French at Turin and drove them completely out of Italy. The victories of Oudenarde and Malplaquet, won in 1708 and 1709 respectively, seemed to complete the discomfiture of France, for they exhausted the country and cleared the road to Paris.

A Tory ministry succeeds the Whigs

The road to Paris, however, owing to a number of unexpected occurrences which utterly changed the face of European politics, was never taken. In 1710 the Whig ministry, which had supported Marlborough and advocated the war, was shaken by a number of English domestic developments; and gradually Tory ministers, strongly in favor of peace, displaced their Whig rivals. Marlborough, no longer receiving support from home, found his actions in the field paralyzed. No sooner had the Tory cabinet, early in 1711, opened secret negotiations with Louis than another event occurred which put an end to what little harmony still existed among the allies.

In April, 1711, the head of the Austrian branch of the house of Hapsburg, Emperor Joseph I, died, and in default of a direct male heir, was succeeded by his brother, Charles VI. As Charles was also the candidate of the Grand Alliance for the Spanish throne, his accession to the crown of Austria held out the prospect of the reunion of



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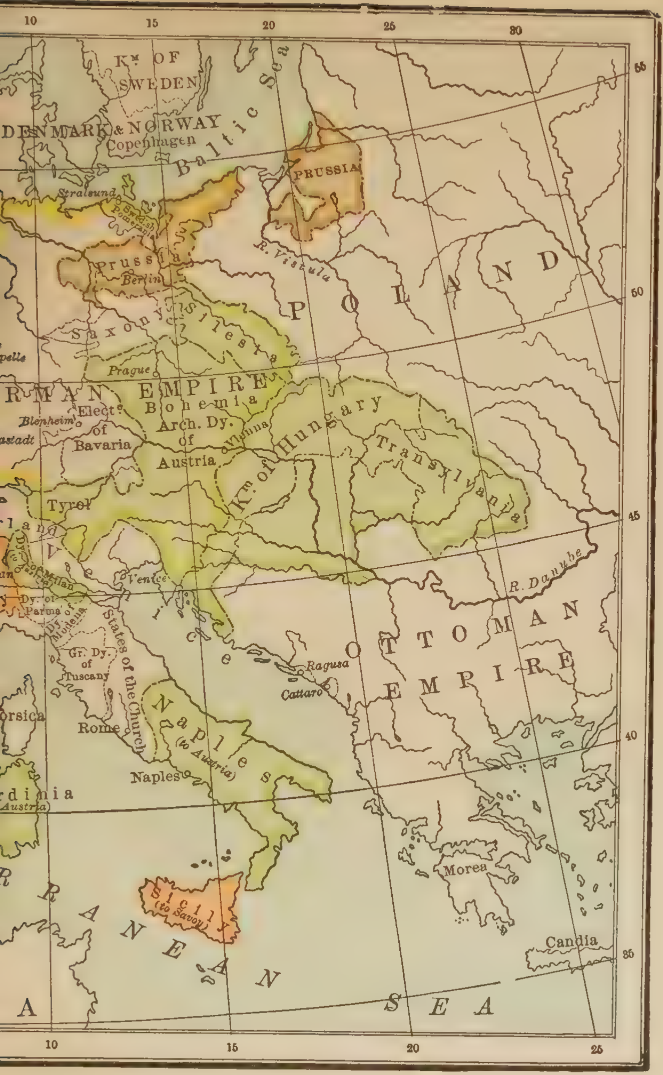
WESTERN EUROPE

after the Treaties of UTRECHT and RASTADT

1713 - 14.

NOTE TO THE STUDENT:

Spain lost her central European possessions: the Spanish Netherlands, Milan, Naples, and Sardinia went to Austria, while Sicily was given to the Duke of Savoy. Shortly after, Austria exchanged Sardinia for Sicily, and in 1738 surrendered Naples and Sicily to a younger son of the King of Spain. This is the origin of the Neapolitan Bourbons. England became a Mediterranean power (Gibraltar, Minorca).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the vast Hapsburg dominions in one hand, as in the time of Charles V. As such a development did not accord with the interests of the two sea-powers, England and the Dutch, they were moved — and we have seen that England at least needed no spurring — to come to an agreement with the French over the head of Austria. The exhausted Louis eagerly seized the hand unexpectedly held out to him. In 1713 the Peace of Utrecht ended the War of the Spanish Succession.

The death of Emperor Joseph

In the Peace of Utrecht it was agreed that the vast Spanish empire was not to be kept intact. Every state, great or small, wanted a part of the booty and by insistent clamor managed to get something for its pains. First, Philip V, Louis's grandson, was recognized as king of Spain and her colonies, on the strict condition that France and Spain should remain forever separated. In a limited sense, therefore, Louis's policy had triumphed, for a Bourbon sat upon the Spanish throne. Next, the emperor was provided for; he received the bulk of the Italian possessions of Spain (Milan, Naples, and Sardinia), together with the Spanish Netherlands (henceforth Austrian Netherlands). The Dutch were appeased with a string of border fortresses in the Austrian Netherlands to serve them as a military barrier against France; and England took certain French possessions in the New World, Newfoundland, Nova Scotia (Acadia), and Hudson's Bay, together with the two Spanish strongholds, the island of Minorca and the rock of Gibraltar. These latter gave her a powerful grip on the Mediterranean. The dissatisfied emperor, who continued stubbornly to regard the whole Spanish inheritance as his, refused at first to accept this peace; but, deserted by his allies, he was forced to give way and confirm its arrangements by the Peace of Rastadt (1714).

The Peace of Utrecht, 1713

Shortly after the Treaties of Utrecht and Rastadt, Louis XIV died (September 1, 1715). The material prosperity of his early years had vanished, and in their place his failing eyes rested upon a famished peasantry, an impoverished middle class, a discontented aristocracy, and a government breaking down under its burden of debt. The disastrous end was the answer of fate to his overweening ambition. When his little five-year-old successor was brought to his bedside, the dying man said to him with great seriousness: "Do not imitate me in my taste for war." But, regardless of the many and patent ills produced by a policy of military conquest, Louis and his court exercised an enormous in-

Louis's death

fluence in their time. French manners, French fashions, French art, all curiously and closely expressive of the magnificent Louis himself, came to dominate the taste of Europe. In these manifestations of the French spirit it is impossible not to recognize something rather grand and splendid. At the same time they leave us more than a bit suspicious that they have an excessive artificiality and do not rest on very solid foundations.

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CHAPTER XV

BALTIC AFFAIRS: THE RISE OF RUSSIA AND THE DECLINE OF SWEDEN

Russia, a non-European state during the Middle Age

It was not till the sixteenth century that Russia swung decisively into the ken of Europe. During the Middle Age the Russian people, who constitute the easternmost branch of the Slavs, spread slowly in peasant colonies over the great east-European plain; and during all that time they remained steadily outside the circle of west-European civilization. In this early period of their history they experienced successively three influences from without of enduring significance. In the ninth century they were conquered by a band of Germanic Northmen under a leader, Rurik by name, who gave them a military organization and a taste for conquest. Predatory expeditions under Rurik's successors brought them into contact with the Byzantine Empire which, putting the same spell on them as the Roman Empire of the West exercised on the barbarous German tribes, persuaded them (in the tenth century) to give up paganism and adopt the Christian religion of the eastern or Greek Orthodox type. While they were digesting this Mediterranean influence and slowly raising themselves from barbarism, they were (in the thirteenth century) overrun by a wild Asiatic people, the Tartars, and subjected to a crushing servitude. The military spirit of the Northmen, the civilizing effect of Greek Christianity, and the hard subjection imposed by the Asiatic Tartars constitute the main ingredients from which was brewed the early Russian destiny.

Accession of the Romanov dynasty

After two hundred years of Tartar subjection, that is, toward the middle of the fifteenth century, there occurred a national revival championed by the ruler of the Moscow area. The Tartar yoke was gradually shaken off and the prince of Muscovy, as leader of the movement, was enabled to adopt a title indicative of complete liberation: he called himself tsar of Russia — tsar, derived from Cæsar, being equivalent to king or emperor. Although the first tsars present themselves to view as autocratic rulers of a distinctly Asiatic order, they were not so autocratic as not to be obliged to reckon with rival agencies, for they were confronted with a body of nobles (boyars) with a tradition of military power and a Christian clergy with an almost magical influence over a down-trodden and superstitious peasantry. Toward the close of the sixteenth century the extinction of the first dynasty led to civil disturbances which, taken advantage of by the neighboring state of Poland, almost brought about the renewed ruin of the barely resuscitated state. From this evil epoch, known in Russian history as "the time of troubles," the country was saved by a popular assembly which, prompted by the instinct of self-preservation, conferred (1613) the tsarate on a leading boyar, Michael Romanov. Michael was the first ruler of the dynasty which maintained an uninterrupted ascendancy in Russia for three hundred years.

The westward movement of Russia begins

The most pressing business of the new dynasty was to drive back the western neighbors of the Russians, the Poles, who had attempted to extend their power all the way to Moscow. Between Russia and Poland, themselves countries of the plain, interposed itself the flat expanse of the Ukraine, loosely ruled by bands of war-like Cossacks. Hard fighters though they were, the Cossacks, squeezed between two great states and protected by no natural barriers, were not strong enough to preserve their independence. In 1667 the Tsar Alexis, the second ruler of the Romanov line, forced Poland to a division of the Ukraine, by which the Russian boundary was pushed to the left bank of the river Dnieper. The treaty was an indication that the days of Polish aggression had come to an end and that in its stead the westward expansion of Russia had begun. More important still was the fact that Tsar Alexis vaguely glimpsed the thought that the time had come to end the intellectual stagnation of Russia by multiplying the contacts with Europe. But unable to detach himself from an ancient and overmastering tradition, he stood irresolutely in his tracks, looking at Europe, as it were, across an impassable stream. It was his grandson Peter who boldly took the plunge and planted his feet on European soil.

Tsar Peter is that rare and stirring combination, autocrat and revolutionary in one. Together with an older brother, Ivan, he was proclaimed tsar on the death of his father in 1682. As the two lads were too young to rule, a regency was established under an older sister, Sophia. Peter, a wide-awake and masterful youth, accepted this situation until 1689, when, being seventeen years old, he took the government into his own hands and relegated Sophia to a nunnery. As the co-tsar, Ivan, was a feeble, half-witted creature, he did not, during the few years still conceded to him, interfere with Peter's sole control.

Accession of Tsar Peter, 1689

In order to grasp Peter's epochal activity it is necessary to have in mind the chief factors of the situation. At Peter's accession the Russians were still essentially an Asiatic people, connected with Europe solely by the two bonds of race and faith: they were both Caucasians and Christians. Their state was of vast extent, comprising the great plain lying between the Caspian and the White seas and extending across the Ural Mountains — a largely imaginary barrier — into northern Asia. In fact, the tsars had already established a loose control over a large part of the thinly populated mass of snow-bound Siberia. In the opposite direction, however, toward the west, Russian action was hampered, as we have already seen, by rival Poland. Nor was that all, for Sweden blocked the access to the Baltic sea, while the vast Mohammedan state, the Ottoman Empire, owned or controlled the whole circuit of the Black sea. Enormous as Russia was, embracing an area greater than that of all the west-European states put together, it suffered from being a land-locked empire without an approach, except by the frozen White sea, to the oceans which are the open highways of the world. It was this emphatically inland character of Russia which alone explains its long delay in establishing contact with European civilization. Its prolonged isolation accounts also for the existence of a government so peculiar and indigenous that, though absolute, it was looked upon by European visitors as having little or no resemblance to the familiar absolute governments of Europe. Representing a mixture of Byzantine autocrat and Mongolian khan, the tsar was the product of an entirely different tradition from, say, Louis XIV of France; nevertheless he was, if an Asiatic as distinct from a European despot, not without checks upon his power. The assembly of the boyars counted for something; the patriarch, head of the Russian Church exercised the authority inherent in a numerous and richly endowed clergy; and the *Streltsi*, a sort of national militia, had acquired a great, if indeterminate, power by reason of their being the main organized force of the state and a privileged one besides.

The situation of Russia at Peter's accession

From the very outset of his rule Tsar Peter set himself, in the main, three aims and clung to them to the end of his life with an incomparable tenacity. (1) He resolved to make the culture connection between Russia and Europe strong and intimate and not to rest until he had carried his country into the circle of western civilization; (2) he labored to open a physical way to the west by gaining a foothold on the Baltic and Black seas; (3) he planned to rid himself of the restraints put upon him by boyars, patriarch, and Streltsi not so much because they seriously hampered him as because they were the conservative instruments of a hateful Russian past, which he was minded to obliterate.

Peter's three aims

Peter is a difficult person for a modern man to understand. At one time he seems to be no better than a common murderer; again he strikes us as a monster in the grip of revolting violences and sensualities; and on a third occasion we see him as manifestly one of nature's noblemen. We have the key to his character when we remember that he was a barbarian of genius — never anything more. Civilized standards applied to him are unjust and futile. Barbarity was an element of his blood, and all his strenuous, life-long aspiration for the nobler possessions of the mind never diminished his natural savagery. Therefore, his life is full of the strangest contrasts. With barbarian eagerness he appropriated everything that he encountered, good and evil alike, and surrendered himself, for the time being, to its sway with all his might. Certainly his distinguishing characteristic is an indomitable energy: his life burned at a white heat.

The character of Peter

Peter's first chance to realize his foreign program came in the year 1695. The Emperor Leopold was at that time waging war against the Turks, who were beginning to show the first symptoms of collapse. Peter saw that the embarrassment of the Mohammedans might serve him to gain a foothold on the Black sea, which the sultan arrogantly looked upon as his private domain. In 1696 he conquered the port of Azov. The future now opened more confidently to him, and before taking another step he determined to visit the west and study the wonders of its civilization with his own eyes.

Peter's first conquest, Azov

Peter spent the year 1697–1698 in travel through Germany, Holland, and England. The journey, undertaken with a large suite of fellow-students like himself, was meant purely as a voyage of instruction. Throughout its course Peter was indefatigable in his efforts to get at the bottom of things, at the methods of western government, at the sources of western wealth, at the systems of western trade and manufacture. "My part to learn," is the motto encircling the seal which he had struck for this voyage. In Holland he hired himself out for a time as a common ship-carpenter, ships having been a passion with him from his boyhood. In addition he attended surgical lectures, visited paper-mills, flour-mills, printing-presses, in short was untiring in his efforts to assimilate, if not the deep-down secrets, at least the more obvious features of western civilization. The uncouth Peter, a giant who towered to the height of about six and a half feet, was the joke of the day among the courtiers and dandies, but simple folk were stirred to interest in this implacable worker, who balked at no drudgery to fit himself for the task of uplifting his backward people.

Peter's journey of instruction

The tsar had reached Vienna on his return trip when he heard that the Streltsi had revolted. He set out post-haste for home, and although order had been restored before he reached Moscow, he took a fearful vengeance. Over a thousand of the luckless guards were executed with unimaginable tortures. In his savage fury Peter, splashed with blood, presided in person at the butchery. Sovereign and executioner — such an accumulation of offices in one hand clearly exhibits the chasm that then yawned between Europe and Russia. But no one will deny that there was method in Peter's madness. The Streltsi, a privileged national militia, were the spokesmen of the discontent aroused by the policy of Europeanization, and Peter felt that in striking them he dealt a blow to the forces of conservatism. The Streltsi were totally dispersed and in their place the tsar created an army on the European pattern, which before the close of his reign had become an efficient instrument of war. As the assembly of the boyars was, like the Streltsi, a center of Russianism, he rid himself of it by the cunning device of never calling it together.

Peter disbands the Streltsi and organizes a standing army

With the opposition trampled in the dust, Peter's reforms crowded thick and fast. Every barrier was levelled to facilitate the invasion of western influences. He invited colonists, mechanics, and shipwrights to settle in Russia. He introduced western dress by making it obligatory for the court. He discouraged the wearing of beards, an ancient, almost a religious custom of his people, and, armed with a pair of scissors, occasionally with his own imperial hand practiced the barber's art upon his subjects. By such

Peter's reforms

measures he clashed with many cherished habits, and the clergy, the natural center of conservatism, became increasingly suspicious of his policy. As their discontent was a danger to the throne and a hindrance to reform, the tsar resolved to make them more dependent on himself. When the patriarch died in 1700, Peter committed his functions to a Holy Synod which he himself appointed and controlled, and thus the tsar became the head of the Church as he already was the head of the state.

The inevitable clash with Sweden

Following his return from the west, Peter was more desirous than ever of gaining an outlet on the Baltic. Azov, on the Black sea, was worth little to him as long as the Turks held the Dardanelles. Peter's paradise, the west, it was clear, could be best gained by the northern route. But the enterprise was far from easy. At every point convenient to Russia the Baltic coast was held by Sweden, and Sweden, the leading power of the north, was prepared to resist with energy any attempt to displace her.

The greatness of Sweden

The rise of Sweden to the position of the leading Baltic power dates from the heroic time of Gustavus Adolphus (1611–1632). In his early years Gustavus successfully extended the Swedish territory along the eastern shore of the Baltic; and when, later, he plunged into the Thirty Years' War, in which he met his death, he gained such triumphs that his daughter, Christina, who succeeded him, was enabled to demand, as her share in the German booty, western Pomerania and the land at the mouth of the Weser and the Elbe (Treaty of Westphalia, 1648). For a short time now Sweden took rank with the great powers of Europe. Unfortunately for her, her greatness was the result not of her wealth, population, and culture, but solely of her military prowess; and, as experience proves, a purely military greatness rests on precarious foundations. A weak, unmilitary ruler, or a military adventurer who overstrains the bow, may undermine it. Although the immediate successors of Gustavus possessed more than the average human endowment, they injured and antagonized so many interests that it was only a question of time when their neighbors would combine against them. Denmark to the west, Brandenburg-Prussia and Poland to the south, and Russia to the east, had all paid for Sweden's greatness with severe losses and nursed a corresponding grudge against her. The long-awaited opportunity for revenge seemed at length to have arrived, when in the year 1697, Charles XII, a boy of fifteen, came to the throne. His youth and inexperience appeared to mark him as an easy victim, and Denmark, Poland, and Russia formed a league against him to recover their lost territories (1700).

Charles XII

The allies had, however, made their reckoning without the host. Charles XII turned out, in spite of his youth, to be the most warlike member of a warlike race — a perfect fighting demon. Aside from his unflinching courage and his Spartan code of conduct, he lacked, however, every virtue of a ruler. Of a proud and obstinate nature he was never governed by a consideration of the welfare of his people, but always shaped his policy by his own romantic notions of fame and honor. He was Don Quixote promoted to a throne, and though he could fight with admirable fury against windmills, he could not govern and he could not build. In the year 1700 his full character was not yet revealed, and people stopped open-mouthed with wonder as he went up in splendor, like a rocket, in the north.

His marvelous campaign of 1700

Before the coalition was ready to strike, young Charles gathered his forces and fell upon the enemy. As the armies of Denmark, Poland, and Russia were necessarily widely separated, he calculated that if he could meet them in turn, the likelihood of victory would be much increased. He laid his plans accordingly. In the spring of 1700 he suddenly crossed the waters from Sweden and besieged Copenhagen. The king of Denmark, unprepared for so bold a step, had to give way and sign with Charles the Peace of Travendal (August, 1700), in which he promised to remain neutral during the remainder of the war. The ink of his signature was hardly dry before Charles was off again like a flash. This time he sailed to the gulf of Finland, where Peter with 40,000 men was besieging Narva. Charles, at the head of only 8,000, advanced straightway to the attack, and his well-disciplined Swedes soon swept off the field the ill-trained army which Peter had built upon the ruins of the Streltsi. Free to turn upon his last and most hated enemy, August the Strong, king of Poland, Charles now moved southward and in the course of another year signally defeated August's forces.

He spoils all by his Polish policy

Thus far the war had been managed admirably. Charles might have dictated terms favorable to his country and gone home. But passionately obstinate, he was set on humiliating August, whom he regarded as the instigator of the alliance and whom he determined to drive out of Poland altogether. The attempt necessitated getting Poland into his hands and proved so difficult that it led to the undoing of his first successes and, finally, to the ruin of his life.

The anarchy of Poland

Poland was at this time in a condition hardly better than anarchy. The nobles exercised all the power and were sovereign, each on his own lands. The only remaining witnesses of an earlier unity were a diet, which never transacted any business, and an elected king, who, being deprived of all power, was impotent. In the year 1697 the Poles had even elected to the kingship a foreigner, August the Strong, elector of Saxony. When in the course of the Northern War, as the Baltic struggle was generally called, King August met with repeated reverses at the hands of Charles, the majority of the Poles were glad rather than sorry, for August had engaged in the war without the consent of the diet; but when Charles began to harry Poland with an armed force and, in addition, insisted on forcing a monarch of his own choosing on the country, a national party naturally gathered round August, who, although a foreigner, was the legally elected king.

Charles and August

For many years following his brilliant opening campaign Charles hunted August over the marshy and wooded plains of the Slav kingdom, and, though victorious, could never quite succeed in utterly crushing his enemy. Even the capture of Warsaw and the elevation of his own candidate, Stanislaus Lesczinski, to the Polish throne, did not change the situation. Finally, in 1706, Charles desperately plunged after August into Saxony and forced him to sign a humiliating peace, including his abdication of the Polish crown.

Progress of Peter on the Baltic; Pultava

The vindictiveness of its sovereign was destined to cost Sweden dear. While Charles was chasing a mere will-o'-the-wisp, the practical Peter was making excellent and solid use of his time. The lesson of Narva had not been lost upon him. While continuing the reconstruction of his forces with the victorious Swedish army as his model, he at the same time wedged his way into the Swedish territory along the Baltic coast. To show his confidence in the future, he founded in 1703, on the banks of the Neva, a new capital and named it St. Petersburg. Not till 1707, when he had, as he thought, conclusively disposed of August of Poland, did the king of Sweden undertake to check the Russian aggressions. To let the impertinent tsar feel the full weight of his sword, he marched against Moscow; but long before he reached that distant capital his ranks were thinned by the rigors of the Russian winter and decimated by disease. When Peter came up with Charles at Pultava (July, 1709), the Swedes fought with their accustomed bravery, but their sufferings had undermined their strength. And now Narva was avenged. The Swedish army was literally destroyed, and Charles, accompanied by a few hundred horsemen, barely succeeded in making his escape to Turkey. The verdict of Pultava was destined to be final. Sweden stepped down from her proud position, and a new power, Russia, henceforth ruled in the north.

Charles in Turkey

As for Charles, the sultan received the famous warrior hospitably and offered him Bender (on the Dniester) for a residence. There Charles remained five years — long enough to make Bender the name of one of the maddest chapters of his adventurous career. No sooner at Bender, his one aim in life came to be to drag Turkey into a war with Peter; and after two years of importunate pleading war actually resulted (1711). Peter, who impetuously carried the struggle into Turkish territory, manœuvred so unhappily that he found his army completely surrounded by the enemy and faced with the necessity of surrendering. From this imminent disaster the tsar was saved by the action of the Ottoman commander-in-chief, the grand vizir, who in return for Azov on the Black sea and a munificent personal bribe, allowed the Russian army to escape. The disappointed Charles raved like a maniac on seeing his foe elude his grasp; and when the sultan, disgusted with the meddling stranger within his gates, at last requested him to leave, Charles obstinately refused to budge. It took a regular siege to bring him to understand that his entertainment in Turkey was over, and even then he fought with Berserker fury until he fell senseless amidst the ruins of his burning house. Only after wasting five years in the sultan's dominions did he consent to turn his face homeward (1714).

Sweden steps down from her Baltic throne

Charles returned too late to stem the ebb of Swedish power, for the surrounding states had taken advantage of the king's long absence to help themselves to whatever territories they coveted. Although he met his foes with his accustomed valor, his country was exhausted and his people alienated. In 1718, during his siege of Frederikshald in Norway, he was shot while riding out to reconnoiter the position of the enemy. His sister, Ulrica Eleanor, who succeeded him, was compelled by the aristocratic party to agree to a serious limitation of the royal prerogative. Then the tired Swedes proceeded to negotiate a peace with their enemies. The German states of Hanover and Prussia acquired most of the Swedish conquests in Germany, Hanover getting Bremen and Verden, Prussia part of Pomerania; August the Strong was recognized as king of Poland; but Peter, who had contributed most to the defeat of Charles, got, too, by the Treaty of Nystad (1721), the lion's share of the booty. He received from the foe Carelia, Ingria, Esthonia, and Livonia — in fact, all the Swedish possessions of the eastern Baltic except Finland.

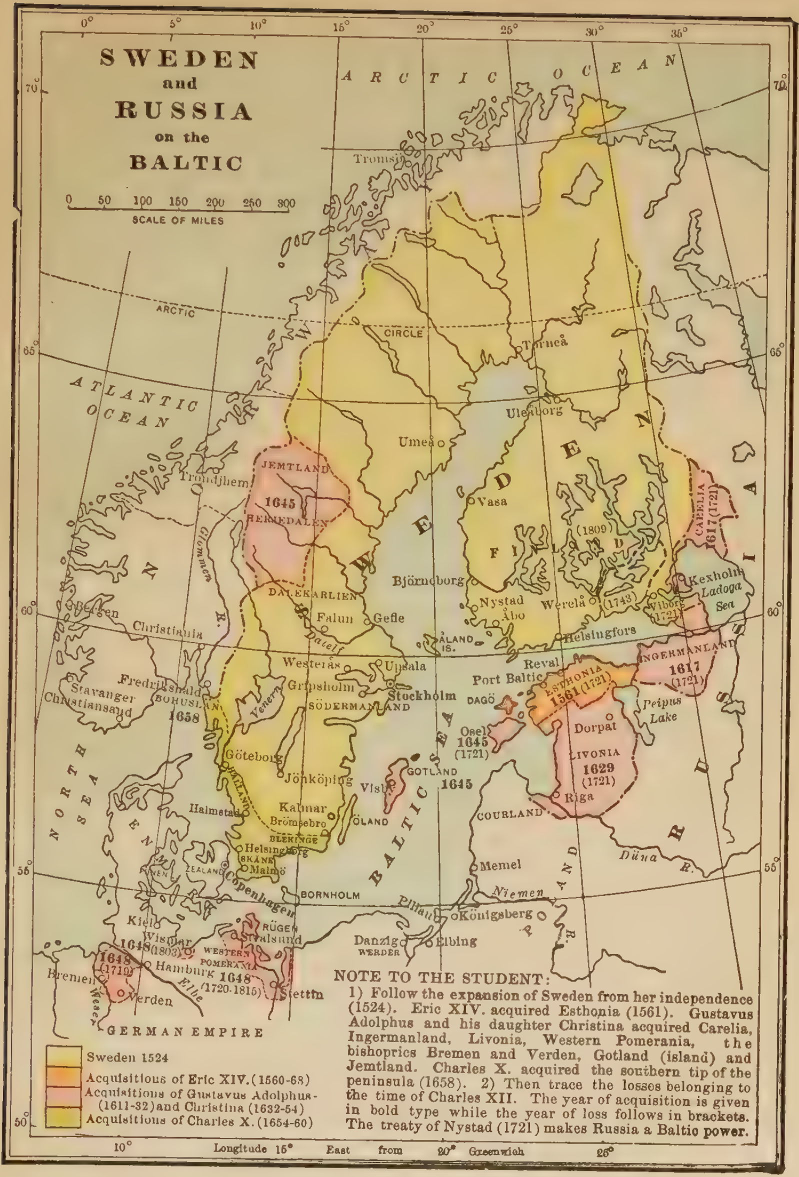
The death of the tsarevitch

The Treaty of Nystad set a crown upon Peter's life-long efforts. But as he gazed into the future he was faced by serious perplexities. Would Russia, after he was gone, persist in the policy of Europeanization? His son and heir, Alexis, refused to accept his father's guidance in this all-important matter and leagued himself with all the forces of reaction among the clergy and nobility. For many years the tsar did his best to win his successor over to his views, but when his efforts proved without avail, he resolved for the sake of the cause he represented to get rid of his son. The resolution we may praise, the method was terrible. The tsarevitch died (1718) under the blows of the knout administered, we have reason to believe, under the very eye of the implacable parent.

Peter's policy survives his death

When Peter died in 1725 there was reason to suspect that the beaten conservative forces would gain the upper hand and once more turn Russia away from Europe. The crown passed to Peter's second wife, a former Lithuanian serf, who ruled for two years as Tsarina Catherine I. To the close of the century the scepter was tossed capriciously about with little or no regard to any recognizable rule of succession and in sole response to the pressure of the faction temporarily dominant at court. It was chiefly women who were elevated to the throne and who need not detain us further than to note that, though they maintained a conspicuously profligate and corrupt rule, they did not abandon Peter's work. The Russia of the period after Peter's death may be thought of as a ship helplessly drifting in the currents released by the tsar-reformer till the accession (1762) of another woman, one of the most masterful figures of history, Catherine II, put the helm in a firm hand. Catherine, by birth a petty princess of Germany, came to Russia as the wife of the heir-apparent, Peter. Extraordinarily intelligent and determined, she was also wholly unscrupulous, and shortly after her husband, who was crotchety and half-insane, had

SWEDEN and RUSSIA on the BALTIC


0 50 100 150 200 250 300
SCALE OF MILES
0° 5° 10° 15° 20° 25° 30° 35°
70° 65° 60° 55° 50°
ARCTIC OCEAN
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ATLANTIC OCEAN
NORTH SEA
BALTIC SEA
SWEDEN
FINLAND
NORWAY
DENMARK
RUSSIA
POLAND
Tromsö
Tornea
Uleaborg
Umeå
Vasa
Björneborg
Nystad
Åbo
Werelä
(1809)
(1743)
Helsingfors
ÅLAND IS.
Trondjhem
JEMTLAND
1645
HERJEDALEN
DALEKARLIEN
Falun
Gefle
Dalelf
Glommen R.
Bergen
Christiania
Stavanger
Christiansand
Fredrikshald
BOHUSLÄN
1658
Westerås
Upsala
Gripsholm
Stockholm
SÖDERMANLAND
Venern
Göteborg
HALLAND
Jönköping
Halmstad
Kalmar
Brömsebro
BLEKINGE
Helsingborg
SKÅNE
Malmö
Copenhagen
FÜNEN
ZEALAND
BORNHOLM
Visby
GOTLAND
1645
ÖLAND
Reval
Port Baltic
DAGÖ
Ösel
1645
(1721)
ESTHONIA
1561 (1721)
Dorpat
LIVONIA
1629
(1721)
Riga
COURLAND
Düna R.
Memel
Niemen
Königsberg
Pillau
Danzig
WERDER
Elbing
Kexholm
Ladoga Sea
Wiborg
(1721)
CARELIA
1617 (1721)
INGERMANLAND
1617
(1721)
Peipus Lake
Kiel
Wismar
1648 (1803)
RÜGEN
Stralsund
WESTERN POMERANIA
1648
(1720-1815)
Stettin
Hamburg
Elbe
Bremen
1648
(1719)
Verden
Weser
GERMAN EMPIRE
10° Longitude 15° East from 20° Greenwich 25°

Sweden 1524

Acquisitions of Eric XIV. (1560-68)

Acquisitions of Gustavus Adolphus (1611-32) and Christina (1632-54)

Acquisitions of Charles X. (1654-60)

NOTE TO THE STUDENT:

1) Follow the expansion of Sweden from her independence (1524). Eric XIV. acquired Esthonia (1561). Gustavus Adolphus and his daughter Christina acquired Carelia, Ingermanland, Livonia, Western Pomerania, the bishoprics Bremen and Verden, Gotland (island) and Jemtland. Charles X. acquired the southern tip of the peninsula (1658). 2) Then trace the losses belonging to the time of Charles XII. The year of acquisition is given in bold type while the year of loss follows in brackets. The treaty of Nystad (1721) makes Russia a Baltic power.

ascended the throne (1762), she led a revolution against him, in the course of which he was dethroned and murdered. Although she won the scepter by a crime, once in possession of it she wielded it not only with remarkable skill but also with single-minded devotion to the policies mapped out by Peter. Herself of western birth, she naturally favored western civilization. The transfusion of somnolent Russia with European ideas and institutions continued with unabated vigor in her day. Since she accepted also Peter's foreign policy, she of course resumed the movement intended to carry the Russian boundary westward.

Catherine turns her attention to Poland and Turkey

Owing to Peter's overthrow of Sweden, the Tsarina Catherine faced a problem which, if different in detail from that which had confronted her great predecessor, was in point of principle the same. With Sweden removed from the scene, Catherine's western neighbors, the only ones with which she had seriously to reckon, were Poland and the Ottoman Empire. Although they were, territorially, imposing states, neither of them was likely to offer a successful opposition to a persistent Russian drive. None the less a difference is to be noted between them. Poland, reduced to what has been expressively called a legalized anarchy, was as open to Russian attack as a flock of sheep to a predatory wolf, while Turkey, though brought by internal corruption to a lamentable decay, still had the appearance and, to a certain extent, the resources of a dangerous foe. During a long and brilliant reign (1762–1796) Catherine trampled both these neighbors, though not with the same degree of completeness, in the dust.

The Polish anarchy

To consider first the case of Poland, we have noted that at the time of the great Northern War it was already so negligible a power that Charles XII of Sweden was enabled to occupy it for a number of years with a mere handful of troops and to impose on it a king of his own choosing. The political misery of Poland was the result of a historic process, in the course of which the feudal nobles had usurped the power of the king and reduced the national parliament, the diet, to impotence. The gradual exhaustion of the central government brought it about that by the eighteenth century king and diet, although still existent, had become a mockery. To prove the assertion it will suffice to recall the famous parliamentary provision called the *liberum veto*. This conferred on every member of the diet, that is, on every noble, for only nobles attended the diet, the right to forbid by his single veto the adoption of a resolution. By *liberum veto* one man could at his pleasure throw a wrench into the machinery of government. Under these circumstances Poland was necessarily the victim of factions which in their strange infatuation did not hesitate to call upon the foreigner for aid. It is therefore undoubtedly true that Poland has chiefly herself to thank for the ruin that overtook her in the days of Catherine. But that does not of course free from responsibility Catherine as well as the rulers of Prussia and Austria, who threw themselves on the Polish quarry and rent it asunder.

The three partitions of Poland

The complicated political and diplomatic circumstances which led to the partition of Poland can not be treated here. If we remember that Poland was reduced to helpless anarchy and that its neighbors, Russia, Austria, and Prussia had undergone a monarchical reorganization and were steadily waxing in strength, we shall agree that it was a biological certainty that sooner or later the decadent organism would disappear from the scene. After extended negotiations between Berlin, St. Petersburg, and Vienna, a preliminary measure disposing of Poland was signed in the year 1772. The partition of that year — called the First Partition — did not wipe Poland off the map; it merely handed over convenient sections to the leagued brigands. The land east of the Dwina and the upper Dneiper (White Russia) went to Russia, Galicia to Austria, and the province of West Prussia to Prussia. With partition admitted in principle, the logic inherent in events pushed the three powers to a Second and a Third Partition (in 1793 and 1795 respectively), by which the fate of Poland was sealed. It ceased to exist as a political entity when its last army, gallantly led by Kosciusko, went down before the Russians; but the Poles themselves, though apportioned among their enemies, became increasingly conscious of their separate nationhood and never ceased nursing the hope of liberation.

Catherine establishes Russia on the Black sea

Catherine's signal success in Poland served to excite her to multiply her efforts against the Turks. In two triumphant wars (first war, 1768–1774; second war, 1787–1792) she succeeded in breaking through the cordon which the Mohammedans tried to maintain around the Black sea and in establishing herself along the sea of Azov and in the Crimean peninsula. In fact, before she died the Russian boundary had been extended to the river Dniester. The exultant tsarina nursed the hope of seeing the Russian banners float from the minarets of Constantinople, but, death overtaking her, she was obliged to leave her dream as a heritage to her successors. With, on the whole, a remarkable consistency, they have ever since striven to convert it into reality.

Russia a great European power

When Catherine died in 1796, Russia not only had been incorporated in the European state system but was one of its most powerful members. As in the case of Peter, it is difficult to concede her a whole-hearted admiration. Sadly deficient in many directions, these two must none the less be credited with the extraordinary achievement not only of having carried Russia into the fold of European civilization but also of having won for her within that fold an eminent political position.

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Sovereigns of Sweden (House of Vasa)

Gustavus II Adolphus, 1611–1632
Christina (daughter of predecessor), 1632–1654
Charles X Gustavus (cousin of Christina), 1654–1660
Charles XI (son of Charles X), 1660–1697
Charles XII (son of Charles XI), 1697–1718

Sovereigns of Russia (House of Romanov)

Peter I (the Great), 1689–1725
Catherine I (wife of Peter I), 1725–1727
Peter II (grandson of Peter I), 1727–1730
Anne (niece of Peter I), 1730–40
Ivan VI (grandnephew of Anne), 1740–1741
Elizabeth (daughter of Peter I), 1741–1762
Peter III (nephew of Elizabeth), 1762
Catherine II (wife of Peter III), 1762–1796
Paul I (son of Peter and Catherine), 1796–1801

CHAPTER XVI

GERMAN AFFAIRS: THE RISE OF PRUSSIA AND THE REBIRTH OF AUSTRIA

Rise of the mark of Brandenburg

Prussia is a German state created in the Modern Period from inconsiderable beginnings reaching far back into the Middle Age. The cradle of Prussia is the *mark* or march of Brandenburg, founded in the tenth century, that is, at a time when Germany which was itself just beginning to take shape as a distinct political entity, was confined in the main between the rivers Meuse and Elbe, and was constantly threatened on the exposed Elbe frontier by the incursions of loosely organized tribes of Slavs. The mark of Brandenburg was created as a German outpost against the hostile raiders, who, besides being of a different race, bore in the eyes of the recently Christianized Germans the added stigma of blind and stubborn heathens. The head of the frontier post, an appointee and servant of the emperor, was a military-feudal official of large authority, whose title, *markgraf* or margrave, signified ruler of the mark. Standing at first on the defensive, the margrave presently carried the struggle across the Elbe into enemy territory and by gradual steps took possession of all the land between the Elbe and the Oder, ultimately penetrating even beyond that river toward the Vistula. The lowland character of the north-German plain, entailing the absence of serious natural barriers, gave from the first a powerful impetus to the eastward expansion of the mark. One result of this development was that the margrave, looming larger and larger in the affairs of Germany, was recognized as one of its leading princes, entitled with six other magnates of the highest order to the designation of elector.

But the growth of the mark of Brandenburg must not be thought of as proceeding on a steadily upward-moving line. There were grave setbacks, in consequence of which some of the territory gained was again lost; and the periodic extinction of the ruling house was regularly followed by a social confusion which threatened to submerge the whole youthful organism. The fourteenth century was a particularly distressing period when, with the succession in dispute between rival candidates, the feudal nobles seized the opportunity to enrich themselves at the expense of burghers and peasants. From this intolerable anarchy the mark of Brandenburg was saved when, in the year 1415, the Emperor Sigismund conferred it on Frederick of Hohenzollern, a south-German nobleman of the Nürnberg area, to whom he had fallen under personal and political obligations.

The Hohenzollerns in Brandenburg

Slow growth of the house of Hohenzollern

The new margrave and elector proved to be the founder of a dynasty which reigned uninterruptedly in Brandenburg for five hundred years and which under its later representatives rose to distinction by acquiring the kingship of Prussia and ultimately the imperial dignity in a reconstituted Germany. In fact it is nothing less than this expansion of the house of Hohenzollern from its territorial base of Brandenburg which constitutes in modern times the central thread of German history. The first ruler of the new line, Frederick, energetically took in hand the difficult situation before him, overawed the knights by battering down their castles with cannon, and made the highways safe for commerce. His son and successor, Frederick II, imposed his law upon the recalcitrant cities, particularly on Berlin, where he established his residence, while his successors in their turn slowly and steadily extended the newly gained authority. In that period of storm and stress, the Reformation, the Elector Joachim II passed in 1539, shortly after his accession, into the Lutheran camp; but as he had been preceded in this transfer of allegiance by the elector of Saxony, who moreover boasted the distinction of being the immediate ruler and protector of Luther, he failed to win the leadership of the Protestant party. It is undeniable that the role of the Brandenburg electors continued throughout the sixteenth century to be distinctly mediocre and that it was not till the seventeenth century that the line rose into general view. Even so the decisive impulse came to the house of Hohenzollern less from the initiative of one or more of its members than from the accident of two lucky legacies. The elector who stood at the head of the state on the eve of the Thirty Years' War bore the name John Sigismund, and reigned from 1608 to 1619. When in 1609 the last duke of Cleves and Juliers passed away, John Sigismund claimed the territory on the ground of kinship and successfully occupied about half of it; and a decade later (1618), on the demise of another relative, the duke of Prussia, he succeeded to the duchy of that name. Thus by two happy strokes occurring almost simultaneously, the elector of Brandenburg found himself endowed with valuable lands in the west of Germany on the lower Rhine, and with a promising strip of Baltic shoreland beyond the Vistula.

Prussia and the Teutonic Knights

But before taking up the story of what happened to the enlarged Hohenzollern territories, it will be necessary to have a look at the inheritance of 1618, the duchy of Prussia. Far back in the Middle Age the name Prussia was applied to the Baltic coastal area lying east of the mouth of the Vistula and inhabited by a heathen Lithuanian tribe called Prussians. In the thirteenth century the Teutonic Knights, one of those monkish-military orders which owed their origin to the prevalent crusading spirit, undertook to serve the cause of religion and the Church by conquering Prussia and converting its habitants to Christianity. The enterprise was successful. Either the Prussians accepted the cross or were wiped out in bloody encounters and replaced by German colonists; and the Grand Master of the Knights, as head of the order, became a great potentate ruling over a large area on either side of the Vistula river. A hundred years later his glory began to fade. The state carved out by the Teutonic Knights bordered on Poland; frequent wars took place with that powerful kingdom; and at last the Knights, crushingly defeated, were obliged to accept an ignominious peace (Treaty of Thorn, 1466). By its terms the king of Poland divided the Teutonic territory into two parts, East Prussia and West Prussia, and while keeping West Prussia for himself, returned East Prussia to the Knights on the understanding that they were to hold it as a fief of the Polish crown.

The duchy of Prussia falls (1618) to the house of Brandenburg

Henceforth completely overshadowed by Poland, the diminished and dependent state of the Knights led a precarious existence. Plainly the changed times were no longer favorable to medieval military orders. In the days of Luther the then Grand Master, one Albert, a younger member of the house of Hohenzollern, became convinced that the order had outlived its usefulness. He joined the Protestant ranks, dissolved the institution of which he was the head, and converted East Prussia into a secular duchy with himself as hereditary duke (1525). A hundred years later (1618), on the failure of Albert's direct heirs, the duchy fell, as we have seen, to the Hohenzollern relatives of Brandenburg. A valuable acquisition indeed, but coming to them on the old terms: they held it as a fief of the Polish crown.

Brandenburg and the Thirty Years' War

No sooner had the house of Hohenzollern experienced this fortunate increase than the terrible Thirty Years' War broke out in Germany. The waxing might of the ruler established at Berlin, at the center of the broad north-German plain, might, under favorable circumstances, have assured him a considerable role in the struggle. But the reigning elector, George William (1619-1640), was a timid man; and with his lands interposed between the leading combatants, Sweden and Austria, he lived to see them invaded and ruined by both sides, by Protestants and Catholics, by friend and foe. On his death amidst unutterable confusion, he was succeeded by his twenty-year-old son, Frederick William, who, a man of a bold and unscrupulous initiative, not only saved Brandenburg from impending destruction but carried its name for the first time into European politics.

Advent of the Great Elector, 1640–1688

It is because Frederick William, who ruled for nearly half a century (1640–1688), is the real founder of the state of Brandenburg-Prussia that he has been acclaimed as the Great Elector. Without doubt he is one of the constructive statesmen of the seventeenth century, not unworthy to be put into a class with Richelieu, Cromwell, and William III of Orange. But in the face of the hopeless disorder engendered by the endless war, he could not at once show his metal. So far as circumstances permitted he tried on his accession to withdraw from a world struggle in which he was but a helpless pawn; and to support his peace policy he gradually organized from his meager resources a small but effective army dependent on himself. The result was that when the negotiations which ended in the Peace of Westphalia (1648) began, he could insist on attention being paid to his demands. These were by no means modest and led to his receiving as his share of the general spoils four secularized German bishoprics (Halberstadt, Camin, Minden, and Magdeburg) as well as the eastern section of the duchy of Pomerania on the Baltic. He had, by virtue of ancient agreements between his ancestors and the Pomeranian ducal house, a legally valid claim to all of Pomerania; but as, in the course of the Thirty Years' War, conquering Sweden had gained a firm footing in Pomerania and insisted on keeping the western section of the Baltic duchy in its own hand, the Brandenburg claim had perforce to be cut down.

The breathing-space granted to exhausted Germany by the Peace of Westphalia found Frederick William in a relatively favorable position. He was at the head of a rather extensive territory distributed in three separate groups across the northern plain of Germany, the central unit of Brandenburg-Pomerania being flanked on the east by the duchy of Prussia and on the west by the Rhenish lands of Cleves-Mark. That the three groups were unconnected with one another constituted, of course, a serious weakness. On the other hand, the lack of contiguity was sure to prove a constant stimulus to remedy the evil by filling in the territorial gaps. Turning to another, the constitutional angle, we find the Great Elector's situation most embarrassing. Brandenburg, Prussia, and Cleves were three separate states, each with its own laws and customs, and each with a diet, made up in feudal fashion of representatives of the nobles and the cities and controlling the taxes and administration. On developing his army policy, which required a steady stream of subsidies, Frederick William encountered so much ill-will on the part of all his diets that he was forced to the conclusion that, in order to maintain a standing army at all, he would have to break the power of these feudal parliaments which considered only their own class interests and cared not a fillip for the good of the whole community. Let us remember in this connection that the feudal state was at this time giving way everywhere to a modern reorganization, notably so in France. The French example seemed conclusively to prove that a feudal reform was possible only by means of a centralization which suppressed the too exuberant local rights in the interest of a larger unity and raised the sovereign aloft to an absolute position on the shoulders of a royal standing army and a royal civil service. Proceeding on these lines, Frederick William gradually undermined the power of his parliaments and gained control of taxes as well as legislation. Simultaneously he endowed his three dominions with a common army and administration. In short, he fused his several territories into a single unit and for the first time created a political organism in northern Germany with the essential aspects of a modern state. No wonder that he was enabled to unfold both a domestic and a foreign activity which won for the new creation of Brandenburg-Prussia European consideration.

Frederick William converts the feudal into an absolute state

To examine in more detail the domestic developments, we note that the Great Elector regarded himself as the father of his country, called to reign in order to advance it along all lines of human endeavor.

Inner labors of the Great Elector

He encouraged industry and agriculture, built roads and canals to facilitate communication, and called colonists from near and far in order to bring again under the plough the lands which the Thirty Years' War had turned into a wilderness. In the main, solid and creative labors, these, but hampered in certain instances by the well-meant but obstructive legislation with which, under the same mercantilist inspiration as guided his contemporary, the Frenchman Colbert, he undertook to "regulate" economic processes. His most notable single achievement as economic legislator is associated with the name of the Huguenots. When by reason of Louis XIV's folly and bigotry the Edict of Nantes was revoked (1685) and the Huguenots began to abandon their native land, Frederick William invited them by public proclamation to take shelter with him. Some thousands, largely skilled craftsmen, responded, and, settled advantageously in the towns of Brandenburg-Prussia, by their industry and intelligence communicated a powerful stimulus of mind and hand to backward northern Germany.

The Great Elector between Sweden and Poland

In the field of foreign affairs the Great Elector cut, if not a more important, certainly a more spectacular figure. From a military viewpoint, his state, distributed in three separate sections, was so open to attack that he was bound to seek to strengthen himself by acquiring additional territory. As matters stood after the Peace of Westphalia the chief source of danger to him was Sweden, which, a great power firmly planted in western Pomerania, threw a shadow all the way to Berlin. This situation would of itself have sufficed to arouse resentment, even if there had not been the additional reason that Frederick William considered western Pomerania to be by claim of right his own. Luckily for him Sweden had other enemies, far more formidable than himself — Denmark, Russia, Poland, in fact the whole ring of the Baltic powers. The paramount position which Sweden had won was distasteful to them and they were ready to seize upon the least occasion for lowering her pride. In 1655 war broke out between Sweden and Poland, during which Frederick William, whose territories lay between the hostile states, was alternately coaxed and bullied by both to oblige him to take sides. In these difficult circumstances he steered his course between the combatants with such dexterity that he came out of the war with profit and prestige, having forced the king of Poland to surrender to him the suzerainty of East Prussia (Peace of Oliva, 1660). Although the elector gained no territory, he henceforth possessed East Prussia in full sovereignty. This success would of course have been impossible without that standing army which was the starting-point and remained the core of his policy.

War with Sweden, 1675–1679

More than a decade later an opportunity presented itself to drive Sweden out of Pomerania. It came by way of the Dutch War inaugurated in 1672 by Louis XIV of France. Frederick William, followed by the emperor and other German states, rose in defense of the threatened Dutch Republic and thus made the war general. Thereupon the angered Louis persuaded the Swedes, who were bound to him by treaty, to invade Brandenburg. This unexpected move obliged the elector, who was operating on the Rhine, to hurry home. Approaching by forced marches and with great stealth, he fell in June, 1675, upon the invader at Fehrbellin and beat him signally. Fehrbellin brilliantly opens the independent military annals of the new state. What followed showed that the victory was not merely a lucky stroke, for the elector pursued the Swedes into Pomerania and actually conquered the province. But to his deep chagrin he got no good from his victory, for when Louis XIV closed by the Treaty of Nimwegen (1678) the Dutch War, he stood faithfully by his ally, Sweden, and compelled the reluctant elector to disgorge his Swedish conquests. Though Sweden continued to be a threat to Brandenburg, Frederick William was the first to disclose the fact that the colossus rested on feet of clay.

The Silesian dispute

Finding the path blocked toward Pomerania, he tried to advance his interests in the direction of Silesia, where his house had claims to certain districts, to wit, to the four duchies of Liegnitz, Brieg, Wohlau, and Jägerndorf. Since the province of Silesia was actually in possession of the house of Hapsburg, and since its head, the Emperor Leopold I, refused to admit the validity of the Hohenzollern claims, Frederick William made no headway with them. At last, in 1686, under the pressure of the deepening menace for Germany extended by the ambitions of Louis XIV, he resolved, drawing close to the emperor, to smooth out all their difficulties. He therefore surrendered, in return for the small district of Schwiebus in Silesia, all his presumptive rights in that province. But Leopold I played a double game. While negotiating this arrangement with the elector, he secretly persuaded the elector's son, who was not on good terms with his father, to promise to give back Schwiebus on his accession. Two years later Frederick William died (1688), and though his son and successor, Frederick, lived up to the bargain, he could and did maintain with much show of reason that the return of the purchase price revived the original claims. This Silesian incident is of importance only because some fifty years later it issued like a ghost from the grave and proved a terrible boomerang for the Emperor Leopold's successor.

The elector acquires the title king

The Elector Frederick III (1688–1713) presents a sharp contrast to his imposing, capable father. Physically weak and deformed, he was disinclined to exert himself either in the field or council-chamber. Nevertheless he achieved a certain luster by winning the title king. For almost ten years he solicited humbly for this vainglorious distinction at the court of the Emperor Leopold at Vienna by reason of his view that the title would not be valid unless conceded by the potentate who was officially his suzerain. Since the Emperor Leopold saw no reason for advancing the fortunes of a rival German house, he refused the request and would have continued to refuse it, if a new war with Louis XIV had not loomed in which Leopold's stake was nothing less than the whole Spanish heritage. In return for the promise by Frederick of military aid against the French king, the emperor at last permitted his northern rival to indulge his vanity. On January 18, 1701, Frederick crowned himself king at Königsberg, the capital of East Prussia, and figures henceforth as King Frederick I in Prussia.[1] The title king in Prussia was given the preference over that of king of Brandenburg for the reason that Brandenburg, being a fief of the empire, had an inferior legal status to Prussia, which since 1660 was an independent state held in full sovereignty by the Hohenzollerns. Increasingly applied to the unified Hohenzollern state, the designation Prussia in a surprisingly short time drove from usage the older name of Brandenburg.

Frederick's son and successor, King Frederick William I (1713–1740) represents a curious, partial reversion to the Great Elector. He had his grandfather's common sense and love of work but conspicuously lacked his mental acumen and keen understanding of European politics. His constructive energy was directed to the army and the administration, the two acknowledged main pillars of the state. By thrifty financial management he succeeded in raising his standing army to some 80,000 men, thus putting little Prussia in military matters in a class with the great states of Europe.

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[1] The first form of the title was as here, king *in* Prussia, in order to forestall any criticism from Poland, which, possessing West Prussia, might have protested against the title king *of* Prussia, as implying the sovereignty over all Prussia. Nevertheless, the simpler form, king of Prussia, came before long into general use.

The Prussian army and bureaucracy

And what troops they were! An iron discipline molded them into a precise military machine, to which a corps of officers, trained in special schools, gave a devoted service. His main administrative task the sovereign conceived to be to knit still more closely the domestic unity established by the Great Elector. Though the state was already served by a professional bureaucracy, it was possible minutely and intelligently to adjust its various departments and to fill the whole body of officials with an unrivalled sense of duty. It is highly probable that for hard efficiency Frederick William's army and civil service held a unique position in the Europe of his day.

King Frederick William I acquires Stettin (1720)

The only foreign action of importance in which this stalwart, tyrannical ruler engaged befell early in his reign. On his accession (1713) the War of the Spanish Succession was coming to an end, while the so-called Northern War, waged against Charles XII of Sweden, had entered on its last phase. Defeated at Pultava (1709) by Peter the Great, the wounded Swedish lion had fled to Turkey; and during his long absence from the scene of action his neighbors stepped forth to appropriate his lands. Not to be left out in the cold, Frederick William mobilized his army in his turn against Sweden and occupied Swedish Pomerania. When Charles XII at last abandoned Turkey and hurried home, he made a gallant but hopeless effort against his many enemies. On his death in 1718 the exhausted Swedish government promptly read the writing on the wall. It began the negotiations in which it acknowledged defeat, those with Prussia ending in a peace (1720) which gave the victor the bulk of western Pomerania including the river Oder together with the invaluable seaport of Stettin. The heart of the Prussian state was now connected by the course of the Oder with the Baltic sea and the ancient enmity with Sweden gradually subsided.

His eccentricities

This sturdy king, who has left such solid memorials behind him, made himself, through some of the strangest eccentricities which have ever characterized a human being, the laughing-stock of Europe. His conception of his office was a curious compound of Biblical patriarch and modern drill-sergeant. He had his eye upon everybody and everything. If he suspected a man of being wealthy, he would compel him to build a fine residence to improve the looks of the capital. He had a particular abhorrence of idleness; the very apple-women, while waiting in their booths for customers, were ordered to do some useful knitting, while the police were empowered to pick up any random lounger and impress him into the army. But perhaps his wildest eccentricity was his craze for tall soldiers. At Potsdam, his residence some miles from Berlin, he established a giant guard for which he gathered recruits from all parts of the world. He coddled his giants like a sentimental father, and was so completely carried away by his hobby that he, who was thrifty to the point of avarice, offered enormous prices in all markets for tall men and did not scruple to capture them by force when they refused to enlist.

His conflict with the crown prince

This unpolished northern bear naturally kept his elegant neighbors in convulsions of laughter, though on at least one occasion the comedy ended tragically. The king's son and heir, Frederick, known afterward as the Great, was a self-willed youth who, drawn much more to books and music than to soldiering, grew up in all respects the very opposite of his bluff, practical father. Parent and son conceived a strong antipathy for each other; and when the irate father resorted to corporal punishment the proud prince made a vain attempt to flee to France. Frederick William almost lost his mind from rage. He threw his son into prison, executed one of his accomplices, and spoke wildly for a time of executing also the crown prince. When he at last relented, it was on the promise of the son to submit to a training of unexampled rigor in the civil and military branches of the government. As a result when, on the death (1740) of his Spartan father, the prince at the age of twenty-eight mounted the throne as Frederick II, he knew every branch of the Prussian service like a thumbed book. Owing to his devotion to art and literature as well as to the refinements of a cultivated society, his intimates imagined that he would abruptly terminate the harsh system of his father. They were mistaken. Not only did he jealously maintain and consolidate the inherited traditions, but he showed almost at once that beneath a pleasing exterior he nursed as consuming an ambition as any autocrat of history. A crisis in Austria coming to a head some few weeks after his accession furnished him with a rare opportunity for action.

The name Austria or East Mark adhered originally to the German territory along the Danube between approximately Passau and

Vienna. By absorption of the neighboring Alpine provinces, such as Styria, Carinthia, and the Tyrol, the duke of Austria became in the course of the Middle Age one of the most influential princes of the Holy Roman Empire (Germany). In the last quarter of the thirteenth century the house of Hapsburg became the ruling family of this enlarged Austria and with persistent ambition and almost unvarying success undertook to promote the fortunes of the state. We have seen that in the days of Emperor Maximilian and his grandson, Charles V, Austria was so easily the leading German state that the imperial office, although strictly speaking elective, had become virtually hereditary in the Hapsburg line. But we have also seen that the imperial office, if a still much coveted honor, conferred little or no real power on its holder. Whatever influence the emperor of the house of Austria wielded he owed to his hereditary Austrian lands together with such other territories as looked to him as their immediate ruler.

The rise of Austria

The reader will recall that the Emperor Charles V (1519–1556) completely overshadowed Europe in his day because, in addition to Austria, he commanded the resources of the Netherlands and Spain, and that on his abdication his vast possessions were divided between his son Philip, who received the Netherlands and Spain, and his brother Ferdinand, who acquired the Austrian territories. With Ferdinand therefore the younger branch of the Hapsburgs began an independent career; and in evidence that, in spite of the partition of 1556, the family was still the foremost dynasty of Germany, Ferdinand was invited to succeed his brother Charles upon the German throne. Since for the next two hundred years Ferdinand's heirs regularly won the imperial election, the house of Hapsburg came not unreasonably to look upon the headship of Germany as its prescriptive right.

The Austrian branch of the house of Hapsburg

But we should not fail to note that the power of the Hapsburg dynasty had from the time of Emperor Ferdinand I come to rest on more than its original Austrian foundation, for, in 1526, Ferdinand had, partly by inheritance and partly by election, become head of the two large neighboring kingdoms of Bohemia and Hungary. Advanced thus to the sovereignty of three large groups of territory — Austria, Bohemia, Hungary — occupying the basin of the middle Danube, he may be looked upon as the founder of what came to be known as the Austrian Empire. True, Ferdinand I was obliged to forego the immediate control of

Consolidation of the Austrian Empire

Hungary, for Hungary, or all but its western rim, was in the very year of Ferdinand's acquisition conquered by the Turks under the Sultan Solyman; true also, his successors encountered such difficulties in Bohemia, in connection with the Reformation, that in 1618 Bohemia too slipped from their control. However, following the battle of the White Hill (1620) the troubled Hapsburg fortunes began decidedly to look up and not only was Bohemia recovered in the course of the Thirty Years' War, but half a century later the emerging Austrian Empire was enabled to render its most egregious service to occidental civilization. This brings us to the Ottoman Empire and requires a brief elucidation.

Austria liberates Hungary by driving back the Turks

When, in 1526, the Turks overran Hungary, it looked as if all central Europe might fall into their grasp. In 1529 they took their next logical step by advancing against Vienna but were obliged to fall back in defeat. Though threatening repeatedly to renew the attack, their state, which was a pure oriental despotism, was before long overtaken by internal difficulties and thereby deprived of its offensive vigor. With surprising suddenness the sultans lost their warlike character and became content to pass their days amidst the pleasures of the harem; at the same time the army and administration became cankered with corruption. The march on Vienna in 1529 remained therefore the high-water mark of the Turkish inundation of the continent. However, in 1683, owing to a temporary revival due to a spirited family of grand vizirs, the Ottoman Empire resumed its attack on Europe by the Danube route and conducted a second siege of the Austrian capital. The stubborn resistance of the garrison, seconded by a rescuing movement led by the gallant king of Poland, John Sobieski, not only rendered the second siege as futile as the first but converted it into an utter rout of the Mohammedans. From that splendid success Austria took courage and boldly resolved at last to turn the tables on the Turks by assuming the offensive against them. To her great good fortune heaven presented her at this decisive moment with a gifted general in the person of Prince Eugene of Savoy. We have already encountered him in connection with the wars waged by Europe against the aggressions of Louis XIV. Great as were his services to Austria on the western scene, they were completely overshadowed by his achievements in the Danubian area. In two wars (first war, 1683–1698; second war, 1715–1718) the Austrians under the magnetic prince administered such a beating to the Turks that they drove them completely out of Hungary.

The final liberation of Hungary from the Turkish yoke befell in the reign of Emperor Charles VI (1711–1740). In Charles's time the model state of Europe was France, whose sovereign, Louis XIV, had given a lesson in centralization which astonished his contemporaries. The effect of the French example had already begun to make itself felt, more particularly in the case of Austria's German neighbor, Prussia, which in the reign of the Great Elector had been converted into quite as effective an absolutism as its French prototype. Austria, too, had felt the need of unifying its many separate dominions and during the wars conducted by Prince Eugene on the Rhine and the Danube had gone so far as to create a central Austrian army supported by the contributions of all the Hapsburg territories. While this was an auspicious beginning, it did not alter the fact that the three main constituent groups, Austria, Bohemia, and Hungary, remained stubbornly distinct, each with its own laws, courts, and finances, and each provided with a vigorous champion of tradition in an assembly of feudal estates. If Charles VI, in spite of his seeing the advisability of breaking down these local barriers, made practically no headway against them, his failure may be ascribed not only to the grave difficulties inhering in the situation but also to a peculiar personal concern which, ruling his mind like an obsession, fell heavily into the scales.

The problem of centralization

When the older branch of the house of Hapsburg had died out in the male line in the year 1700, the question of the Spanish succession had released a world war. Now the younger branch, of which Charles himself was the representative, was about to die out in its male line, owing to Charles's failure to have begot other than two daughters. Would his death be followed by a War of the Austrian Succession and the end be, as in the Spanish case, a division of the spoils among the combatants? To forestall such a calamity he determined to make his older daughter the sole heir of his undivided dominions; and this, his will and testament, he laid down in an ordinance which received the name of the Pragmatic Sanction. To make sure that his regulation of the succession would be respected after his death, he persuaded the diets of his many territories to formally accept it; and to make assurance doubly sure he knocked at the door of all the European cabinets to get them likewise to guarantee his program. At often heavy sacrifices he finally secured the endorsement of all the leading states and, reasonably comforted, in October, 1740, laid himself down to die.

Charles VI and the Pragmatic Sanction

Frederick II of Prussia inaugurates (1740) the War of the Austrian Succession

Immediately, in accordance with the terms of the Pragmatic Sanction, Charles's daughter, the Archduchess Maria Theresa, assumed the rule of all the Hapsburg lands. It was of course well known that practically all the neighbors coveted some part of the Austrian possessions, many of them on the basis of claims which the Pragmatic Sanction had nullified, others on the ground of older claims which had never been brought to a settlement. Among these latter was the Prussian claim to the four duchies of Silesia. While every claimant was waiting in breathless suspense to see what the others would do, the young sovereign of Prussia, Frederick II, stepped boldly forth and took the bull by the horns. He marched an army into Silesia to secure his claim by force. It was beyond challenge an act of brutal, undisguised aggression. Immediately, as at a signal, every state of Europe that nursed a grudge against Austria followed suit, and regardless of whether it had a claim or not, set its army on foot against the Hapsburg territories. Conspicuous among them were the two German states, Bavaria and Saxony, and the two Bourbon powers, France and Spain. These four together with Prussia formed a great anti-Austrian alliance which planned to strip Maria Theresa of most of her inheritance. Thus did the Pragmatic Sanction, in spite of the abundance of signatures attached to it, prove abortive. The life-long bogey of Charles VI, to lay which he had made so many sacrifices, the War of the Austrian Succession, had become a reality!

The spirited conduct of Maria Theresa

It might have gone hard with Maria Theresa if she had not found splendid resources of heart and mind in herself, and if she had not succeeded in arousing a spirit of loyal devotion among her people. Her enemies were descending upon her in two main directions, the French and their Bavarian ally from the west, by way of the Danube, and Frederick of Prussia from the north. Unprepared as she was, her raw levies gave way, at first, at every point. On April 10, 1741, at Mollwitz, Frederick won a victory over the Austrians which clinched his hold upon Silesia. In the same year the French, Saxons, and Bavarians occupied Bohemia. So complete, for the time being, was the dominion of the anti-Austrian alliance that when in January, 1742, the imperial election took place, the combined enemies of Austria were able to raise their candidate, the Elector Charles of Bavaria, to the imperial throne. The elector assumed his new dignity with the title of Emperor Charles VII (1742–1745). For the first time in three hundred years the crown of the Empire rested upon another than a Hapsburg head.

Maria Theresa makes over Silesia to Frederick, 1742

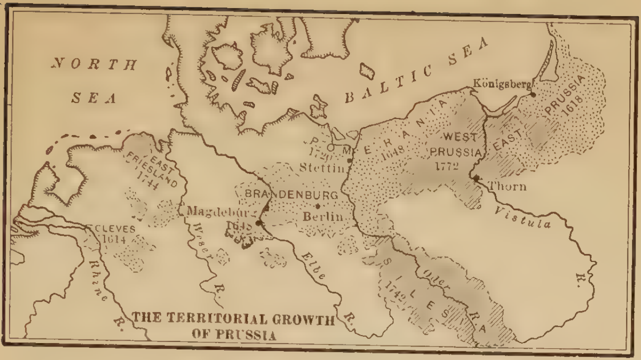
But at this point Maria Theresa's fortunes rose again. Her own magnetic enthusiasm did wonders in injecting new life into her weak and battered forces. Not only was the army of the coalition driven out of Bohemia, but Bavaria, the land of the enemy, was invaded and occupied. The Prussians, who had likewise entered Bohemia in order to coöperate with their allies, saved themselves from imminent disaster by a victory at Czaslau (May, 1742). Thereupon Maria Theresa, who saw that she could not meet so many enemies at one and the same time, declared her willingness to come to terms with her most formidable foe. In 1742 she signed with Frederick the Peace of Breslau, by which she gave up practically the whole province of Silesia. What is known in Germany as the First Silesian War had come to an end.

Maria Theresa's success and Frederick's second attack upon her

Maria Theresa now prosecuted the war against her other enemies with increased vigor. England and Holland, in order to redress the European balance, joined her, and with each new campaign the scales inclined more visibly in her favor. When the puppet emperor, Charles VII, had lost every foot of land he owned and the Austrian armies had penetrated triumphantly as far west as the Rhine, Maria Theresa could feel with elation that she was successfully bringing Germany under her heel. Aware that in that case he could not possibly hold his new conquest, Frederick was moved to strike a second blow. In 1744 he began the Second Silesian War, in which his calculations were completely successful. He first relieved the French and the Bavarians by drawing the Austrians upon himself, and then he defeated the enemy signally at the battle of Hohenfriedberg (1745). On Christmas day, 1745, Maria Theresa bought her second peace of Frederick by a renewed cession of Silesia.

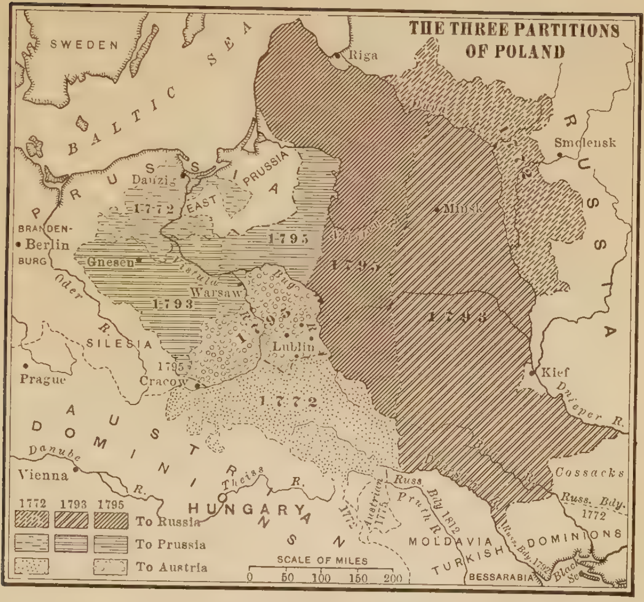
The Peace of Aachen, 1748

On Frederick's retirement the war, which, once ignited, could not be easily extinguished, was waged chiefly in Italy and the Austrian Netherlands. In the Netherlands the French won a number of brilliant victories which actually put them in possession of this territory coveted by them for so long a time; but discouraged by the successes of Maria Theresa in Italy and of the English at sea, they agreed at last to treat. In 1748 the Peace of Aachen (Aix-la-Chapelle) ended the War of the Austrian Succession essentially on the basis of mutual restitutions and the



THE TERRITORIAL GROWTH OF PRUSSIA

NORTH SEA
BALTIC SEA
Königsberg
PRUSSIA 1618
EAST
WEST PRUSSIA 1772
POMERANIA 1648
1720
Stettin
Thorn
Vistula
R.
EAST FRIESLAND 1744
BRANDENBURG
Magdeburg 1648
Berlin
CLEVES 1614
Weser R.
Elbe R.
Rhine R.
SILESIA 1742
Oder R.



THE THREE PARTITIONS OF POLAND

SWEDEN
BALTIC SEA
Riga
RUSSIA
Smolensk
Minsk
PRUSSIA
Danzig
EAST PRUSSIA
1772
1795
1793
BRANDENBURG
Berlin
Gnesen
Vistula
Warsaw
Bug R.
Oder R.
SILESIA
Lublin
1795
Cracow
1772
Prague
Kief
Dnieper R.
AUSTRIAN DOMINIONS
Danube
Vienna
Theiss R.
HUNGARY
Cossacks
Russ. Bdy. 1772
Russ. Bdy. 1812
Pruth R.
Austrian 1775
MOLDAVIA
TURKISH DOMINIONS
Russ. Bdy. 1792
BESSARABIA
Black Sea
SCALE OF MILES
0 50 100 150 200
1772 1793 1795
To Russia
To Prussia
To Austria

recognition of Maria Theresa as the sole heir of her father. Already three years before this consummation the German situation had slipped back into its accustomed form. The Bavarian emperor, Charles VII, having died (1745) after being ignominiously chased from all his lands by the Austrian army, the electoral college offered the crown to Francis of Lorraine, Maria Theresa's husband. Therewith the house of Hapsburg was back in the German saddle; but if it had, with the exception of certain slight cessions in Italy and the one substantial sacrifice of Silesia, emerged triumphantly from its terrible ordeal, it owed its success almost exclusively to the undaunted courage of the fair and spirited sovereign at its head.

Frederick typifies eighteenth century absolutism

When Frederick retired from the Second Silesian War, he was accepted into the select company of the great powers of Europe. He did not owe this improved status to the size of his monarchy, which, in spite of the Silesian acquisition, boasted only a modest circumference, but to the efficient army and sound finances inherited from his father and to the audacity and genius contributed by himself. Alert and intelligent, he was fully aware that only at the cost of unremitting labor could he hope to maintain himself in his precarious position. The ten years of peace that followed the Second Silesian War serve to illustrate his viewpoint and activities. He pursued with added energy and enthusiasm the policy inaugurated by his predecessors of reclaiming waste lands, settling colonists on advantageous terms, building canals, and fostering industries, especially the manufacture of woolen and linen textiles. In these economic labors we recognize the mercantilist teachings which had inspired the governments of Europe since the seventeenth century and which Frederick took over practically without modification. At the same time he reacted strongly to the intellectual influences which sprang into life in his day and which are conveniently summarized under the name of *Aufklaerung* or enlightenment. Championed by advanced thinkers all over Europe, the movement of enlightenment aimed at the overhauling of the body of inherited institutions to the end of bringing them into accord with the new criteria of reason and of science. As their reform would render them socially more serviceable, there was also a distinct humanitarian element present in the movement. From the day of his accession the Prussian king prided himself on standing with the humanitarians and reformers; and by a series of acts, such as the proclamation of religious toleration, the abolition of torture in criminal cases, and a sweeping reform of the civil courts, he won favor as a leading "enlightened" monarch. By these and similar activities he helped give absolutism that peculiar turn, by virtue of which it presents itself to view as "benevolent despotism." Closely considered, benevolent despotism, mercantilism, and enlightenment are three correlated aspects of eighteenth century government and society.

His court a literary and intellectual center

It is this benevolent and reforming bent of Frederick which explains his close association with so many French literary men and notably with the prince of them all, Voltaire. He long cherished the plan of making his court at Berlin the center from which the new intellectual light was to radiate over the world and to this end gathered around himself men of many nationalities, but particularly Frenchmen because that nation actually furnished the leading spokesmen of the movement. For a while Voltaire condescended to give up France in order to join the circle about Frederick, but the exuberant friendship between the king and the poet-philosopher did not last, and when the golden bubble burst, Voltaire vanished from Berlin in a cloud of scandal. Thanks to an artistic inclination which marked him from his youth and which the cares of office did not succeed in suffocating, Frederick aspired to become in his own person a poet and historian. In his hours of leisure he produced a considerable body of literary work in the French language, but it can not be said that it has materially added to his reputation.

Maria Theresa plans to get back Silesia

Following the peace of 1748 the political situation in Germany remained remarkably tense for the reason that the high-spirited Empress Maria Theresa refused to forget the violence of which she had been the victim. She hoped to get back Silesia and for years carefully laid her plans. As early as 1746 she entered upon a close alliance with the Tsarina Elizabeth, which the two women consciously aimed at Frederick. Next, the man whom she raised to the post of chancellor, Kaunitz, a most skillful player of the diplomatic game, planned the bold step of an alliance with France. In the eighteenth century an alliance between Hapsburg and Bourbon, the century-old enemies, was generally held to be out of the question. But since the Silesian wars Austria had come to regard not France but Prussia as her leading enemy, and Maria Theresa and Kaunitz were very anxious to have France understand that thenceforth they had no further quarrel with her. Their plan of making friends with France was greatly aided by the circumstance that England and France were at this very time making ready to contest the empire of the sea.[1] Both were on the lookout for allies; and as Prussia, after holding back a long time, was induced at last to sign a convention with England, France, in order not to be isolated, accepted the proffered hand of Prussia's rival, Austria. By the spring of 1756 this diplomatic revolution was an accomplished fact. The two great political questions of the day, the rivalry between England and France, involving the supremacy of the seas, and between Prussia and Austria, touching the control of Germany, were about to be fought out in the great Seven Years' War (1756–1763), and the two northern powers, England and Prussia, were to consolidate their claims and interests against the claims and interests of France and Austria. The remaining great power of Europe, Russia, instead of remaining neutral in a dispute which did not concern it, sided with the cabinets of Versailles and Vienna.

The outbreak of the Seven Years' War, 1756

War was formally declared between England and France in May, 1756, and at once the storm broke in America, India, and on all the seas. For a moment Frederick entertained the hope of banishing the conflict from the continent of Europe, more particularly from Germany. It was in fact in the hope of this result that he had bound himself to the English cabinet. If he proved to be mistaken, it was because Maria Theresa held all the diplomatic trumps and was set upon war as the consummation of her dreams. For not only had she bound France and Russia to her cause, but two smaller powers, Saxony and Sweden, were sure to take her side, and with their additional help she might hope to draw a ring around Prussia, which, gradually tightened, would choke to death that hated, upstart power.

Frederick's first and second campaigns

In this tremendous crisis Frederick's one chance was to move quickly. Therefore before the coalition had perfected its plans against him, he took the offensive and by a lightning stroke occupied hostile Saxony and invaded Bohemia (August, 1756). Thenceforth he could at least utilize Saxony as a southern bulwark against Austria. When the campaign of 1757 began, his enemies, having at length completed their preparations, descended upon him from all points of the compass. His one possibility of escape was to meet them separately. Hurrying into Bohemia to eliminate first his leading enemy, Austria, he was on the point of taking Prague when the defeat of a part of his army at Kolin (June 18) forced him to retreat. Slowly the Austrians followed him and poured into the coveted Silesia. The Russians had already arrived in East Prussia, the Swedes had entered Pomerania, and the French, together with the German troops furnished by the many small states of the Empire, which in this crisis also sided with Maria Theresa, directed their march upon Berlin. Even the friends and family of Frederick were ready to declare that all was lost, while his enemies exulted openly. He alone kept up heart, and by his courage and resolution freed himself from all immediate danger. At Rossbach, in Thuringia, he fell (November 5, 1757), with 22,000 men, upon the combined French and Germans of twice that number, and scattered them to the winds. Then he turned like a flash from the west to the east. During his absence in Thuringia the Austrians had completed the conquest of Silesia and were already proclaiming to the world that they had come again into their own. Just a month after Rossbach, at Leuthen, near Breslau, he signally defeated, with 34,000 men, more than twice as many Austrians, and drove them pell-mell over the passes of the Giant Mountains back into their own dominions. Fear and incapacity had already arrested the Swedes and Russians. Before winter came both had slipped away, and at Christmas, 1757, Frederick could call himself lord of an undiminished kingdom.

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[1] For France and England see the next chapter.

Altered position of Frederick from 1758 on

In no succeeding campaign was Frederick threatened by such overwhelming forces as in 1757. By the next year his ally, England, had fitted out an army, largely of German mercenaries, which, under Ferdinand of Brunswick, operated against the French upon the Rhine, and so protected Frederick on his western flank. As the Swedish attack, through the incapacity of the decadent government, displayed no energy, Frederick was permitted to make light of his Scandinavian enemy and give all his attention to Austria and Russia. No doubt, even so, the odds against Prussia were enormous. Prussia was a small, barren country of 5,000,000 inhabitants, and in men and resources Austria and Russia together outstripped her many times; but at the head of Prussia stood a military genius with a spirit that neither bent nor broke and that fact sufficed for a while to maintain an equilibrium.

It was Frederick's policy during the next years to meet the Austrians and Russians separately in order to keep them from smother-ing him with their combined forces. In 1758 he succeeded in beating the Russians at Zorndorf and driving them back; but in 1759 they beat him in a battle of unexampled carnage at Kunersdorf, which apparently opened the road to Berlin. For a moment now Frederick himself despaired but somehow managed to raise another force and save the heart of his dominions. The end of the campaign found him not much worse off than the beginning. However, he was evidently getting feeble; the terrible strain continued through years was beginning to tell; and when on the death of George II (1760), the English government resolved to come to terms with France and to desert Prussia, Frederick was pushed to the edge of the abyss.

Growing feebleness of Prussia

From what to human eyes looked like unavoidable disaster the king of Prussia was saved by a mere accident. On January 5, 1762, Frederick's implacable enemy, the Tsarina Elizabeth, died, and as Russia had no direct interest in the war and had engaged in it only because the tsarina had a personal dislike for Frederick, there was no reason why her successor, Peter III, who was an ardent admirer of the Prussian king, should not come to terms with him. Peter in his enthusiasm even insisted on allying himself with his country's late enemy; but little came of this plan, as he was overthrown and murdered in July, 1762, and Catherine II, who succeeded him, would not engage further in the war. However, she put Frederick under a heavy debt of gratitude by at least ratifying the peace which Peter had concluded. This same year England and France came to an understanding (Preliminaries of Fontainebleau, 1762) and hostilities between them were at once suspended at all points. Therewith there remained under arms of the great powers only Austria and Prussia; and as Austria could not hope to do unaided what she had failed to do with half of Europe at her side, Maria Theresa, although with heavy heart, resolved to come to terms. In the Peace of Hubertsburg (February, 1763) the cession of Silesia to Frederick received a third and final endorsement.

Peace with Russia, 1762, followed by a general peace

From the Peace of Hubertsburg Frederick had still twenty-three years before him, which, a practically unbroken stretch of peace, he devoted to the continuation of those inner labors which we have considered under the heads of mercantilism, enlightenment, and benevolent despotism. By promoting the welfare of his people according to the light of his age he became the outstanding sovereign of

Europe. Among the political events of this closing period of his life only those having to do with Poland and Austria call for special comment. His relation to Poland has already been glanced at in connection with the Tsarina Catherine's successful extension of her power westward. It is highly probably that the First Partition (1772) was carried out chiefly at the suggestion of Frederick, who by this arrangement secured a part of a kingdom which the tsarina had already earmarked as her exclusive possession. All three neighbors of Poland, Russia, Austria, and Prussia, shared in the partition, and though Prussia got the smallest slice, it was perhaps the most valuable since it consisted of the province of West Prussia by which the detached territory of East Prussia was at last joined to the Brandenburg nucleus. To comprehend the development in Frederick's last phase of his relation to his German rival we must once more have a look at the Austrian Empire.

Frederick's last years. The Partition of Poland

Although the Empress Maria Theresa did not succeed in her purpose of regaining Silesia, she played so large a part in the affairs of Europe that she greatly added to the prestige of her empire. However, permanently to secure it against rapacious neighbors, she would, as she came to recognize, have to make it over in accordance with the current program of centralization. Her very first measures in pursuit of this end aroused such opposition that, seized with discouragement, she desisted; and it was only when her son, Joseph, became emperor (1765) and at the same time co-regent with his mother of the Austrian state that the work was seriously taken in hand. Joseph II was a typical "enlightened" sovereign, in whose eyes no inherited institution found favor which did not meet the two requirements of reason and utility. If he had had his way he would at once and without hesitation have inaugurated a furious reform movement; but while his mother lived, she effectively applied the brakes, for the last word rested, after all, with her. However, between 1765 and 1780 when he ruled in association with his mother, and much more sweepingly between 1780 and 1790 when, on his mother's death, he ruled alone, he enacted as revolutionary a body of statutes as have ever issued from a royal despot. As an analysis would show, they were devised not only to centralize the Hapsburg dominions but to bring them into harmony with the advanced economic and intellectual program of the day. An unusually informed and kindly soul, Joseph showed in his

Vain attempt of Joseph II to unify the Austrian Empire

measures much more good will than tact and foresight; for his dominions, pieced together with so many unrelated provinces and distinct peoples, were bound to demur against this ruthless wiping out of their established customs and historic rights. The most indignant among them, like the Austrian Netherlands (Belgium) and Hungary, even rose in revolution; and before he died the heartbroken sovereign, of whom, if ever of a ruler, it may be said that he desired only the good of his people, was obliged to revoke practically the whole mass of his reform edicts. That Joseph II should have tried to carry out a political reorganization along the lines successfully laid down by France, Prussia, and Russia is wholly comprehensible. His failure proved that the Hapsburg dominions were composed of so many heterogeneous elements that it was madness to hope to recast them into a single uniform mold.

Joseph's ambitious foreign policy

So eager and far-ranging a spirit as Joseph was sure to pursue an active foreign policy. It was he rather than his mother who was responsible for Austria's sharing in the Partition of Poland; and no sooner were his hands entirely freed by his mother's demise than he entered into negotiations with the equally enterprising Tsarina Catherine which, if successful, would have led to the partition of the even vaster area of Turkey-in-Europe. It was largely only because of the domestic revolutions already mentioned in Belgium and Hungary that the great plan miscarried. For no sooner was Austria embarrassed by these inner disturbances than she was obliged to renounce her warlike plans against the Ottoman Empire. In fact, perhaps because of an unfortunate habit of precipitate action, Joseph was about as consistently unfortunate in his foreign as in his domestic ventures. And, as might be expected, when he entered the lists against so deft an adversary as Frederick II of Prussia, he was regularly worsted. Only once, however, in the year 1778, did it look as if the irreconcilable quarrel between Austria and Prussia would precipitate a new war. In that year Joseph made an arrangement with the elector of Bavaria by which he hoped to acquire this important, south-German territory. Increased by an immediately adjoining state, Austria would once more have obtained a clearly dominant position in Germany. Such a consummation Frederick was bound to hinder at all costs. For several months war threatened; and if it was avoided it was not because Frederick yielded but because Joseph renounced his ambitious Bavarian project.

When Frederick II, called the Great, died in 1786 he left behind a Prussia which had grown powerful and famous, but a German Empire which was still the same broken reed as during the four or five preceding centuries. It was something, nay, much that within Germany there was now a strong and vital organism which inevitably communicated a certain vigor to the whole dead mass. Undoubtedly the awakening of Austria under Maria Theresa and her son was to no small extent the result of the Prussian example. If from now on these two states faced each other as enemies, it was not only because of the bitter Silesian memory but, even in larger measure, because each coveted the headship of a new and reborn Germany. Of the official Germany of the eighteenth century the headship rested of course with Austria and its ruler, the elected emperor. But for practical purposes Prussia from the time of Frederick was quite as strong as Austria and, in substantial equilibrium as they were, each watched the other's every move since each hoped to outstrip the other and force its law upon the smaller German states. For that the structure called the Holy Roman Empire would cumber the earth much longer was utterly unbelievable. When three years before the outbreak of the French Revolution Frederick passed away, the German future was undoubtedly as dark as ever; but it was at least clear that it hung upon the outcome of the rivalry of Austria and Prussia.

The German situation dominated by the rivalry of Prussia and Austria

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Rulers of Prussia

(House of Hohenzollern)

Frederick William (the Great Elector), 1640–1688
Frederick I (son of the above, first king of Prussia), 1688–1713
Frederick William I (son of Frederick I), 1713–1740
Frederick II (the Great; son of his predecessor), 1740–1786
Frederick William II (nephew of Frederick II), 1786–1797
Frederick William III (son of his predecessor), 1797–1840

Rulers of Austria

(House of Hapsburg)

Charles VI (last male of his line) 1711–1740
Maria Theresa (daughter of the above; *m.* Francis of Lorraine) 1740–1780
Joseph II (son of the above), 1780–1790
Leopold II (younger brother of Joseph II) 1790–1792
Francis II (son of Leopold II; last Holy Roman Emperor), 1792–1835

CHAPTER XVII

GREAT BRITAIN AND FRANCE IN THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

The meaning of the "Glorious Revolution"

We have seen that the Revolution of 1688 had secured the victory in the long civil struggle in England to Protestantism and the parliament. It was without doubt a triumph of the English people but it was not in any modern sense a democratic triumph. If henceforth the parliament was the decisive factor in the English government, let us not fail to observe that, composed of the house of Lords and house of Commons, it represented only the men of property, that is, the class of freeholders, to whom the franchise was limited. While the Revolution, constitutionally considered, definitely and finally displaced the absolute with the parliamentary régime, its social-economic significance lies in its vesting the political control in the landed gentry and the great merchants of the towns. For almost a century and a half, until the Reform Bill of 1832, England was governed by a rarely successful combination between an aristocracy of birth and an oligarchy of wealth.

Significance for Europe and England of William's accession

The sovereign of the Revolution, King William III (1689–1702), soon learned that he was not to have his throne without fighting for it. The deposed James had sought refuge with Louis XIV, and the decision of the French king to espouse the cause of James naturally threw England on the side of the allies, consisting of the emperor, the Dutch, and Spain, with whom Louis had just begun the war known as the War of the Palatinate (1688–1697). This struggle marks a turning-point in the fortunes of the French king. Thus far his policy of continental aggression had met with success to no small extent because the Great Britain of the restored Stuarts had, when not actively aiding him, remained neutral. With the advent of William Great Britain frankly aligned itself with the continental nations against all-powerful France. In fact it was to achieve this very purpose that William, who was a Dutchman before he became an Englishman and who had made it his life-work to defend the liberty of his native land against

Louis XIV, had launched the invasion of 1688. But though inspired in the first place by the desire to help the Dutch and Europe, William certainly also served the true interests of his new kingdom, since in arraying England against France he committed it to that maritime and colonial policy by virtue of which it rose in the following century to its peculiar position of world power.

William in Ireland

The War of the Palatinate has been dealt with in connection with Louis XIV, except for the phase belonging exclusively to England. Its story carries us to the English dependency, Ireland. In March, 1689, James II effected a landing in Ireland with French aid and immediately the native Irish, Catholic and anti-English in sentiment, gathered around him. Even before his coming the ancient hatred between Celt and Saxon had once more flamed up in war. The Protestant colonists were driven from their homes and for a time it looked as if the island might again revert to its original owners. However, a year later, on July 1, 1690, William, who had come to the rescue of the Protestants, defeated James at the Battle of the Boyne. Thoroughly discouraged, especially since as an Englishman he did not feel happy in an Irish environment, James abandoned his supporters and fled back to France. The measures by which the victorious English now took vengeance on the Irish broke the back of Irish resistance for a hundred years.

Early history of the English in Ireland

Before speaking of these measures it will be necessary to review the relations of Ireland and England during the previous century. When James I mounted the throne in 1603, Ireland had been a dependency of the English crown for nearly five hundred years; but for most of that time the English rule had been largely nominal since the representative of the king generally controlled no more than the district around Dublin known as the English Pale. The heart of the island was held by the native Irish, who, divided into tribes and governed by chiefs in accordance with ancient custom, retained a substantial independence. If the Irish could have replaced the perpetual tribal warfare which was usual among them with some form of national organization, they might have rid themselves of their conquerors, for not till the time of Henry VIII did the English take the task of subduing Ireland seriously in hand, and not till the close of Elizabeth's reign was the work completed. Almost the last triumph of Elizabeth was the suppression of the great rebellion in Ulster led by Hugh O'Neill. When James I succeeded to the throne he became responsible for an innovation fraught with tremendous consequences. He resolved to confiscate the northern province of Ulster and colonize it with English and Scotch settlers as the surest means for securing the submission of the island. In 1610 the natives of Ulster were dispossessed of their land with no more said than that they must find subsistence elsewhere. From that act dates a hatred between conquerors and conquered which has proved terrible and implacable.

England's oppressive policy

When the English civil war broke out, temporarily annihilating the power of the government, the Irish fell (1641) upon the colonists of Ulster and murdered them or drove them from their homes. The English revenge for this outrage was adjourned till 1649 when Cromwell, representing the might of the restored nation, undertook to bring Ireland back to her allegiance. At the head of a Puritan army he relentlessly beat the natives into submission. In this connection it should be remembered that since the Reformation religious differences had sprung up which added new fuel to the ancient quarrel of the two races. On establishing their national or Anglican Church the English had imposed it also, under the misleading name of the Irish Church, on their dependency. However, as the native Irish stubbornly adhered to the Church of Rome, they professed a proscribed religion and laid themselves open to savage persecution. To the Puritan soldiers of Cromwell's army the Catholic Irish were no better than beasts of the field, whom to render harmless was a good deed in the eyes of the Lord. No sooner had the army completed its crushing work of conquest than the parliament resumed and even extended James's policy of seizure and colonization. As a result the title to over half of the land of the island now passed into English hands. The dispossessed peasants were bidden to go find bread or a grave in the bogs and thickets of the yet unconfiscated west. When in 1690 William III overthrew the next insurrection at the Battle of the Boyne, the English parliament, now the real sovereign of England, completed the process of Irish dispossession, thereby reducing the natives to a people without land, without the right of worship, and without a future. Nor was this all. At the demand of the English landlord interest the parliament forbade the importation into England of Irish cattle and dairy products; and in the interest of the English manufacturers the Irish were prohibited from sending any woolen goods out of the country. These prohibitive economic measures struck at the Anglo-Scotch colonists quite as much as at the natives, but the burning memories existing between them kept them from uniting against the oppressor. Injured in their material interests, many of the colonists migrated to America, while the natives, eking out a miserable existence as tenants, day-laborers, and beggars, stolidly awaited the day of deliverance.

The Act of Settlement, 1701

We have already noted that William's drawing England into the coalition against France enabled him to bring the War of the Palatinate to a close without conceding any gains to France. He spent the years following the Peace of Ryswick (1697) negotiating with Louis a feasible division of the expected Spanish heritage; but when, in the year 1700, the king of Spain died, leaving a will in favor of the house of Bourbon, Louis XIV disavowed the negotiations with William by sending his grandson, Philip, to Madrid to assume the rule of the undivided Spanish dominions. Out of this presumptuous act grew the War of the Spanish Succession, for which the great opponent of Louis XIV had hardly prepared by a renewal of the continental coalition, when he died (1702). Since his wife, Mary, had died some years before (1694) without issue, the crown now passed to Mary's sister Anne; but as it was foreseen even in William's lifetime that Anne too would leave no offspring, a special statute had been passed, called the Act of Settlement (1701), for regulating the succession. Supplementing the Protestant provision already incorporated in the Bill of Rights, the Act of Settlement passed over the head of a score of Catholic claimants and established the succession on the demise of Anne in the Electress Sophia of Hanover, granddaughter of James I through his daughter Elizabeth, and her heirs after her.[1]

Slow elaboration of the parliamentary system

We have repeatedly insisted that the Revolution of 1688 and the Bill of Rights of the following year consecrated the victory of the parliament in its long struggle with the king. In the course of the next two or three generations the parliament confirmed its hard-won ascendancy by completing the constitutional edifice on its own plan. Without interruption but without haste, act followed act, each enlarging somewhat further the sphere of the parliament at the expense of the crown until the entire government came to be vested in the representatives of the people and the monarch was reduced to a position largely ornamental. Let us take note what contributions toward this result were made in the reign of William.

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[1] See Genealogical Table at the head of Chapter XIII.

The first subject to be considered is the important matter of supplies. The parliaments of the past had been in the habit of voting certain revenues for the king's lifetime, thereby securing to the sovereign a relative independence and putting it in his power in certain favorable circumstances not to call the legislature at all. William's parliaments now fell into the habit of *annual* grants, which greatly enhanced parliamentary influence since the king, merely to keep the government going, was obliged to summon the parliament every year. This system necessarily led to the drawing up on the part of the government of an annual budget of expenditures, every item of which fell under the lynx-eyed scrutiny of the parliament. Annual budget and annual parliament represent a correlated development which has secured the minute control of the purse, and therewith of the government itself, to the representatives of the nation. Hardly less important was the Mutiny Act, which, along with the revenue arrangements just mentioned, helped assure the annual return of parliament. By this statute military courts for the punishment of mutiny and other acts of insubordination were authorized for one year only. It was a clever device for maintaining the discipline, without which an army can not exist, without permitting the forces to get from under the hand of the parliament. Finally let us note that a step, constituting a magnificent tribute to the modern spirit, was the refusal (1695) to renew the act subjecting all printed matter to official censorship. Henceforth England enjoyed a free and unfettered press, the necessary corollary of a government aspiring to be free.

Annual grants and annual parliaments

The event of the reign of Queen Anne (1702–1714) overshadowing all others was the War of the Spanish Succession. It has been treated elsewhere with due regard to the fact that England won in this conflict a leading position among the powers of Europe. But the applause attending Marlborough's march of victory from Blenheim to Malplaquet was not universal. He depended for support on the party of the Whigs, who in the early part of the war dominated the parliament and increasingly forced their leaders into the ministry. The queen, a narrow-minded woman passionately devoted to the national Church, inclined to the Tories but was dissuaded from supporting them by her friend, the duchess of Marlborough, who had acquired a complete ascendancy over her. However, when the war continued interminably, bringing heavy taxation and a national debt increasing like an avalanche, public

The War of the Spanish Succession

sentiment rallied behind the Tory opposition and encouraged the queen to cast off the Whig yoke. She was unwittingly aided in this design by the arrogant and tempestuous duchess, who carried her tyranny to such a point that the offended Anne at last forbade her the court. Abetted by back-stairs influences, always rife where a weak ruler holds the scepter, the queen became more and more disgusted with the Whigs and in 1710 peremptorily dismissed them from office. There followed a ministry of Tories led by Oxford and Bolingbroke, who dared cashier Marlborough himself and open negotiations with France which in 1713 terminated in the Peace of Utrecht. Although the treaty was concluded somewhat precipitately and without proper regard to Great Britain's allies, the main advantages gained by the Whig conduct of the war even their Tory adversaries did not sacrifice. Great Britain acquired from France Newfoundland, Nova Scotia, and the Hudson Bay territory; from Spain, Gibraltar and Minorca, which secured the control of the western Mediterranean; and, most important of all, she was confirmed by her unquestioned naval ascendancy in that command of the seas which became the basis of her world position.

Union of England and Scotland

While the war was at its height an event of great significance occurred in the union of England and Scotland. Although the two kingdoms had possessed a common sovereign ever since the accession in 1603 of the Scottish sovereign, James, to the English throne, from fear of its more powerful neighbor, the smaller state had for over a century jealously guarded its independence. In 1707 the ghost of ancient rivalry and war was laid for all time by a measure in which the Scottish parliament voted its own extinction and accepted for the northern kingdom representation in the Lords and Commons seated at Westminster. To mark the fusion of the two governments in one they adopted as their official common designation the name Great Britain.

Accession of the house of Hanover

In the year 1714 Anne died, and the crown fell to the German house of Hanover, whose family name is Guelph (Welf). Since the Electress Sophia, who had been designated by the Act of Settlement as the eventual heir, had preceded Anne in death, her son, George I, now ascended the throne. Some great stroke on the part of the Pretender, the son of James II, was expected, but when it fell (1715) it turned out to be harmless. The man who claimed to be James III was a weak and unenterprising individual who, having effected a landing in Scotland, was quickly discouraged by the situation confronting him and turned back to France.

George I leans upon the Whigs

George I (1714–1727), who owed his elevation to the Whigs, naturally chose his first advisers from that party. As the Tories were more or less compromised by their support of the Stuart claim, George clung to the Whigs for the rest of his life and thus laid the foundations of that long era of Whig control which puts its stamp upon English history for the next fifty years.

Cabinet government

This prolonged power of a single party helped parliament in taking another and practically its final step toward acquiring complete control of the state: with George I is associated the establishment of cabinet government. We have already seen that as far back as the reign of Charles II the parliament fell into two groups or parties, each pledged to a certain course of action. As matters stood at that time, though the majority of the Commons might be Whig, the king, still enjoying a considerable prerogative, was free to choose his advisers from among the Tories. Sooner or later it was bound to appear that such a division of power, enabling the executive to pull one way and the legislature another, was harmful and that to obtain the best results the ministers and the Commons would have to be in some sort of accord. Under the prevailing drift of English constitutional development there was no other conceivable way of achieving this end than for the king to select his ministers from among the majority party. This is what happened under George I, who thus inaugurated a practice which gradually acquired the sanction of custom. The new sovereign was an honest and reliable but mentally sluggish individual. Furthermore, he was more interested in Hanover than in England and did not even trouble to learn the English language. In need of counsel among strange and bewildering conditions and owing his throne to the Whigs, he naturally put his whole trust in them. In consequence the government fell more and more into the hands of a group of Whig ministers, called the cabinet, who collectively governed the country with the support of the majority of the house of Commons. Cabinet rule was of course a gradual development, but when it was at last complete it signified that the ministers, still nominally appointed by the king, were really the agents of the party commanding a majority in the lower house. With cabinet and party rule added to the older features of parliamentary practice the English constitution may be said to have reached the form which has distinguished it down to our own time.

Sir Robert Walpole's system

The Whig ascendancy is inseparably connected with the name of Sir Robert Walpole, during whose tenure of office lasting for more than twenty years (1721–1742) the cabinet system became a reality. He was a coarse, vigorous, and practical-minded realist, who coupled with a shrewd understanding of the strength of his country a desire for peace in order first, to secure the Hanoverian succession and second, to enable the commercial interests to make the most of their unrivalled opportunities beyond the seas. Himself a country squire, he belonged to a social order which was overwhelmingly Tory and violently antagonistic to the great merchants with whom, organized under the Whig banner, they disputed the control of parliament. It is a tribute to Walpole's breadth of view that, though a member of the landlord class, he identified himself with the urban element and tried in every way to promote its interest. Inspired by the current mercantilist ideas he promoted colonial development, favored the importation of raw products and the exportation of manufactured goods, and by a hundred different devices attempted to achieve that *summum bonum* of mercantilist thought, a favorable balance of trade. If his measures, by which he manipulated production and exchange as if they were pawns on a chess-board, were far from being an unmixed blessing, they probably did stimulate enterprise along certain lines of colonial trade and lead to the establishment of a number of favored industries. In any case they won the applause and incidentally the votes of the merchant class. But let no one imagine that in his trading zeal he neglected the landlords to whom he himself belonged. The solid legislation of earlier days in their favor culminating in the payment of bounties for the export of wheat, he not only refrained from touching but judiciously enlarged from time to time. With such a policy he drew at least a part of the country squires into the Whig camp and was enabled to give the parliament that Whig complexion which it retained for so many years. Walpole's economic measures do not differ essentially from those practiced in other countries of that age dominated by mercantilist doctrines, but it can not fail to strike our attention that in its political implications his legislation appears as a bribe offered to the two classes alone represented in parliament and therefore ruling the elections. If we see him, in addition, employing a vast patronage to maintain his required majority in the lower house, we are prepared for the fact that corruption became an inherent feature of the new parliamentary system and can also understand how the all-powerful minister, made thoroughly cynical about human nature, came to be credited with the bleak saying that "every man has his price." In the governing circles of eighteenth century England it came very close to being true.

Dedicated to a peace policy, Walpole was moved in part at least to favor trade on the theory that a commercially minded people necessarily abhors war. He was destined to a rude disillusionment.

War of Jenkins' Ear, 1739

Among the advantages obtained for England by the Treaty of Utrecht was an invasion of the monopoly maintained by Spain in the western world. By an agreement called the *asiento* England received the monopoly of the African slave trade for the Spanish colonial world and, in addition, the right to send one trading ship each year to Spanish colonial ports. It was a slight wedge which the reckless enterprise of the English traders attempted to convert into a broad breach; and when the Spaniards resisted and seized and punished smugglers, the English trading interests at home raised a resounding clamor. In 1738 a smuggler by the name of Jenkins was paraded through London with a shrivelled ear wrapped in cotton-wool which he declared he had lost seven years before through the assault of a Spanish coast guard. Jenkins' miraculously preserved appendage is the most famous ear in history, for it tipped the scales against peace. Pushed by public opinion and against his better judgment, Walpole began (1739) a war with Spain. It aimed at greater rights in Spanish waters and, in view of its origin, is appropriately named the War of Jenkins' Ear.

Meanwhile George I had been succeeded by his son, George II (1727–1760), like his father in at least the one important circumstance that he meekly acquiesced in the new party and cabinet development.

The War of the Austrian Succession, 1740–1748

The war with Spain had hardly begun when the continental powers, on the heels of the death of Emperor Charles VI (1740), became involved in a struggle over the Austrian succession. As England took alarm at the policy of France, which again visibly aimed at European ascendancy by means of a partition of Austria, the government threw in its lot with Charles's heir, Maria Theresa. Looking with inner displeasure on all these developments, Walpole was at length (1743) forced out of office to be replaced by men more eager than he to fight and more ready, above all, to join with Austria in order to present a united front against the leagued Bourbon powers of Spain and France. Having already dealt with the War of the Austrian Succession we need not linger over it at this point. Its importance lies in the fact that it ended in the Peace of Aachen (1748), in which the French acknowledged the defeat of their anti-Austrian project and recognized Maria Theresa as heir to the dominions of her father with the one substantial exception of Silesia, which was conceded to Frederick of Prussia. In other respects the conflict was without fruit, the treaty being based on the principle of the mutual restoration of conquests. This meant that the colonial issues both as between Great Britain and Spain and as between Great Britain and France were adjourned to a later day.

Prince Charles Stuart attempts to regain his crown

A memorable incident of the War of the Austrian Succession was the attempt of Charles Edward Stuart, son of the Pretender, and known as the Young Pretender, to win back his lost realms. That he was not lacking in the spirited audacity which has often gained a crown is proved by the fact that without help from France and with a following of only seven men he secretly landed on the Scottish Highland coast. The time, July, 1745, was well chosen since the British troops were fighting on the continent. The Highlanders were in this period still divided into clans, at the head of which stood hereditary chiefs. As Celts, with a language and a civilization, albeit backward, of their own, they were by no means friendly either to the Teutonic Lowlanders of Scotland or to the English. Moreover, practically self-governed, they were subjected to King George II in hardly anything more than name. That Prince Charlie, as the Young Pretender was fondly called, had thrown himself upon their mercy, stirred their imagination and kindled their generous hearts to wild enthusiasm. Flocking around him in crowds, they advanced from point to point until by an irresistible rush they captured Edinburgh. For a moment London itself was apprehensive of capture, but on the troops being recalled from the Netherlands, where they were engaged in fighting the French, it was soon found that the wild courage of feudal clans was of no avail against the discipline of a trained army. On Culloden Moor (April, 1746), the Highlanders were defeated with fearful slaughter by the king's second son, the duke of Cumberland. Prince Charlie, after many romantic adventures, made his escape; but broken apparently by his one capital misfortune, he became an habitual drunkard and lived ever afterward in indolence abroad (d. 1788). His failure marks the last Stuart attempt to recover the throne.

The regency in France

While England, under Walpole's vigorous initiative, was preparing to assume the commercial leadership of the world, France was doing little or nothing to recover from the disasters of the War of the Spanish Succession. When the aged Louis XIV died in the year 1715, he was succeeded by his great-grandson, Louis XV (1715–1772). As the young king was but five years old, the government was exercised in his name by the nephew of Louis XIV, Philip, duke of Orleans. The Regent Orleans, although a man of parts and a celebrated wit, was so passionately given to the pursuit of pleasure that he only plunged France deeper into economic and financial misery. Perhaps the one good point about his rule was that, recognizing the advantage of peace, he maintained amicable relations with England. It was not a sufficient contribution to make him popular; and when he died, in 1723, he was regretted by none but the companions of his wild nights.

Cardinal Fleury and the acquisition of Lorraine

Although the boy-king had been declared of age even before the regent's death, he was still too young to exercise the rule, which, taken over by his religious director, the Cardinal Fleury, was retained for almost two decades (1726–1743). Fleury, too, held the view that France needed nothing so much as a long peace. Nevertheless, his administration is marked by two wars forced on him by circumstances which he was too weak to command. In the year 1733 France became involved with Austria because of the different sides taken by these two powers in the election of a Polish king. The so-called War of the Polish Succession (1733–1735) is unmemorable except for the right conceded to France to take over Lorraine after the death of the defeated king of Poland, to whom it was given during his life in compensation for his loss of the Polish crown. More than a hundred years before this time France had turned its attention to the acquisition of Lorraine and had gradually succeeded in severing the ties which bound it to the Empire. Louis XV therefore did no more in 1735 than gather a piece of ripe fruit. Taken in connection with the territorial gains made by Louis XIV, the duchy of Lorraine satisfactorily rounded off the French eastern boundary.

In the year 1740 the death of the Emperor Charles VI and the accession in Austria of the young girl Maria Theresa so completely turned the head of the court party at Versailles with the brilliant chance which the situation offered of war and conquest, that Cardinal Fleury was obliged once again to yield to pressure and against his better judgment to attack Austria. The War of the Austrian Succession involved all Europe for eight years, as we have seen, but when it was closed by the Peace of Aachen (1748), France recognized Maria Theresa as heir of the Hapsburg dominions and withdrew from Germany without a gain.

The War of the Austrian Succession from the French point of view

As we approach the middle of the eighteenth century it becomes plain that the struggle which Louis XIV inaugurated with the object of making France supreme in Europe had ended in failure. The remedy proposed by William III and consisting of the alliance of Austria, the Dutch, and England had proved successful. By the War of the Spanish Succession Louis XIV had been brought to his senses; and when, in the War of the Austrian Succession, Louis XV had revamped the old plan, he too had been obliged to draw in his horns. But in spite of disasters on the continent, perhaps even because of them, French colonial expansion continued vigorously with the result that in India and North America it entered into ever sharper rivalry with Great Britain. Plainly the aim of the French was to compensate themselves for the failure of their European plans by the acquisition of an empire beyond the seas. Comprehensible enough in itself, the plan conflicted with a similar purpose of the English. Accordingly, with the march of the century the gaze of Frenchmen and Englishmen turned across the seas, and slowly the center of interest, which in the long struggle of France for supremacy in Europe had been the continent, shifted to the colonies.

The colonial rivalry of France and England

Such a change of interest necessarily involved a subtle change of international relationships in Europe. In measure as France withdrew from her aggression against her continental neighbors, she conciliated her ancient enemies, Austria and the Dutch; and in measure as she emphasized her colonial ambition, she aroused the increased hostility of England. Thus, by the gradual operation of circumstances, England and France had, toward the middle of the eighteenth century, been brought face to face to fight out the great question of supremacy in the colonial world; and in this colonial question Austria, the old ally of England against France, had no immediate interest. Was Austria or any other continental power likely, under the circumstances, to take the side of the English?

England and Austria dissolve partnership

The war between France and Great Britain which followed, called the Seven Years' War (1756–1763), is properly the most important struggle of the century, for it determined whether America and India were to be French or English. But though the other European powers had no direct interest in the colonial question, they nevertheless participated in the conflict. That, as already explained, was owing to the circumstance that the two German powers, Austria and Prussia, had a quarrel of their own to settle, and that by choosing sides in the French-English conflict, Prussia allying herself with England and Austria with France, they brought about a fusion of two distinct issues in a general war.

Prussia sides with England, Austria with France

France did not fail to extend herself in the Seven Years' War in the hope of fastening victory to her banners. She sent an army across the Rhine to coöperate with the Austrians against the Prussians and their British allies, and she made considerable, though uneven, efforts to equip a navy and to support her colonial forces in India and America. It was her great misfortune that the government lay in the hands of Louis XV, than whom there is hardly a feebler and more despicable sovereign in history. As he was selfishly concerned only with his pleasures and at the same time cynical and indolent, he permitted the business of state to slip into the grasp of intriguing courtiers and base courtesans with the result that merit was disregarded in distributing the posts of honor, that one plan of campaign was adopted only to be rejected in favor of another, and that a lavish and corrupt expenditure diverted into private channels huge sums of money which should have been dedicated to the national defense. More than with any other single individual the direction of affairs rested with the king's official mistress, Madame de Pompadour, who, though possessed of a certain light grace of person and of mind, boasted neither the intelligence to grasp the significance of the conflict nor the character worthily to sustain it.

Failure of government under Louis XV

While the absolute government of France thus conspicuously failed to give the country that leadership which is invaluable in a crisis, the parliamentary government of Great Britain brought to the front the one man capable of giving it just that. By a combination of various Whig groups William Pitt, who since Walpole's decline had become the most brilliant figure of the Commons, was in 1757 promoted to be Secretary of State, from which vantage-point he for four decisive years controlled the ministry and directed his country's policy on land and sea. A vibrant personality, he communicated his patriotic energy to the whole body of his countrymen and won their hearty support for his far-sighted plan of utilizing the favorable situation to eliminate France entirely from the colonial field. Under these circumstances the victory necessarily fell to the English. In 1757 the French army was catastrophically beaten by Frederick the Great at Rossbach in Thuringia, and on its reorganization in 1758 was held in effective check by an Anglo-Hanoverian force under Ferdinand of Brunswick, one of Frederick's most reliable generals. So much for the British effort in Germany, which Pitt consistently regarded as a secondary fighting area. With great acumen he reserved his best efforts for the sea and the colonies, since on them, according to him, the struggle really hinged. At the outbreak of the war the French had won a naval action off the island of Minorca (May, 1756), which jeopardized the English control of the sea-routes. Aware that the colonies would fall automatically to him who mastered the sea, Pitt strengthened his navy until, assuming the offensive, it gained in 1759 the two victories of Lagos and Quiberon Bay by which it practically annihilated the French fleet. From 1759 on the French colonies were cut off from the mother-country and therefore doomed.

Pitt, leader and strategist of England

At the same time Pitt eagerly pushed the war in America and India. In India, with remarkably little help from home, a daring adventurer, Robert Clive by name, first built up a native political and military system enabling him to hold his own against the French, and then at Plassey (1757) began a series of victories which ended with the downfall of the rival power. In America the struggle lasted longer because more steadily supported by the French home government. One of the crucial American areas was the headwaters of the Ohio which the French claimed as a part of the Mississippi basin and where they had erected a fort to warn off intruders. As early as 1755, that is, a whole year before war was officially declared, the British sent an army under General Braddock to destroy the French stronghold. Refusing to take the advice of a young Virginian officer, George Washington, who twenty years later won immortal fame in a contest of another kind, Braddock's army was badly beaten and he himself killed by the Indian allies of the French. Pitt was of course unwilling to abide by this decision, and in 1758 reëstablished the English prestige

Victories in India and America

by the capture of the French fort. Rebaptized Pittsburg, it still proclaims to the living generation the great minister's share in its foundation. However, it was not the Ohio but the St. Lawrence area which was the real basis of the French empire in America. In 1759 General Wolfe by a daring assault captured the nigh impregnable stronghold of Quebec; and in the following year with the seizure of Montreal the whole province of Canada passed into British hands.

Fall of Pitt and the Peace of Paris, 1763

At this juncture, with an unexampled victory in sight, King George II died (October, 1760), to be succeeded by his grandson, George III, who was destined to reign for sixty years. George III, but twenty-two years old at his accession, was passionately resolved to regain for the sovereign that leading influence in the government which had in recent generations passed to cabinet and parliament. "Be a king, George," had been from his boyhood his ambitious mother's constant admonition to him. So he set about to reverse the constitutional movement, and as a preliminary step turned to the Tories and injected his personal supporter, Lord Bute, into the Whig ministry. His plan was by degrees to get rid not only of Pitt but incidentally of the heavy Whig yoke to which his predecessors had been obliged to submit ever since the accession of the house of Hanover. In pursuit of this program Lord Bute, once seated in the cabinet, headed an opposition party which clamored for peace; and when Pitt, learning that Spain was coming to the rescue of France, moved to enlarge the scope of the war by attacking Spain before she was ready, he found himself isolated and obliged to resign (1761). That Pitt was right had to be admitted by Bute himself a few months later when, in January, 1762, he was forced to meet the now open preparations of Spain with a declaration of war. However, such was the impetus which had been given the British armaments by Pitt that in the new struggle the Spanish possessions were invaded and Havana and Manilla, the leading strongholds of the Spanish colonial empire, were captured. In spite of these successes, Lord Bute, supported by the king, did not desist for a moment from his efforts to get peace and, before the year closed, succeeded in reaching an accommodation with the two Bourbon powers. Without any doubt Pitt in Bute's place would have exacted much more crushing terms. Even so it can not be denied that by the definitive Peace of Paris, signed on February 10, 1763, England gained every essential point at issue between herself and Louis XV, for France surrendered Canada together with all territory east of the Mississippi, a number of important islands in the West Indies, and all claim to exercise political dominion in India.

The American Revolution, 1776

If the Seven Years' War is Great Britain's greatest triumph, the country was visited soon afterward with its severest calamity. In the year 1765 the British parliament levied a tax upon the North American colonies called the Stamp Act and therewith precipitated an issue of control which had long been brewing between the colonies and the mother-country. When it became known that the tax aroused discontent, it was wisely withdrawn; but at the same time the principle was asserted and proclaimed that the British parliament had the right to tax the colonies. As the Americans would not agree that they could be taxed by a body in which they were not represented, friction grew apace and soon led to mob violence. The British ministry, dominated by an ambitious and obstinate king, resorted to military force, and the answer of the Americans to this measure was the resolution to revolt (Declaration of Independence, July 4, 1776). In 1778 the colonists, through their agent, Benjamin Franklin, made an alliance with France, and from this time on the British were hard pressed by both land and sea. At last the surrender at Yorktown (1781) of the British army under Cornwallis to the American hero of the war, George Washington, disposed the mother-country to a settlement. In the Peace of Paris (1783) Great Britain made France a few colonial concessions but, in the main, retained the decisive advantages gained in the Seven Years' War. The really memorable feature of the peace was the recognition of the independence of the revolted British colonies under the name of the United States of America.

Ireland wins self-government, 1782

The American Revolution should have served notice to the British that something was wrong with their colonial system. This it failed to do, at least at the time, although the developments in another dependency, much nearer home, might have enforced the American lesson. We have seen that Ireland received the harshest kind of treatment in that the welfare and wishes of the natives were not regarded by the conquerors, who finally carried their policy of repression to the point of confiscating the land and distributing it among men of their own race as colonists. As the home government could not deny the settlers, men of English and Scottish blood, certain rights of self-government, Ireland had been conceded a parliament, in which the colonist element was alone represented by virtue of the provision that Catholics were excluded from representation. However, to keep the Irish parliament, even though it was a close Protestant corporation, securely tied to the English chariot, an ancient ordinance was enforced to the effect that no act passed by the Irish parliament should become law until it had received the approval of the British Privy Council. Loyal as the colonists were to England, they resented this limitation of their political rights and, under the stimulus of the American example, demanded its cancellation. In order to avoid a second colonial rebellion the ministry conceded the point with the result that Ireland by the grant (1782) of Legislative Independence became self-governing.

Loss of home-rule and Act of Union, 1800

It was a decided gain, though it redounded to the exclusive advantage of the Protestant minority. Inevitably, however, it released an agitation among the Catholic natives for that participation in the affairs of their country of which they had been systematically deprived. Religious coupled with political animosities soon blazed up in civil war. The immediate effect of Legislative Independence was an anarchy which proved that the time was past when a minority could keep a majority in subjection, even though that majority might lack for the present the arms and organization enabling it to wrest the power from the privileged group. The British ministry in London under the energetic control of the younger Pitt, son of the organizer of victory in the Seven Years' War, long watched the Irish confusion with concern before it resolved to interfere. At length Pitt made up his mind that the way out was to merge Ireland governmentally with Great Britain. Partly by persuasion but, much more commonly, by open bribery he induced the Irish parliament to vote its own extinction in return for Irish representation in the British house of Lords and house of Commons. In 1800 this measure, called the Act of Union, became law. Ireland lost its political independence by the action of a minority of its inhabitants composed of Protestant colonists. Was it likely that the Catholic natives, constituting an overwhelming majority, would abide by this decision if the time ever came when they could make their power felt?

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CHAPTER XVIII

POLITICAL, SOCIAL, ECONOMIC, AND INTELLECTUAL CURRENTS BETWEEN 1648 AND 1789

The function of absolutism

We have seen that in the period considered in this section Europe was dominated politically by the absolute monarch. Philosophically considered, his function was to bring all classes of the population under a common law in the interest of a larger political unit, the nation. This was the ideal, nowhere entirely attained, not even in France which served as the model absolutism to the rest of Europe. Reaching his full stature in the seventeenth century, the absolute sovereign of France indulged himself in the eighteenth century in the dangerous luxury of living on his reputation. We have seen what happened under Louis XV. On account of this passivity French absolutism was in Louis XV's time outstripped in effectiveness by some of its imitators, notably by that of Prussia.

Absolutism transformed to constitutionalism

The absolute monarchy was created and upheld by the king who became its living spirit after the formula: *suprema lex regis voluntas* (the supreme law is the will of the king). To an age still dominated by Christian concepts and prepared to refer all human situations to an omnipotent Creator this supremacy of the king would quite normally appear as the law of heaven and the king a sovereign by Right Divine. However, the case might arise that the king, taking his Divine Right too literally, would forget the social service, which was his real justification, and attempt to put through measures strongly repugnant to the nation of which he was the head. His exalted autocratic position, calculated to disturb the always precarious balance of the human reason, would and did tend to make him think that the state existed for his sake and not *vice versa*. In that event, as the case of England proved, he was destined to arouse an opposition which would not cease until it had put an end to the theory of Divine Right by bringing home to the king the realization that he was, the flattery of the courtiers to the contrary notwithstanding, a decidedly man-made instrument. And, as the case of England also proved, the legal form of the subjection of the king to the concept of the public weal would be constitutionalism. The essence of the constitutional system is the bringing of the king in all respects under the law according to the formula: *suprema lex salus populi* (the supreme law is the welfare of the people.)

The social-economic basis of government

If absolutism and its English modification, constitutionalism, are the ruling political forms of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, they are, like political forms in all climes and ages, an expression of the underlying social-economic situation. Although this varied in detail in every country of Europe, we are aware that its essential features were everywhere the same and that they consisted in a decline of the older privileged orders, the clergy and nobility, and in the rise to constantly greater influence of the business and professional groups. The social dislocation represented by this statement was of course particularly striking among the commercial nations, such as the Dutch and the English; but even among them it was not attended at first by anything more than a gradual penetration of national policy with commercial interests. Such was the authority of the older classes that they wielded a political power considerably out of proportion to their numerical and economic strength. Their authority, which from being an economic had become a moral value, had been built up through the slow action of the centuries and would have to be destroyed, if at all, in the place where it most stubbornly persisted, that is, in the human mind. How this mental undermining of the clergy and nobility proceeded in the period covered by this chapter is a fascinating study and must be briefly indicated, if for no other reason than that it throws a penetrating light on the formation of the modern outlook.

Decline both of the clergy and theology

To begin with the clergy, we are aware that the Reformation, wherever it was successful, deprived this order of its medieval halo by denying that it was a necessary link in the process of salvation. True, even in Protestant countries clergymen continued to maintain a high standing as moral and intellectual leaders, though they were now no longer a special order recognized by the law, a first estate. When in the second half of the seventeenth century interest in theological controversy began to decline, and when at the same time the primacy in matters intellectual passed to laymen, that is, to scientists and philosophers, the clergy not only in Protestant lands but also for the first time now in Catholic countries were slowly crowded into the background. Inevitably a non-religious type of thinking gained an increasing body of adherents as soon as the barrenness of theological discussion was contrasted with the positive results obtained by the followers of science. Such was the authority of theology, however, that the whole succession of scientists from Copernicus to Newton paid homage to it, sincerely in some cases, perfunctorily in others with a view to buying immunity from a power which still ruled the universities and looked upon itself as the crown and glory of the edifice of learning. Only very gradually did men become more courageous. At first an occasional rare scholar paraded a certain indifference to theology, to be followed gradually by others who directed a moderate criticism against the various theological systems whether Catholic or Protestant; finally, still bolder spirits advanced to the position that every closed intellectual system was hopelessly incompatible with the perpetual search of science for new truth. What greatly sustained these pioneers in the battle for intellectual freedom was the strong revulsion against dogmatic rigor that followed in the wake of the ruinous religious wars together with the rise of a body of tolerant men interested in mediating between the rival faiths. If the Reformation had already succeeded in more or less fusing the Protestant clergy with the body of common men, after the passing of another century the time had come to drag theology itself from its throne along with the churches built on theological systems. The instrument which chiefly served to carry out this levelling work was deism.

Significance of deism

Deism represents a crystallization in the minds of men of the conditions just sketched. In substance therefore it is first, a reaction against theological contentiousness, and second, an enthusiasm for the new scientific universe of eternal law. To be sure, it drew a certain strength also from the "natural rights" philosophy of the ancients, into which the recent discovery of a body of "natural law" had infused fresh vigor. If the universe was ruled by natural law — as the seventeenth century scientists upheld — and human beings were endowed with natural rights — as was maintained by the thinkers of antiquity — it followed that there was also a natural religion, not necessarily in conflict with Christianity but certainly older than Christianity or any existing faith. But what had this original, this natural religion, the essence of which was simple piety, to do with a priesthood, a metaphysical theology, and an institutionalized church? Plainly all these human constructions smothered much more than they stimulated the glad worship of the pure in heart and would have to be cleared away if mankind was ever again to be set right with its Creator.

History of deism in England

Deism first manifested itself in England during the Puritan Revolution and grew strong in measure as men grew tired of the hair-splitting and rancor of the theological controversialists. The respective exponents of the Tory and Whig political philosophies, Thomas Hobbes and John Locke, were already strongly tinged with deism; and among the generation following the "Glorious Revolution" some of the greatest political leaders, like Shaftesbury and Bolingbroke, openly professed a deistic philosophy. Full of resentment against the evangelical and emotional tendencies of Puritanism, the upper classes that took over the government after 1688 adopted a hard, common-sense attitude toward life and ridiculed the very mention of miracles, visions, and revelation. In supporting the national Church, as they most earnestly did, they were indeed inconsistent, as practical men often are, but they had an excellent reason for their course since the Anglican Church served in their view as a moral police and helped keep the vulgar herd in check. So far, however, was the elegant and restrained scepticism of the English upper classes from infecting the lower strata of the population that when the national Establishment threatened to become spiritually dead under the prolonged rule of worldly bishops, a revolt among its own members proved that men will not for long permit religion to be degraded to a round, however dignified, of public ceremonies. About the middle of the eighteenth century a popular Puritanical revival, connected with the brothers John and Charles Wesley and with their disciple, George Whitefield, made its appearance in the common membership of the Establishment; and although it ended in a schism which produced the Methodist church, it shook the old Church wide-awake, putting an end to its flirtation with the deistic movement. As for the English intellectual class, however, once won over to a mild scepticism, it was, generally speaking, never again detached from its position; with regard to its members it is undeniable that they had forever freed their minds from the triple domination of theology, the priesthood, and the Church.

When deism crossed the channel to the continent, it made a much greater stir than in England, possibly because it locked horns there with a more formidable adversary, the Catholic Church, and possibly because it acquired as its spokesman one of the sprightliest and wittiest writers of all time, Voltaire (1694–1778). This gifted Frenchman, who began life as a purely literary artist with an ambition to succeed to the great heritage of Corneille and Racine, presently found himself caught up by the intellectual currents of the day and launched upon a campaign for the reform of the institutions of society. Among these the Catholic Church occupied of course a preëminent position. Coming by virtue of a two-year exile in England under the empirical and deistic influences ruling that country, Voltaire on his return to France made himself their spokesman. But he added important features of his own to the English borrowings. From the rather mild English deism, for example, he fashioned a mighty sword or rather a swift-glancing rapier with which to slay the champions of revealed religion. For every revealed religion organized as a church, and therefore not only Catholicism, was to Voltaire a lie which he was resolved to laugh out of the world with the unanswerable logic of his caustic wit. Naturally the churches met his light raillery with the heavy theological artillery which was their familiar weapon, but though they subjected him to much personal inconvenience, they failed to reduce him to silence. We may take the drawn battle as evidence that the power of the churches was waning and that a considerable percentage, perhaps a majority of the educated element throughout Europe, had, toward the middle of the eighteenth century, rallied, if not to Voltaire's extreme deistic position, at least to some form of rationalist outlook which freed them from the domination of the clergy.

Voltaire as exponent of continental deism

A further indication that the fortunes of the day were going against the churches may be seen in the fact that they were threatened and in some cases overtaken with divisions in their midst. The case of Methodism, an offshoot of the Anglican Church, has already been mentioned. So far from being unique, it is rather a typical instance. Within both the Lutheran and Calvinist churches similar tendencies came to the fore, producing schismatic movements on the part of those sincere spirits who, cherishing religion as a transforming inner experience, protested against having their enthusiasm stifled by a dead professional routine. The equivalent movement in the Catholic Church is indicated by the name of the Jansenists, a sect which had its center in France and which stressed

The significance of the struggle between Jansenism and Jesuitism

spiritual illumination as against an excess of outward ceremonies. Under the powerful Jesuit influences, which had been predominant in the Church from the period of the Council of Trent, Jansenism was formally condemned as heretical by Pope Clement XI in the famous Bull, *Unigenitus* (1713); but before the century closed the Jesuits were themselves overtaken with disaster. This overthrow of the followers of Loyola is peculiarly significant. The free spirits, of which Voltaire was the acknowledged leader, had made the famous order the objective of a concentrated attack on the ground that it not only dominated the papacy and the higher clergy but by means of its extensive school system ruled also the Catholic laity. When the governments of the thoroughly Catholic states of Portugal, France, and Spain added their protest to that of the liberal-minded publicists, the pope came to the conclusion that the much vexed ship of St. Peter could only be saved by tossing the Jesuits overboard. In 1773 the mighty order was dissolved by papal command — clearly an act which was forced on the Catholic Church by Catholic public opinion and which we may accept as the high-water mark of anti-clerical agitation in the eighteenth century.[1]

The variable case of the nobles

The decline in authority of the nobles was not less real than that of the clergy, though a considerable variation may be observed in their regard among the different countries of Europe. In England there was an actual increase of upper class influence because the victory of the parliament delivered the power largely into their hands. But two observations are in place in this connection: (1) as the gateway to power after 1688 was not so much birth as property, the line of division between the landed gentry and the captains of industry tended to disappear; and (2) in view of their subjection to the law and the excellent public service which they undoubtedly rendered, the nobles were accepted as an integral and useful element of the nation. In sharp contrast to their eminence in England is their decline in France and in many other continental countries. Absolutism from its very nature was bound to aim at the political depression of its feudal rival. As this point has been repeatedly elaborated, it will suffice here to instance the case of France, where the victorious monarch built up a royal administration exclusively of commoners, though he was at pains to placate the subjugated nobles by reserving to them the officer grades in the army and navy. At the same time he summoned them to his court at Versailles to dance attendance on his person, thus divorcing them from the land which was their ancient source of strength and encouraging their transformation into a butterfly aristocracy. Without doubt the Bourbon absolutism disastrously undermined the moral credit of the nobles by converting them into a class of social sycophants and economic wastrels. And in so doing it suffered the familiar lot of the corrupter, it became itself corrupt. However, in certain other countries, in Poland and Hungary, for instance, the influence of the nobles rose rather than declined. The reason for this reversal of the usual development must be found in the circumstance that in these countries the nobles held the monarchy in successful check, thereby keeping intact or even increasing their medieval authority. Prussia is in this matter a half-way house. In Prussia there was no class of great nobles and, in their absence, the land was largely distributed among small country gentlemen, called *Junker* and corresponding approximately to the English squires. Privileged in the matter of taxation as well as in the reservation to themselves of the officer positions in the army, they invite comparison in these respects with their fellows of France; but as they avoided the court and dwelt on their estates, which they personally superintended, they remained a body of active agriculturists integrated with the state and nation in a manner which became entirely obsolete in France.

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[1] The restoration of the Jesuit Order by the pope in 1814 is evidence of the revived clericalism connected with the general reaction following the downfall of Napoleon.

The inevitable projection of the middle classes into politics

While an examination of clergy and nobility seems to justify us in insisting on an actual decline of their authority in the moral sphere, it may well be that the movement was relative rather than absolute and is incontrovertible only when confronted with the growth of the middle classes, around which, as we have seen, the movement of civilization since the Renaissance chiefly turned. These classes had been steadily becoming numerically stronger as well as more complex in their composition. Among them were not only the representatives of big and little business but the professional groups of lawyers, physicians, teachers, artists, and writers of every sort whom we may bring together under the convenient label of intelligentsia. Without any interruption the whole movement of European evolution continued to play into their hands. Wherever the king built up the absolute state, he entrusted its administration to the hands of his commoners;

if he needed money, he was obliged to follow an economic policy calculated to multiply commerce and industry; and the vast colonial movement which made Asia and America the footstool of Europe was carried on by the middle classes and redounded primarily to their benefit. Only slowly, however, were they moved to aspire to political control. With the decline of respect for the feudal orders they became indeed correspondingly self-assertive, but as long as the king rendered the national service which might be reasonably expected of him they were pleased to stick to their ledgers and counting-houses. In England occurred the first instance of their overthrowing a king who consistently and continuously offended them. It was a startling manifestation of power but ended in a compromise with the landed gentry whose superior political intelligence could not yet be dispensed with. Would the English Revolution be lost on the middle classes of the continent? It was not likely, provided they ever reached the same economic strength in the community, and provided, further, they encountered a similar provocation at the hands of the absolute king. It did not require a prophet to foresee that the continent, too, was moving toward a political adjustment of the kind inaugurated by England and involving the assertion by the middle classes of a claim to the scepter of state.

Locke voices the political theory of the emerging middle classes

An outstanding characteristic of man is that he feels impelled to justify on philosophic grounds every act which marks a departure from established practice. Not until he finds what seems to him a moral and intellectual sanction for his breach with law and custom will he rest content. It was on this account that the English Revolution had no sooner begun than a stream of books and pamphlets issued from the press defending the parliamentary position. That stream, indicative of the deep mental agitation of Englishmen, continued to broaden through the seventeenth century; and when the Revolution at last crystallized in the historic form of 1688, the man at once appeared who wrote its apology and formulated its theory. That was John Locke (1631–1704), a Whig in English party strife, the founder of what in the history of philosophy is usually called empiricism, and, finally, a keen political theorist. In his *Treatise on Government* (1689) he broke with the ancient Tory idea of a king instituted by God in favor of a purely human and earth-born doctrine. It represents the ruler as issuing from an agreement by the terms of which he serves as the executive agent of the ruled.

Called the contract theory of government, it justifies the deposition of the monarch as soon as he breaks the terms imposed on him or consistently runs counter to the good of his subjects. It is a doctrine of popular sovereignty which, carried to its logical conclusion, might easily lead to frequent upsets and revolutionary excesses. These implications of his theory Locke, like the possessing classes which he represented, wished of course to avoid. In consequence the "people" of his theory of sovereignty are really only the property holders; and it was made particularly easy for Locke to arrive at this limitation since in the actual instance under his observation it was indeed the property holders who instigated the revolution and insisted on becoming its beneficiaries. The philosopher represented the reasonable, compromising temper which was asserting itself in England as a result of a long succession of evil experiences with political extremes and which was destined to become the characteristic note of political-minded, middle class Englishmen. For this temper the only proper road is always the *via media*, and under its doctrine of reasonableness, meaning nothing other than a confirmed habit of accommodation, it identifies itself with property, toleration, utility, common sense, individualism, that is, with all the forces represented by the developing middle classes. Well into the nineteenth century Locke has remained the vaunted oracle of these groups not only in England but throughout the world.

Montesquieu and the scientific method

If Locke's political science has a manifest flaw, it is to be found in the deduction of his position from general principles without the least reference to the actual facts of government through the ages. Whatever sanctions it may possess, it can not claim the sanction of history. But as in Locke's day the collecting of data for the purpose of applying the inductive method of the natural sciences to the study of society had not yet been inaugurated, the learned Whig had no choice but to employ a deductive and rationalist proceeding. By the following century, however, scholars had developed more of a taste for facts and a Frenchman, Montesquieu, was able to present a study of government which may be said to have founded political science in its modern genetical aspect. It was in 1748 that Montesquieu published his *Spirit of the Law* (*Esprit des Lois*). It is a work of description and comparison which reaches the conclusion that there is no single "perfect" form of government but that every people normally works out a juridical and constitutional system suited to its particular situation in the world. While it is true that Montesquieu, as a scientific pioneer, awakened a great interest in problems of government, it is improper to look upon him as a propagator of revolution. Revolution, meaning resort to swift and headlong change, accorded neither with his aristocratic temper nor with his factual, observational method.

Rousseau, the prophet of democracy

The leading apostle of revolution was Rousseau (1712–1778), a strange, wayward son of the republic of Geneva, who, after dabbling in a score of occupations only to abandon them in turn, at last tried his hand at literature and, like other literary men of his age, Voltaire for instance, came face to face with social reform. But much more radically inclined than Voltaire, he became the hot advocate of an entirely new political order, finally setting forth his views in a manual of government called the *Social Contract* (1762). To understand the Social Contract we must first know personally about Rousseau that he carried the longing of his century for emancipation from inherited bonds to the last possible point since he craved to be emancipated from civilization itself by a return to an assumed state of nature. It is by his glowing evocation of the simple life freed from all the familiar conventions of human intercourse that he became the father of the romantic movement. Of this more anon. At this point it will suffice to make clear that when a man of this radical outlook sat himself down to sketch an ideal government, he was bound to start with a generalization commensurate in its sweep with his contempt for the existing order. That generalization rings up the curtain of the Social Contract, sounding a clear trumpet call to war: "Man is born free and everywhere he is in chains." Since under these circumstances — offered as facts needing no proof — all existing governments are bare usurpations without moral sanction, why trouble to examine and compare them? Casting Montesquieu's historical method scornfully aside and using the above postulate as a spring-board, Rousseau bounded off into the empyrean where he engaged in the exciting occupation of constructing a society of truly free men. His ideal state of the Social Contract is based on the sovereignty of the people, election and recall of magistrates, the right of insurrection, majority rule, in fact, on all the principles constituting the substance of present-day democracy. It should be noted that the Genevan philosopher's plan, radical though it is, nowhere proposes to substitute community of goods for private property. Indeed a certain caution about Rousseau restrained him from following his arguments through to their inevitable logical goal. And yet since in this, and more violently still in other writings, he preached a fanatical equality, that body of modern political extremists, whose doctrine is an unqualified communism, do him no particular wrong in worshipping him as one of the idols of their temple. Locke, Montesquieu, Rousseau mark three important stages of political theory. Locke, the advocate of reason, toleration, utility, that is, of middle courses, became the darling of the middle classes; with Montesquieu we get the application to government of the historical method, which, interesting chiefly to scholars, gained only a small following in the author's day since it promised at best no more than a gradual amelioration of human conditions; and with Rousseau we reach the liberator of the disfranchised masses, the arch-revolutionist, the prophet of an unlimited democracy.

Rise and domination of mercantilism

Economic theory in this period developed along lines which run strikingly parallel to political theory. We are already aware that such economic thinking as is recorded for the Middle Age centered about the towns as the foremost economic units. Not till the absolute monarchy united the nation was there created even the possibility for economic thinking on a really national scale. But as the very existence of the new central power turned on the problem of revenue, the earliest and most imperative kind of thinking done by and for the strengthened monarchy was what we may call fiscal thinking. There being nothing the absolute king needed and desired so much as money, he supported a bullion policy, taking particular pains to prohibit the exportation and to favor the importation of gold and silver. From this position it was only a step to the program of a favorable balance of trade vigorously advocated on the assumption that an excess of exports over imports secures a flow of bullion to the exporting country to make up the difference. Further deductions commonly made from the bullion principle we have already encountered in connection with mercantilism, which is the name usually given the complicated economic system finally elaborated from the original fiscal premise. We have seen that mercantilism dominated every country of Europe, and that if Colbert the Frenchman, Walpole the Englishman, and Frederick the Great of Prussia are notable representatives of the economic system represented by this name, the men who preceded and followed them in office held to very much the same views and practices. Other features of mercantilism are that it favored the export of manufactures while trying to hinder their importation; that it encouraged ocean-borne commerce carried exclusively in native bottoms; and that it believed in colonies on the ground that they furnished desirable raw products while serving as a market for goods manufactured in the mother-country. Mercantilist governments were moved to favor here, prohibit there, regulate and control everywhere on the theory that this interference was socially necessary and economically advantageous.

The physiocrats: rise of a science of political economy

Such a system the eighteenth century, supremely interested in liberating itself from every kind of bondage, was not likely to leave unchallenged. Toward 1750 there came to the front in France a group of students who began the application of the scientific method to the economic field and thereby as certainly became the fathers of the science of political economy as their contemporary, Montesquieu, was the father of the science of politics. They called themselves physiocrats and of course made only a beginning since they did not succeed in entirely clearing their brains of all the old metaphysical cobwebs. But they did grasp that there existed a body of economic laws with something of the sweep and dignity of the natural laws of the astronomers and that it was suicidal to attempt to interfere with their operation. Above all, they pointed out that the government's regulating and checking the economic processes at every turn was in substance no more than mischievous meddling which hindered enterprise and was mainly responsible for the curse of poverty. They coined the slogan, *laissez faire* (let alone!), and agitated in favor of a complete abandonment of government supervision in order that the creative energy of the individual might unfold itself without let or hindrance.

Adam Smith

While the French physiocrats were still groping their way toward a new economic philosophy, their cause was taken up by a masterful champion across the channel, the Scotsman, Adam Smith. In 1776 he published his famous *Wealth of Nations*. Smith is not only the advocate of the removal of all trade restrictions (for which reason he has remained identified with free trade), but he reaches the conclusion that the basic factor in production is human labor and that if man is to bring his highest energy into play he must needs enjoy the greatest possible degree of freedom. By this philosophic line of argument the keen Scotsman showed that he moved in the line of middle class thought and possessed the key to middle class evolution. Already Locke had broken a lance for utility and reasonableness in government; and now Smith argued in their behalf in economics, his whole exposition culminating in the demand for the free untrammeled individual. A society of liberated men and women would need no regulative principle beyond their enlightened self-interest and, with state interference withdrawn, would soon produce wealth on a scale undreamed of in the period of economic bondage. If ever the middle classes, who have so largely made the modern world, build a Pantheon to their great men, they owe it to themselves to reserve a prominent niche for Adam Smith.

Physical science: Newton

With the thought of this period directed so largely to emancipation we are prepared for the great forward strides of that arch-emancipator, science. Already the previous period had culminated, with the work of Galileo, in the discovery of a successful method for penetration into the physical world. Its adoption by investigators of every conceivable variety coupled with a certain amount of necessary accommodation to each particular field of study would be certain to unlock in ever increasing measure the secrets of Nature. Hardly a generation after Galileo's death the crown was set on his and Kepler's labors by the Englishman, Sir Isaac Newton, who combined all the discoveries of his predecessors into one of the most startling as well as simple generalizations that have ever been elaborated by the human mind. In 1686 Newton in his *Principia* announced the law of universal gravitation which showed that the apple dropping to the ground was part of the same force as that which held the planets in their courses. The discovery of the laws of gravitation brought to a noble close a group of related labors covering almost two hundred years.

The dawn of chemistry

While continuing its exploration of the physical world, the spirit of human curiosity guided by the new method now turned its attention to the plants and animals of the earth and for the first time produced a botany and zoölogy that rested on a solid observational basis. Space is lacking to describe these and other advances, but our main purpose will be served if it becomes clear that every department of knowledge registered and was bound to register conquests of bewildering scope the moment it threw overboard the old petrified learning and made a fresh start trusting to the new tools. Certainly an outstanding achievement was the creation of modern chemistry. This was the work of the Frenchman, Lavoisier (1743–1794), after a number of valiant predecessors had in the usual manner blazed a trail for him. Lavoisier was the first chemist to resolve water into its elements; thereafter, with the aid of others, he provided his science with a serviceable nomenclature. From the end of the eighteenth century chemistry went forward with amazing rapidity. Its intensive cultivation indicated that men were passing from the consideration of problems dealing with matter in motion to the subtler problems of the constitution of matter. The next great step would logically be the passing from chemistry to biology, that is, to the mysterious processes of life itself. That step with its revolutionary consequences was duly taken in the nineteenth century.

Science and invention: Watt's steam engine

Among the varied interests bound to attract the attention of a keen physical observer like Galileo was the problem of the pressure of gases. Numerous experiments conducted by the great Tuscan and his Italian followers and finally carried on throughout Europe led to a concentration on the most obvious of all gases, water-vapor. Some crude engines, utilizing the expansive power of steam, were constructed until a serviceable engine for pumping water had been put together. By adding a number of improvements the Scotsman, James Watt, was at last enabled to build an engine capable of driving a machine. In 1769 he patented his invention, which with subsequent alterations by himself and others was taken over by the textile industry of England, thus inaugurating one of the most momentous movements in the history of mankind, the movement known as the Industrial Revolution. However, since this revolution got only slowly under way and did not work its magic transformations till the nineteenth century, we are content at this point to note the relation between science and invention and to indicate the probability that, in measure as science extended its dominion, its discoveries would be appropriated by men of an inventive turn and utilized for the creation of machines and other devices calculated by making life less laborious for the human race to make it gradually more generally enjoyable.

Philosophy comes down to earth with Locke

The movement of modern philosophy starting with Descartes continued for some time along his general line. Other philosophers arose who, like him, both took account of the new world picture due to modern scientific discovery and held to the inherited view that it was possible to fuse all knowledge into a logical system dominated by a group of coherent concepts. The habit of system-building had been contracted in the Middle Age and in consequence of a firm faith, which nothing had yet shaken, in one God, Creator and Sustainer, men fairly thirsted for majestic metaphysical constructions. Spinoza (d. 1677) and Leibnitz (d. 1716) may be cited as illustrative of this comprehensible and long continued philosophic trend. But it also came about that a certain revulsion set in against these over-bold philosophies as being too pretentious in view of the limited powers of the human mind; and characteristically it was in matter-of-fact, deistic England of the Restoration Period that the protest first made itself clearly heard. John Locke, the same man who endowed the Whigs with their political doctrine, is largely responsible for drawing Dame Philosophy from her ancient habitat among the clouds and setting her feet upon the earth. He achieved this result by diverting attention from the unfruitful discussion about God and immortality which had been going on for ages to the fundamental, though perhaps no less vexatious, problem of knowledge. In his *Essay on Human Understanding* (1690) he undertook to show that we acquire knowledge in two ways, first, through our senses, and second, through that mysterious entity, the human mind. In substance Locke declared that before we wrestle with problems that have balked the wise men of every generation, we would be doing well to study the means at our disposal for penetrating the darkness all around us. He thus achieved a shift of emphasis and inaugurated a practical, observational study of the mind which tended to convert metaphysics into psychology. Turning from heaven to earth, he is correctly characterized as an empiricist.

Kant and the autonomy of science

Plainly the tendency of Locke is sceptical so far as the purposes and claims of traditional philosophy are concerned. In the generations after Locke this scepticism grew until with the Scotsman Hume it dropped to a level close to complete negation. Substantially what Hume said was that we have no certainty about anything and are helpless to achieve it. Under these circumstances not only philosophy but science itself became enveloped in a cloud of doubt, which was not cleared away till Emanuel Kant, a native of Königsberg in Prussia (1724–1804), spoke his weighty word. What Kant chiefly did in his *Critique of Reason* and other works was to disentangle from one another science, philosophy (metaphysics), and theology and to assign to each a definite province and technique. Throughout the Middle Age these three studies had been considered as inseparable parts of a single empire of knowledge in which theology ruled as lord and dictator. Although that conception had been breaking down in recent generations, it still held sufficiently in influential circles to hamper seriously all three disciplines since they were too intimately bound together to secure to each its requisite degree of freedom. Kant's achievement was to prove by his deductions that in its own particular world, the world of appearances (phenomena), science was not a dependent but an absolute master. In this way he freed the pursuit of practical, mundane knowledge from the control of either the theologian or the philosopher. But in liberating science Kant did not depress the status of theology and philosophy. For them too he staked out independent realms where each was as free of the other as both were free of science. Not improbably this division of knowledge into air-tight compartments was a specious procedure which may ultimately break down; coming when it did, it rendered a great service to a still trammeled science by cutting its remaining chains and clearing the road for its unimpeded onward march.

The romantic movement

To sketch even hastily the literary and artistic currents of this period would require a separate chapter for which there is unfortunately no room. Doubtless it would add its touches, important touches too, to the picture of the age for the reason that literature and art are particularly sensitive to changes of opinion and feeling and never fail to reflect them in their creations. For information on the varied and many-voiced message of the artists and writers the student will have to be referred to the special histories devoted to these matters and to be content in this swift review of a given period of culture with the consideration of a single novel agency which, projected into literature and art in the eighteenth century, almost as completely revolutionized them as the parallel movement of science revolutionized knowledge. I am referring to romanticism. It can be traced back to many distant sources and burst on Europe only after a long gestation; but as Rousseau is commonly accepted as its father and admittedly was its chief promoter, we shall find our task somewhat simplified if we attempt to understand romanticism in the light of his activity. We have already seen that Rousseau reacted passionately against the elaborate conventions of society and dreamed of a life of simplicity and innocence which, in certain extravagant moods at least, he imagined to be identical with an original and long since vanished state of nature. The real secret of his violent rejection of the contemporary world was that its social, literary, and artistic leaders had fallen more and more under the domination of a dry, ultilitarian intellectualism which aimed at improving man by stifling the untamed energy of his instincts and emotions. As these were to Rousseau the most precious thing in life, he heatedly asserted their inalienable right against the tyranny of the controlling mind. In his novel, *La Nouvelle Héloise* (1759), he disclosed the world of feeling from which his contemporaries had become estranged and which they received back at his hands with extravagant expressions of delight. In this novel and in other works as well he invited men to give themselves whole-heartedly to love — to love of God, nature, woman, and the whole wide gamut of creation. Romanticism, considered as a historic movement, signifies the recovery of these deepest well-springs of our being coupled with the rejection of purely intellectual norms of living. By effecting a release of our neglected basic energies it opened a new chapter in literature and art among all the peoples of Europe.

The romantic movement not only a literary but a moral and social movement

But romanticism did more than quarrel with the pedantic self-satisfaction and intellectual arrogance which characterized the dying, eighteenth century phase of the Renaissance movement; it took issue also with the frozen *forms* of literature and art, which, approved by long practice, claimed the high distinction of being sacrosanct and "classical." Forms of this character, whether of the drama and the lyric poem or of the portrait and the mural decoration, are not very serviceable for the expression of spontaneous feeling, and Rousseau and his romantic contemporaries tried their best to modify and even to replace them with new forms. In the end a new pulsating literature (and art) came to the fore which in casting off the formalism of the past incidentally provided itself also with fresh subject-matter. Than this nothing was more natural since in strict keeping with its narrow outlook classicism had taken account of life only at its highest social level. The French drama of the seventeenth and even of the eighteenth century will bear witness to this contention and the same situation may be observed in English literature from Addison to Pope. A review will show that the writers of the period named dealt chiefly with kings and queens, with lords and ladies. Starting as a movement of rebellion against an established aristocratic prejudice, romanticism reached out until it embraced within its scope the whole of humanity. The poets and painters of the movement therefore quite naturally turned for inspiration to the peasant, the sailor, the carter, and other representatives of the common man; in fact they discovered the democratic masses and by declaring them worthy of artistic treatment added to their prestige and contributed powerfully to the advent of nineteenth century democracy. While it is usual to consider romanticism as a movement purely of the arts of expression, it should be clear from this exposition that it is much more than that. It is a sweeping moral and social revaluation, of which the outstanding features are first, a protest against the priggish domination of an upper class and its literary henchmen, and second, a flaming demand of freedom and justice for the humble and submerged.

The stage cleared for the middle classes

In looking back over the matters treated in this chapter we receive the unmistakable impression that European civilization was entering on a new phase in which the middle classes with their increased wealth and improved mental equipment would play a dominating role. While they give evidence of a steadily mounting self-assurance, they have as yet only in the Dutch Republic and to a lesser degree in England reached out for political power. When in the year 1789 the French middle classes took a famous revolutionary step and wrested the scepter from the enfeebled hand of their Bourbon sovereign, they really did no more than give effect to a movement which had been maturing in the womb of time for several generations. And when the middle classes of the neighboring countries were fired by the French example to similar ambitions, this too was to be expected in view of the essentially identical conditions prevailing throughout the west-European area. Even the fact that the democratic masses projected themselves into the French Revolution, thereby deflecting it from its bourgeois ends and producing a frightful chaos, can be accounted for on the basis of the previous popular awakening effected by the romantic movement. But the masses failed; their inexperience and lack of organization proved fatal to them. Plainly their day had not yet come. It would dawn, if it dawned at all, only after the Industrial Revolution had packed the machine workers by the thousands into manufacturing centers and with their numbers had given them a sense of irresistible power. Conceding that already on the stage of the eighteenth century, the city mob, raising an indistinct, raucous murmur in the background, is a disquieting phenomenon, we can not escape the impression that the central space, the place of honor, has been cleared for the entrance of the middle classes. They were at last to achieve the full fruition of their arduous labors of the past.

Impressive spread of European civilization

But before the action of the triumphant middle classes unfolds itself, let us take note that the dimensions of the European stage had tremendously expanded. At the very outset we laid down certain predications touching European civilization. We insisted that it inhered by origin in a limited area identical with the dominion of the Latin Church in the Middle Age; that within this area it had everywhere essentially the same physiognomy; and that, starting from the platform of a common religious faith, the various peoples constituting western Europe had without exception been shaped by the same outstanding experiences. However, that does not mean that innovations and new attitudes manifested themselves evenly throughout the occident and at exactly the same time. They usually originated in a limited group, radiating thence till they had been brought to all the others and been woven into the stuff of life. The Renaissance, an Italian movement, is a case in point, as is also the Reformation, incubated in Germany. As for the great contributions of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries which we have just reviewed, they originated chiefly in England and France, where the middle classes were most alert and the specific middle class mentality was first formed. But in accordance with the usual practice and because western Europe had a long established cultural unity, the new ideas gradually filtered through the whole area, though by no means evenly since in some countries the middle classes, on whom the issue turned, were still weak and under feudal domination. But if in the light of the past it was reasonably clear that the occident would, though perhaps with uneasy fluctuations, continue to behave as a unit, it now for the first time became apparent that such was the vigor of occidental civilization that it would crowd upon the domain of rival civilizations and gradually supplant them. That the very primitive culture of the American Indians would go down before Europe had been demonstrated from the first moment of contact following the discoveries. By the eighteenth century both South and North America, at least in so far as they were under colonial rule, already represented a material as well as a spiritual extension of Europe. It was far more expressive of the strength of Europe that even relatively advanced civilizations could not resist the European onslaught. In the days of Peter the Great Russia surrendered to it bag and baggage; and though the great Slav empire long remained in what we may call the apprentice class, its whole-hearted acceptance of western methods and objectives gave it an irresistible push and prepared the way for the Europeanization of half of Asia. When the English at last ejected the French from India and in all seriousness took in hand the government of their vast new dependency, another civilization, one of the oldest and most subtle the world has known, registered the impact of a more vital movement and slowly retreated before it. In short, if Europe in the sixteenth century, with the voyages of discovery, inaugurated a period of physical expansion, this by the close of the eighteenth century had led not only to the economic exploitation of large subject-areas throughout the world but also to the mental conquest of numerous peoples endowed often with a by no means negligible civilization of their own. It is not too much to say that a civilization of a very definite character and hatched in a circumscribed section of Europe was reaching out to take possession of every continent. If it imposed itself often by war and related violent means, it just as often was taken over voluntarily on the strength of its indubitable superiority. In either case it was busy making the world over in its image. In the difficult adjustments necessitated by these far-reaching developments lay the assurance of tremendous and prolonged disturbances in the time to come, but also the promise, no more than the shadow of a hope perhaps, of the ultimate drawing together of all the peoples of the earth on the basis of a common understanding.

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SECTION IV

REVOLUTION AND DEMOCRACY FROM 1789 TO OUR OWN DAY

CHAPTER XIX

THE FRENCH REVOLUTION AND NAPOLEON

Louis XV discredits the monarchy

The long reign of Louis XV (1715–1774) was disastrous not only to France but also to the monarchy. The disgraceful termination of the colonial struggle with England fell like a blight upon the state, while the system of taxation which favored the old feudal orders and rested with extortionate severity upon the common people tended to spread discontent and maintain a perpetual sense of injury and injustice. In these circumstances the court, supported at Versailles on a scale of wanton magnificence, became a favorite target of criticism. Its lavish expenditure was not in the least reduced when the long drawn-out wars impoverished the country and exhausted the treasury; and what was even worse than its splendor maintained amidst the general misery, its moral tone declined under a voluptuary like Louis XV until with the advent to power of the official mistress, Madame de Pompadour, it seemed as if vice and frivolity had usurped the scepter of the kingdom. A modern French historian has strikingly voiced his sense of the situation by declaring that Louis XV "gangrened" the monarchy.

Growth of a critical opinion

The most significant effect of this open and flagrant failure of government was the formation of a hostile public opinion which was fed by the spoken word and, in spite of a vigorous censorship, uninterruptedly found its way into print. Indeed long before Louis XV's reign came to an end a criticism had sprung to life as clamorous and many-voiced as a frog-pond in spring. Voltaire was its leader and, although he threw himself with particular glee upon bigotry and unreason in the Church, he never failed to discharge his biting shaft at any abuse whatever in society and government which came under his notice. Around Voltaire gathered scores of lesser lights, all set on spreading the doctrine of "enlightenment" and bringing the traditional institutions to the test of reason. At the side of these swift skirmishers, who called themselves philosophers and really were a band of sublimated journalists, stood men of a more serious turn — physiocrats, like the elder Mirabeau, who studied the phenomenon of wealth; political scientists, like Montesquieu and Rousseau, who probed into the mysteries of government; and natural scientists like Buffon and Lavoisier, engaged in conquering new continents of knowledge. In sum, during her eighteenth century degradation under Louis XV France produced a unique array of writers and thinkers who furnished her with a wholly new equipment of ideas. And since every government ultimately rests on opinion, we may safely conclude that changes were impending in the French system expressive of the altered state of the public mind. The dissolute old king was himself occasionally visited by forebodings of disaster. He would then relieve his mind with the cynical remark: "Things will hold together till my death," while his friend, Madame de Pompadour, would add cheerily, "After us the deluge!"

The accession of Louis XVI

On his death in 1774 Louis XV was succeeded by his grandson, Louis XVI. The new sovereign, not quite twenty years old, was a shy, awkward man, prone to corpulence and irresolution. To confirm the alliance with Austria he had been married to Marie Antoinette, daughter of the famous Empress Maria Theresa and a woman — or rather a girl, for she was only eighteen — of unusual vivacity and charm. Had she possessed the political intelligence of her mother, she might have been of considerable help to the bewildered young man who was her husband; but as she lacked the seriousness necessary to wrestle with the problems of government, such influence as she exercised was prompted by personal bias and usually harmful to the public interest. Mixed into Louis's average endowments was a measure of good will, also average, which he was resolved to exercise in behalf of his people. The clamor of enlightened opinion had penetrated the secluded precincts of Versailles and made the young king hesitantly desirous to become a benefactor and reformer. Besides, the finances were in such confusion that something had imperatively to be done about them. There was a large debt inherited from the past, an obstinate annual deficit, and a critical, exacerbated public unwilling to bear additional taxation. Responding to this situation, Louis began his reign by dismissing the whole body of the discredited ministers inherited from his grandfather and by putting the treasury into the hands of Turgot as comptroller general.

Louis calls Turgot to office

He could not have made a better choice, for Turgot was not only a thoughtful economist, a physiocrat, but a practical administrator as well who had served for over a decade as intendant of Limoges, where he had successfully introduced a number of local reforms. He took from the first a large, statesmanlike view of the situation and, instead of losing himself in financial details, developed a broad program of national renovation. What France needed, according to him, was to cancel the privileges enjoyed by the feudal orders in the matter of taxation, to put an end to the monopolistic system of industry identified with the gilds, and to reduce and perhaps finally to abandon entirely the intimate control of trade exercised by the state in obedience to the old mercantilist philosophy. It was a program which aimed at lifting from the country the dead-weight of tradition and unifying the nation on the basis of economic liberty and equality of taxation; moreover, as it accorded with enlightened public opinion, it would, if successfully carried through, have modernized France without the necessity of a revolution.

Turgot's attack on privilege

But the program failed. Inaugurated in 1774, it scored a number of successes, such as the establishment of free trade in grain, the abolition of the *corvée*, the hated obligatory service of the peasants in connection with the maintenance of the public highways, and the destruction of the gilds, whereby the crafts were opened to whoever chose to exercise them. After two years, with his work only just begun, Turgot was dismissed (1776). The reason is not far to seek. As soon as the comptroller general, instead of indulging in the usual window-dressing of ministers of finance, laid the ax to the French upas-tree and attacked the parasitical system of privileges, all the groups which had any interest in the maintenance of abuses combined against him. Clergy, nobles, gild-masters, and the hordes of speculators who grafted on the corrupt finances were equally aroused and were immeasurably delighted to have their opposition voiced in the parlement of Paris. This, like the twelve other provincial parlements, was an integral feature of the privileged régime, since it consisted of a judiciary which was irremovable and hereditary. Enjoying by custom the right of refusing to register the king's edicts, the parlement was moved to throw itself across Turgot's path, but was pushed aside by the royal command communicated in a formal session (*lit de justice*). If Louis had continued to stand resolutely by his reforming minister, it might well have been that the opposition, though only after a prolonged and bitter struggle, would have broken down; however, Louis was weak and, to make matters worse, he lived his life in the exclusive company of high-born gentlemen and ladies who daily poured their irritation over Turgot into his ears. Tired of the sour faces of the courtiers, he at last yielded to their pressure and sent the great statesman away. Thereupon frenzied cheers from the representatives of privilege, withdrawal of Turgot's edicts, and a prompt return to the old abuses!

Necker, 1776–1781

However, as the financial problem could not be evaded, Louis now submitted it for solution to Necker, a native of Geneva, who, as a young man, had come to Paris where he had made his fortune as a banker. Necker, a fairly good administrator but certainly not a statesman, contented himself with introducing a certain degree of thrift and efficiency into the public service. Doubtless he thus somewhat reduced the deficit, but whatever advantage he secured was completely sacrificed when the government resolved (1778) to make an alliance with the rebellious American colonists in order once more to try conclusions with Great Britain over the issue of colonies and sea-power. The enormous war expenditure could only be met by loans, the heavy interest on which continued after the war and embarrassed the treasury more than ever. But even the very modest reform program of Necker angered the privileged intriguers at court and in 1781 they persuaded the king to let him go.

The nation demands the States General

It was now perfectly clear that the clergy, the nobles, and the court formed a cabal which would continue indefinitely to paralyze the feeble volition of the sovereign and keep things as they were. Reform from above was therefore a chimæra and the only certain way to clean up the Augean stables was for the nation itself to take the work in hand. In this way the reform sentiment gradually mounted to a revolutionary pitch, manifesting itself at last in a demand for the States General. That was the old feudal assembly, which, having met for the last time in 1614, had perished from disuse. To the ill-informed and romantically minded generation which lived under the scepter of Louis XVI the States General looked like a body genuinely representative of the nation and thoroughly capable of legislating the country back to health. First here, then there the call was heard for this national council until the demand rose finally as from a single throat.

Meanwhile the utterly helpless king charged one man after another with the task of disentangling the royal finances. New loans could not be raised because the credit of the state was ruined, while new taxes could not be levied because the parlement refused to register the edicts and the king's authority had declined to such a point that he could no longer successfully impose his will on the recalcitrant members. When the government, staggering like a drunken man, at last returned to the sweeping reform program of Turgot, public opinion, now become a fiery flood, refused to take the announcement seriously. The reform of France was no longer considered to be the business of the king but of the nation. By the summer of 1788 the monarchy was absolutely paralyzed; there was no longer either authority or obedience and the only possibility of avoiding immediate bankruptcy — the forerunner of a general collapse — was for Louis to surrender to the popular will. He did so in characteristic listless despair. Because Turgot was dead and because of all the names connected with the cause of reform Necker's enjoyed the greatest currency, the king recalled Necker to office and at the same time issued a call for the States General for May, 1789.

Necker concedes double representation to the Third Estate

Beside themselves with joy, Frenchmen at first hardly stopped to consider what sort of an assembly the resuscitated States General were. But presently as the antiquarians, grubbing among the dusty records, recovered its physiognomy, the nation learned that the three groups, the clergy, the nobility, and the commoners, called in French usage respectively the First, Second, and Third Estates, met as three separate houses and that the privileged orders were always able to outvote the representatives of the people by two to one. At this information public sentiment gave evidence of disappointment and alarm. To conciliate it Necker took the half-step of ordering that the Third Estate should send twice as many delegates to Versailles as either of the other orders, that is, the commoners should have approximately six hundred delegates to the same number divided equally between nobles and clergy. On the one really crucial point as to whether the assembly should be constituted in three houses, as tradition required, or merged in a single house, as public opinion insisted, the minister wrapped himself in an enigmatic silence.

In the spring of 1789 France was stirred by the wholly unfamiliar phenomenon of a general election. In each bailiwick the electors met in three assemblies according to their legal status, and after drawing up a list of grievances (*cahier*) to be presented to the government, elected their respective delegates to the States General. On May 5, 1789, Louis XVI opened the session with a few words of welcome and Necker followed with a wearisome exposition of the financial chaos. It is indicative of the minister's feeble grasp of the situation that he imagined the States General were going to vote the government a few new taxes and humbly retire from the scene. Any one but a tyro would have sensed that, sustained by the people, they would be content with nothing less than a complete reorganization of the administration. The glaring difference of viewpoint brought an immediate clash. The first meeting over, the government expected the three estates to constitute at once their separate organizations. The two privileged orders were in their majority not in the least averse to the suggestion, but the commons were firmly set on a single house, since only in this way could they get the full benefit of their numerical preponderance. The result was a deadlock. The First and Second Estates organized as the king commanded, but the Third Estate refused to take the least step toward the same end. Assembling each day informally, the members declined to proceed with business until the other two estates had joined them.

Opening of the States General and recalcitrancy of the Third Estate

Over this issue a tremendous crisis was precipitated, which was decided by an irresistible public opinion. Since the favor of the people massed itself like a tidal wave behind the Third Estate, the delegates simply waited till they felt strong enough to go ahead without regard to the royal wishes. On June 17th they for the last time summoned the other two estates and then voted themselves the National Assembly with or without their colleagues of the clergy and nobility. It was a revolutionary act destructive alike of the old constitution and the authority of the king. Spurred on by the courtiers to defend his rights, Louis now closed with troops the hall where the Third Estate met. To this challenge the undaunted commoners responded by meeting on a near-by tennis court and taking a solemn vow to continue their sessions until they had given their country a new constitution (June 20th). A more frank avowal of their revolutionary purpose was impossible. The king met their defiance by calling a formal session wherein, after lecturing the delegates on their misconduct, he reiterated his inalterable resolution of maintaining the old States General in its tricameral form. As agreement seemed out

The States General becomes the National Assembly

of the question, civil war would certainly have followed if one side had not given way. Of course it was the king who yielded. On June 27th he announced a new inalterable decision in the form of an order to the two privileged estates to join the commoners and complete the happy family. On that June day the monarchy, manifestly a broken reed, saw its authority slip into the hands of the National Assembly which in effect took over the government.

THE NATIONAL ASSEMBLY (1789–1791)

Preponderance of the commoners

The National Assembly, thus raised aloft over the nation, boasted among its members many of the most alert and intelligent men of the country. In spite of the fact that the Assembly contained a party of clerical and noble irreconcilables who vigorously resented the turn affairs had taken, it constituted a fairly homogenous body in respect of the great matter of the renovation of France, since a group of liberal nobles and an even larger group of liberal clergymen frankly took their stand with their fellow-citizens of the Third Estate. The division in the two upper orders greatly weakened them and in the end proved even more of a blow to the traditional rights of the clergy than to those of the nobility. Within the clergy, in spite of its being legally one estate, there existed really two distinct social strata, for the great prelates (bishops and abbots) were men of noble birth, whereas the parish priests, generally speaking, belonged to the urban group and to the peasantry. In the great political issues debated in the National Assembly the priests, constituting a majority of the clerical membership, sided with their kin of the Third Estate, thus contributing considerably to the numerical preponderance of the commoners.

Enthusiasm and theoretical bias of the Assembly

In consequence of these circumstances and particularly because of its victory over the king the National Assembly began its labors in an atmosphere of extraordinary exultation. Without any doubt whatever the members were in overwhelming majority animated with a noble enthusiasm to give their country the best service that was in them. It was no negligible matter that this spirit of magnanimity presided, generally speaking, over their sessions. And yet what good it may have done was largely neutralized by a momentous defect. Educated theoretically but not practically in the affairs of government, the members were prone to treat all questions as occasions for the display of an emotional eloquence and to formulate decrees, beautiful in the abstract but hopelessly out of relation to the concrete facts.

The leaders

When the Assembly convened there existed as yet no political parties. But gradually parties began to form about individuals who championed a program of some sort and who by virtue of their talents forged to the front. Only a few of these can be pointed out here. The Marquis de Lafayette had won a great name for himself by the magnanimous offer of his sword, when a young man, to the cause of freedom in America. Though a nobleman by birth, he sympathized with the people, rallied the liberal wing of the nobles about himself, and was accepted by a large section of the bourgeoisie as its leader. No man during the early months of the Revolution had a greater following within and without the Assembly. The best representative of the current dogmatic and philosophical spirit was the Abbé Sieyès. He carried to absurd lengths the idea that government was a clever mechanism, capable of being constructed in accordance with preconceived ideas. When one constitution failed, he was always ready, political conjurer that he was rather than organic thinker, to shake another out of his sleeve. Then there was the lawyer Robespierre, who hailed from the small town of Arras. Sharing with a handful of other members democratic sentiments which he had drawn from his idol, Rousseau, he never spoke without parading a patriotism of an incorruptible Roman grandeur. However, the member who without doubt towered head and shoulders above the rest of the Assembly was Count Mirabeau. Mirabeau was a born statesman, perhaps the only man in the whole Assembly who instinctively knew that a government could not be fashioned at will by a committee of philosophers, but to be worth anything must be the natural expression of the moral, economic, and historical forces ruling the nation. He wished, therefore, while preserving the monarchy, to *nationalize* it by injecting into its enfeebled arteries the fresh blood of the commoners. If he had had his way he would have abolished all privileges in order to create a unified people, the members of which would be equal before the law; and he would have given the king a considerable measure of authority on condition that he exercise it in coöperation with a legislature elected by the people. Unfortunately he never succeeded in acquiring a guiding influence. In the first place, he was a noble and therefore subject to suspicion on the score of birth; and, further, his early life had been a succession of scandals, which had filled the public prints for more than a decade and kept him under a moral cloud which never lifted.

In strict accord with the Oath of the Tennis Court of June 20th the National Assembly considered its main function to be the making of a new constitution. It was of the highest importance that this work should be done in perfect security, free from the interference of popular passion and violence. But, owing to the excitement permeating the whole population, the Assembly soon fell under the domination of the street. The growth of the influence of the lower elements, who, while desiring reform, created anarchy, is the most appalling feature of the great events of 1789. If we understand this fact, we have the key to the extraordinarily rapid descent of French society to complete dissolution.

Calamitous influence of the masses

For this degeneration the king and the Assembly were both responsible, as well by reason of what they did as of what they did not do. It goes without saying that the sudden failure of absolutism in 1789 demoralized the government and threw France into unutterable confusion. Parisian and provincial mobs frequently fell upon and murdered the royal officials, while the excited peasants everywhere burned and plundered the castles of the nobles. In view of these dangerous and unprofitable excesses king and National Assembly should have united to maintain order; but unite they would not, because the king, who was under the domination of a reactionary court, looked askance at the triumphant Assembly, and because for its part the Assembly feared the designs of the court and the king. Mutual suspicion ruined harmony and played into the hands of the anarchists and agitators.

Failure of the authority of the king and the Assembly

Early in July the court party engaged in a plot which only too fully justified the suspicious attitude of the Assembly. His intimates persuaded the king, who as usual was not hard to persuade (though hard to keep persuaded), to reëstablish his authority by means of troops. Soldiers were accordingly concentrated around Paris to overawe the citizens as the necessary step preliminary to dismissing the popular ministers, such as Necker, and to dissolving the Assembly. At the sight of the soldiers a tremendous excitement took hold of the people; and although, to calm the populace, the troops were again withdrawn, vast

The fall of the Bastille, July 14, 1789

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[1] For this reason the National Assembly is known also as the Constituent Assembly.

crowds, seizing what weapons came to hand, gathered in the streets. Savagely resolved to teach the court a lesson, they at last threw themselves (July 14th) upon the Bastille, a royal fortress and state prison in the eastern section of the capital. After a brief encounter involving not a little bloodshed, the small garrison of ancient invalids, who held the gloomy stronghold, surrendered to the multitude. They were butchered almost to a man and the fury of the enraged mob did not subside till it had begun the work of razing the hated fortress to the ground.

Significance of the fall of the Bastille

Like the famous shot fired at Lexington in 1775, the fall of the Bastille was heard around the world. Everywhere excited opinion interpreted it as signifying the end of tyranny and the dawn of a new era of brotherly love. We must in this connection remember that the Bastille was more than an ordinary fortress. Because the French kings had employed it as the living grave of those of their subjects who ventured to criticize their policy, it had become the outstanding symbol of their absolutism. Arrested on the private order of the sovereign by what was called a *lettre de cachet*, the bold critics disappeared behind the solid masonry of the Bastille to be held in confinement without trial subject to the royal pleasure. It was this system that was levelled to the earth with the Bastille; it was arbitrary power culminating in arbitrary arrest that stood condemned. Small wonder that France and the neighboring countries, too often cursed with the same system, should have rejoiced and prophesied a millennium in which the triple blessing of liberty, equality, and fraternity would hold undisputed sway. Of course it need hardly be expressly said that the storming of the Bastille did not bring the fulfilment of this Utopian dream; but because it did put an end to an immediate tyranny, it is at least intelligible that French republicans should ever since have cherished the fourteenth of July as the birthday of a new era.

The emigration

The most immediate consequence of the Bastille uprising was that the plan of turning back the revolutionary tide by force was abruptly abandoned. Plainly the court party was beaten and its most violent members, with the count of Artois, the king's younger brother at its head, resolved to show their disgust by leaving the uncongenial soil of France. In this way began the so-called emigration, which, continuing in the following years, soon collected in every country of Europe, but chiefly in Germany along the Rhine, many thousand members of the old privileged orders.

While most of these *émigrés* were warlike nobles, there was a fair sprinkling of clergymen among them. In their various places of retreat the exiles were not only spared the hateful sight of a triumphant people but were also free to spin plots calculated to restore them to the fleshpots of "the good old days."

Lafayette and the National Guard

By administering a rebuke to the king the storming of the Bastille helped fill the National Assembly with a renewed sense of its ascendancy. To recover a little of his popularity Louis paid (July 17th) a formal visit to Paris during which he put the seal of his approval on everything the people had seen fit to do. He was received with transports of joy, for his subjects had not yet plucked the old loyalty to the hereditary dynasty from their hearts. He also endorsed two political creations by which the bourgeoisie had attempted to restore order to the disturbed capital. Since all government had broken down and every man's goods were at the mercy of his neighbor, the property owners of Paris had set up, first, a new municipal government and second, a militia or National Guard pledged to maintain the peace. Nuclei of order in a dissolving society, they were imitated throughout France and contributed not a little to hinder the country from going completely to pieces. The popular Lafayette was elected head of the Parisian National Guard; and when the militia of the capital affiliated itself with that of the provincial towns Lafayette was accepted as commander-in-chief of the whole organization. His headship of so considerable an armed force made him a preëminent figure in the political world, more particularly because the regular army, owing to the desertion of the noble officers and the impact of revolutionary sentiment on the rank and file, had largely dissolved. In the summer of 1789 Lafayette was undoubtedly the most powerful individual in the country, on whom rested almost exclusively the maintenance of internal peace. And yet such was the excitement stirring the country from end to end and such were the violences manifesting themselves in ever recurring fits of fever that even had Lafayette been less of a dilettante than he was, it is extremely doubtful whether he would have been able to keep the situation firmly in hand.

The test of Lafayette's control of the elements of disorder did not have to be long awaited. In October the rumor of another plot on the part of the remnant of the court party ran through Paris. Excited men and women told one another that at a banquet of officers, held at Versailles, the new national cockade of red, blue, and white,

The events of October 5th and 6th

the passionately adored emblem of the Revolution, had been trampled under foot and the health of the king and queen drunk amid scenes of wild enthusiasm. What really happened was an act of homage, perhaps unnecessarily demonstrative, on the part of officers toward their sovereign; but suspicion of the king and court had sunk so deeply into the hearts of the Parisians that even the most senseless invention was sure to be believed. To further blow upon the flames demagogues circulated the whispered news that the king was the cause of the famine in the city and that he and the court intercepted the grain-carts outside of Paris in order to reduce the capital to starvation. These allegations served to arouse the fear of a new military plot and precipitated a fresh explosion. On the morning of October 5th 10,000 women, fierce and haggard from long suffering, set out for Versailles to fetch the king to Paris. As they straggled over the muddy roads in a steady downpour of rain all the male riff-raff of the suburbs joined them. In the face of this tremendous danger Lafayette, the commander of the militia and guardian of the civil order, did nothing. If, as has been supposed, he remained inactive in order to let the king feel once more the power of the multitude, he may be fairly charged with political trickery. Certain it is that it was only when the National Guard refused to wait longer that he consented to conduct it to Versailles in order to preserve the peace. When he arrived there in the night, some hours after the Paris rabble, he found everything in the greatest confusion; but by his timely intercession he did at least save the lives of the royal family and could with some justification pose as the preserver of the monarchy. But if the rioters spared the king and queen, they declared firmly at the same time that they would be satisfied with nothing short of the removal of the royal family to Paris. What could the king do but give his consent? On the 6th the terrible mænads, indulging in triumphant song and dance along the road, escorted to the palace of the Tuileries "the baker, the baker's wife, and the baker's little boy," from whose presence in their midst they promised themselves a reign of plenty. The National Assembly, of course, followed the king and was quartered in the riding-school near the palace. Paris was again in fact as well as name the capital of France.

The events of October 5th and 6th undermined the last remnant of authority enjoyed by the monarchy and Lafayette can not escape the charge of having contributed to the result. The king at the

Tuileries was now practically Lafayette's prisoner, if that was what Lafayette wanted; but Lafayette himself, even though it took him some months to find it out, was henceforth the prisoner of the Parisian populace. The October days had allowed "the patriots," as the agitators euphemistically called themselves, to realize that they could break through every obstacle in their path; and having repeatedly eaten of the poisonous fruit of violence, they would require more than Lafayette's energy to bring them back to a respect for the established order. Henceforward clever and unscrupulous demagogues, utilizing the uncontrolled Paris mob as their instrument, acquired an ever broadening influence until they were able to defy the king, Lafayette, the National Assembly, and every constituted authority in France.

The "patriots" henceforth supreme

What greatly contributed to the power of the democratic politicians was the excitement and vague enthusiasm which possessed all classes alike. Would we understand the tremendous pace at which the Revolution developed, we must never forget that the year 1789 marks an almost unparalleled agitation of public opinion. Leading symptoms of this general excitement were the innumerable pamphlets and newspapers which accompanied the events of the day with explanatory comment and which not infrequently assumed the form of fanatical exhortation against the existing institutions. But the most picturesque witnesses of the disturbed state of opinion were the clubs. Clubs for consultation and debate became the great demand of the hour; they arose spontaneously in all quarters; in fact, every coffee-house acquired, through the passion of its frequenters, the character of a political association. Two clubs in particular, the Cordeliers and the Jacobins, were destined to become famous. The Cordeliers recruited their members from among the Paris extremists and boasted Danton as their leader, a capable young barrister in whom there burned a submerged volcanic fire. Another radical much seen among them was Marat, whose journalistic effusions were a perpetual call to violence and betokened a mind more than a little cracked. The Jacobins, destined to become a name of general dread, began their existence in a much higher social stratum than the Cordeliers. The Jacobin club was formed as a place of meeting for the moderate and educated elements and rapidly spread in numerous branches or so-called daughter societies over the length and breadth of France. Before long, however, the Jacobins too succumbed to the extreme revolution-

Pamphlets, newspapers, and clubs

ary tendencies which had become the very breath of the country's nostrils. Lafayette, Sieyès, and Mirabeau, whose power was at first dominant in their councils, were gradually displaced by men like Robespierre who skillfully used the club as a means of binding together the radical opinion of the country.

Fall of the system of privilege on August 4th

It was against this agitated background of opinion that there was projected between 1789 and 1791 the new governing body, the National Assembly. To its acknowledged task, the making of a constitution, the breakdown of the monarchy had obliged it to add also the practical rule of the country. In consequence it was overburdened with business and faced situations and enacted decrees, some of which it will be necessary to examine. And first of all we may consider its handling of the great question of privileges and monopolies which had proved unsolvable in the early years of Louis's reign. So far had opinion progressed since the time of Turgot that it now took but a single night to dispose of an issue, the mere broaching of which in his day had caused his downfall. On August 4, 1789, the liberal nobles renounced voluntarily their feudal rights of the chase, manorial justice, and a vast variety of petty feudal dues, while liberal-minded clerics followed the example set them by the nobles by giving up their claim to the general ecclesiastical levy called the tithe. Naturally the Third Estate could not let itself be outdone and magnanimously laid the trade monopolies conferred by the gild charters on the altar of the fatherland. When the various renunciations of an intoxicated session had been swept into a summary decree it was seen that the whole feudal edifice had been levelled with the ground and the road cleared for complete legal equality. Examined from whatever angle one chooses, August fourth was and will remain one of the great days of the Revolution.

Financial jugglery. Confiscation of Church property and assignats

Another burning question left over from the old régime was the problem of the finances. To save the country from imminent bankruptcy had been, it will be remembered, the immediate cause for summoning the States General. An inevitable consequence of the confusion attending the overthrow of the absolute system was that the treasury was reduced to the last extreme of misery. People very generally ceased to pay taxes, while the manifold disturbances on the highways, besides making the provisioning of Paris uncertain, precipitated an industrial crisis which caused wide unemployment. Confronted with an absolutely depleted money chest, the National

Assembly was moved to rescue the situation by an extreme measure and on November 2, 1789, voted to confiscate the vast property of the clergy valued conservatively at several hundred million dollars. Against this real estate it presently authorized the issue of paper money, called *assignats*, and with these resources enabled the government to meet its most pressing expenses. The assignats were a perfectly safe financial device on one condition: that with mere real estate as security, they should not be multiplied indefinitely and thereby undermine the confidence of the holders in the ability of the government to redeem them. But indefinite multiplication was the very policy actually adopted. Though the National Assembly must be credited with an effort to apply the brakes, it none the less authorized paper money in sufficient quantities to cause it to drop with each month farther and farther below par. Presently, since bad money always drives good money out of sight, the standard gold and silver coins either were exported or disappeared in the stockings of the peasants while the steadily declining assignats came more and more into exclusive use. At the close of the Assembly in 1791 the paper inflation was already well under way; but when the legislatures which followed the first assembly found no other solution of the country's financial needs than the running of the printing presses, it became certain that the flood of assignats would terminate in a colossal bankruptcy. Staved off till 1797, the financial cataclysm, one of the sorriest chapters of the French Revolution, must in part at least be ascribed to the National Assembly, which not without strong forebodings of evil launched the country on the treacherous sea of an insufficiently secured and recklessly multiplied paper currency.

Leading features of the constitution

In the intervals of the discharge of current business the Assembly undertook to rear the structure of that new constitution which was to be the crown of all its labors. By the spring of 1791 the work was nearing completion. If we remember that it was the product of men who had suffered from an absolute executive and were under the spell of the liberal and romantic thought of the eighteenth century, we shall understand its principal feature. This was that the royal executive was made purposely weak and political power distributed as widely as possible among an innumerable body of elected officials. The system culminated in a national legislature. This assembly, it was provided, should consist of but a single house elected for two years by all the active citizens of the kingdom. Active citizens were those who paid a small direct tax enabling them to qualify as property owners. This limitation of the franchise to the well-to-do was a bourgeois triumph which was deeply resented by the democratic masses. It meant that the masses, as a disfranchised body, were classified by the constitution as passive citizens. Although the bourgeoisie scored a victory in the matter of the franchise, it was a dangerous triumph since it tended to render the Assembly extremely unpopular with the common people.

Death of Mirabeau, April, 1791

Throughout the long discussions on the constitution, Mirabeau fought hard to secure to the king that measure of power which an executive requires in order to maintain the unity and tranquillity of the country; but he was unappreciated by his colleagues and distrusted by Louis and in almost all important matters met defeat. Broken by disappointment and reckless excesses he died (April, 1791), prophesying in his last days, with marvellous accuracy, all the ulterior stages of the Revolution.

The unsatisfactory position of the king

Though the death of Mirabeau was generally lamented, no one had more reason for regret than the king, since, in spite of his refusing to take Mirabeau's advice, he possessed in him an invaluable supporter. Ever since October 6th Louis had been a virtual prisoner in the Tuileries and had lost all influence in the shaping of events. The constitution, which in the spring of 1791 was nearly ready and would soon be forced upon him, he regarded as impracticable. So long as Mirabeau lived, Louis might entertain the hope of some slight changes being introduced calculated to strengthen the executive; but when the great orator's death robbed him of this prospect, his thoughts turned definitely to flight as the only means of escaping from a position which he regarded as untenable and which put his queen, his children, and all who were dear to him at the mercy of his jailers.

The flight to Varennes, 1791

The flight of the king and royal family was arranged with the greatest secrecy for the night of June 20th. But too confident of his disguise as a valet, Louis exposed himself needlessly at a post-station, only to be recognized by the son of the postmaster, who galloped through the night to give the alarm. At the village of Varennes the bells sounded the tocsin, and the excited people, summoned from their beds, refused to permit the royal carriage to proceed. With safety almost in view the flight came to an end. The fugitives were brought back to Paris, where once more they had the key turned on them in their palatial prison.

The monarchical majority of the Assembly reinstates the king and closes the session

The flight of the king divided opinion in Paris sharply. It gave the constitutional monarchists, who had a clear majority in the Assembly, their first inkling that they had gone too far in weakening the executive. A monarch was necessary to their constitutional fabric and now they beheld their chosen representative embracing the intended honor by running away from it. They began in consequence to exhibit suddenly for the captive and discredited Louis a consideration which they had refused him in his happier days. Many popular leaders, on the other hand, with Danton and Robespierre at their head and with the support of the radical Cordelier and Jacobin clubs regarded the flight as an abdication and a welcome pretext for proclaiming the republic. For the first time therefore since the beginning of the Revolution there was a clear-cut issue between monarchists and republicans. A struggle followed (July, 1791), the most ominous which Paris had yet witnessed; but the monarchists were still a majority, and by ordering out against the republican agitators the National Guard under Lafayette won a victory. The Assembly, on hearing from the king the doubtful statement that he had never meant to leave the soil of France nor employ force against his subjects, solemnly welcomed him back to office; and Louis, in return, to mark his reconciliation with his subjects, accepted and swore to observe the constitution. By its bloody repression of the republican malcontents coupled with the magnanimous forgiveness extended to the king for his many lapses, the Assembly was pleased to imagine that it had solved all the difficulties of the situation. By September 30, 1791, it had added the last touches to its work, and, dissolving itself, retired from the scene. Its strenuous labors of two years, from which the enthusiasts had declared would date the renovation of old Europe, culminated in the gift to the nation of the completed constitution. The question now was: Would the constitution prove workable and inaugurate the expected era of liberty, equality, and fraternity?

THE LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY (OCTOBER 1, 1791, TO SEPTEMBER 21, 1792)

The First Legislative Assembly, elected on the basis of the new constitution, met the day after the National Assembly adjourned. By a self-denying ordinance, characteristic of the mistaken magnanimity which pervaded the National Assembly, that body had voted the exclusion of its members from the succeeding legislature. The seven hundred and forty-five new rulers of France were, therefore, all men without experience. That alone constituted a grave danger. It was still further increased by the fact that most of the members were young enthusiasts, who owed their political fortune to the oratorical vigor displayed by them in their provincial Jacobin club.

Character of the Legislative Assembly

Hostility to king and monarchy

The radical disposition of the Assembly became apparent as soon as the members fell into party groups. Only a minority, called the Feuillants, undertook heartily to support the constitution. Opposed to them was the Gironde [1] which frankly favored the establishment of a republic. The majority, attached neither to the monarchists nor to the republicans, inclined none the less to accept Girondist leadership. Under the circumstances the work of the Assembly was from the first day directed at the destruction of the monarchy. The stages by which it accomplished its purpose we need not here consider; but as the supreme blow against the king was delivered when he was forced to declare war against Austria, we may, except for this declaration, which marks a new mile-stone in the Revolution, dismiss the Legislative Assembly from consideration.

France declares war upon Austria, April, 1792

The declaration of war against Austria resulted first, from the rising indignation in France over the *émigrés*, who had gathered in armed bands along the Rhine, and second, from the increasing fear and hatred of monarchical Europe for the Revolution. Frenchmen generally supposed that Emperor Leopold II, brother of Queen Marie Antoinette, was planning a war to punish them for their opinions. This we now know was not the case; but in August, 1791, Leopold held a conference with the king of Prussia and together with him issued a document which threatened an eventual interference in French affairs (Declaration of Pillnitz). Ceaselessly ringing the changes on the armed émigrés and the impertinent brother of the French queen, like her the enemy of the Revolution, the Girondist orators gradually worked up a public sentiment for war. They were sincere republican enthusiasts who had brought themselves to the belief that only by means of war would the republic triumph in France and ultimately throughout the world. Making bolder and bolder demands on Leopold, which of course stimulated him to increasingly vigorous replies, they at last ended discussion by launching on April 20, 1792, a declaration of war against the Hapsburg monarchy.

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[1] The Gironde owed its party designation to the circumstance that many of its leaders hailed from the department of Gironde (Bordeaux).

Austria is joined by its ally, Prussia

Unfortunately Leopold, who was a moderate and rarely capable man, died a month before war was declared, and it was his dull-witted son, Francis II, who was called to battle with the Revolution. But the far-sighted Leopold had not died without making provision for an eventual war with France. In February, 1792, alarmed by the hostile attitude of the French people, he had persuaded the king of Prussia to league himself with him in a close alliance. The declaration of April 20th, therefore, though directed only at Austria, brought Prussia also into the field. Under these circumstances began the wars which were destined to carry the revolutionary ideas around the world, to sweep away landmarks and traditions, and to lock young France and old Europe in death-grapple for over twenty years.

Invasion and terror; the Brunswick proclamation

It is probable that the republican Girondists, who more than any man or party were responsible for the war and proudly looked upon it as their work, expected an easy victory. They saw in a vision the thrones of the tyrants crumbling at the irresistible onset of the new democracy and themselves hailed everywhere as the liberators of the human race. The first engagement brought a sharp disappointment. It occurred in the Austrian Netherlands (Belgium) which the French undertook to invade. But the French army, which had been completely undermined in its discipline by the radical propaganda, had no sooner established contact with the Austrians than it scampered away without risking a battle. Thereupon the Austrians and Prussians prepared an offensive in their turn and with the coming of summer undertook the invasion of France. At this unexpected turn wrath and terror filled the republicans in Paris. They began to whisper the word treason and soon their orators dared to denounce the king publicly as the author of the national calamities. In August the allies crossed the border and proceeded on their march to the capital. Excitement rose ever to new heights, and when the duke of Brunswick, the allied commander-in-chief, threatened, in an extravagant proclamation, to wreak an unexampled vengeance on the capital if but a hair of the king's head were injured, the seething passion burst in a wave of uncontrollable fury. In the early morning of August 10th the mob, organized by the republican leaders, marched against the Tuileries to overthrow the man whom the radicals of the press and clubs represented as in league with foreign despots against the common mother, France.

August 10, 1792

When, shortly after midnight, the bells from the steeples rang out the preconcerted summons over the city, the king and his family knew that the supreme struggle had come. Dispersed about in small groups, the palace inmates passed the hours of darkness and dawn discussing the chances of the coming day. Of all the soldiers of the king the Royal Guard of Swiss mercenaries could alone be counted on. That fact tells more vividly than words the pass to which the ancient monarchy of France had come. Even so, if Louis XVI had now resolved to conquer or die at the head of this faithful regiment, he might have rallied the moderates and constitutionalists, still without any question a majority, around the throne. But from this king no such action was to be expected. He could be patient, tolerant of ideas beyond his grasp, and even generous to his enemies, but he could not form a heroic resolution. At eight o'clock in the morning, seeing that the mob was about to storm the palace, he abandoned it to seek shelter with the Legislative Assembly. The Swiss Guard, deserted by their leader, made a brave stand. Only on the king's express order did they give up the Tuileries and attempt to effect a retreat to their barracks. But the odds were against them; and the enraged populace, falling upon them, butchered most of them in the streets.

End of the monarchy and of the constitution

Meanwhile, the Legislative Assembly was engaged in putting its official seal to the verdict of the mob. In the presence of Louis and the royal family the members voted the suspension of the king from office and ordered the election of a National Convention to constitute a new government. The present Assembly agreed to hold over till September, when the new body was expected to meet. Thus perished miserably, after an existence of ten months, the constitution which had filled so many generous hearts with the highest hopes for mankind.

The suspension of the king left the government nominally in the hands of the Legislative Assembly and a committee of ministers appointed by that body. But as the capital was in the hands of the radical leaders supported by the multitude and nobody paid any attention to the authorities, the real power fell into the hands of the men who had been most active in striking down the king. In preparation of their success at the Tuileries they had, in the early morning hours of August 10th, overthrown the municipal government of Paris and now lay intrenched in the city hall or *hôtel de ville.* Robespierre, Marat, and others of their complexion acted from this local center; but they were completely overshadowed by Danton, who had been made a member of the ministry by the Legislative Assembly and who by his extraordinary energy completely dominated the situation. In fact it is hardly an exaggeration to say that Danton was the self-appointed dictator of the country during the interlude from August 10th, the day of the overthrow of the monarchy, to September 21st, the day of the meeting of the National Convention.

The government seized by the victors

As Danton saw the critical situation the first and imperative need was to beat back the invasion. He therefore made himself with his allies of the city hall the champion of the national defense. He strove to infuse into the hearts of the citizens an indomitable courage. "What do we require in order to conquer?" he shouted: "to dare, and dare, and dare again!" The fatherland was declared in danger; all occupations ceased but those which provided for the necessities of life and the manufacture of weapons; finally, steps were taken to bring the whole male population under arms. Whatever we may think of this government by violence and frenzied enthusiasm, it certainly accomplished its purpose, for it put an army into the field composed of men who were ready to die and so saved France.

Danton saves France

If we now turn to the invasion of France, which had been the compelling cause of the tremendous events in the capital, we must imagine it proceeding in the deliberate manner of eighteenth century strategy. The French armies, hurriedly reconstituted as a republican force by Danton and his helpers, were for some weeks incapable of offering any effective resistance. However, on September 20th, at Valmy in the Argonne forest, the republican general, Dumouriez, threw himself across the path of the Prussian army under Brunswick and brought it to a halt. Inordinately discouraged by the check administered to him, Brunswick ordered a retreat which became almost a rout. In a few weeks not a Prussian or Austrian soldier was left upon French soil.

The invasion checked at Valmy, September 20, 1792

Just before this really remarkable success had been achieved by improvised troops a series of frightful crimes committed in Paris had shocked the sensibilities of an attentive world. To understand how they could have occurred we must have a vivid comprehension of the general French situation. With the country in unutterable confusion the monarchy had broken down under the impact of a relatively small group of republicans, resolute to save their country from the foreigner. To this band, with Danton at its head, the great work was to organize the defense of France; and since it could not afford to let itself be disturbed in its preparations by monarchist uprisings at home, it resolved to cow its opponents, as yet far from converted to republican principles, by means of terror. As a preliminary step thousands of citizens, suspected of being devoted to the king, were put under arrest; the next measure, taken in the early days of September, was to relieve the pressure on the prisons by a deliberate massacre of the inmates. An armed band of assassins went the round of the places of detention and did not suspend its bloody work until it had despatched nearly two thousand helpless victims. Not a hand was raised to stop the hideous proceedings. Paris, to all appearance, looked on stupefied.

The September massacres

THE NATIONAL CONVENTION (SEPTEMBER 21, 1792, TO OCTOBER 26, 1795)

The short interlude of government by an irresponsible radical faction came to an end when the National Convention met (September 21st) and assumed control. Its very first measure was to declare the monarchy abolished. By a happy coincidence the victory of Valmy, which had occurred on the previous day, freed France from all immediate danger from without. The Convention began its career in an atmosphere of patriotic exultation.

The National Convention abolishes monarchy

In the precarious situation obtaining in France much depended upon the composition of the new governing body. It was made up of nearly eight hundred members, who, because the monarchists either from terror or indolence had absented themselves from the polls, were solidly republican. But attachment to the same fundamental principle did not hinder the rise of important differences of opinion. The outstanding republican group was the Gironde, already known to us from the previous assembly. Its most active competitor was the Mountain,[1] composed

Parties in the Convention

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[1] So called from the fact that the members took their seats upon the highest tiers of benches.

of individuals like Danton, Robespierre, and Marat who inclined to extreme views and ~~who had~~ shown their caliber in the recent extraordinary events. Men given more to action than to words, they desired that the war be kept to the fore until it had been concluded by a victorious peace. The Girondists, too, were for the war; in fact they had been largely instrumental in bringing it about. But high-minded idealists given to speculative thought, they detested the violences of the radicals and were revolted by the September massacres. Between these two groups, and permanently attached to neither, was the great bulk of the deputies, designated as the Plain. Whichever, Gironde or Mountain, could sway the Plain, would possess a majority and rule France.

Trial and death of the king

The sessions were no sooner opened than a hopeless rift was created by the demand of the Gironde for the punishment of the perpetrators of the September massacres. To divert attention from itself the Mountain proposed instead to bring the king to trial. Ever since August 10th Louis and his family had been closely confined in prison. In December the deposed monarch was summoned before the Convention acting as a court of justice. The Girondists, amiable dreamers for the most part, would have spared his life, but the Mountainists, backed by the threats of the mob, carried the Plain with them. By a very small majority the former Louis XVI, degraded to the rank of citizen Louis Capet, was condemned to death, and on January 21, 1793, was beheaded by the newly invented machine, called the guillotine. On that eventful day no hand was raised to save the monarch, who, a feeble creature with no single action to his credit commanding our respect, must none the less be regarded in the main as the helpless victim of a tragic chain of circumstances.

The first European coalition against France

The execution of the king raised a storm of indignation throughout monarchical Europe, and a great coalition, which every state of importance joined, sprang to life for the purpose of punishing the regicides of the Convention. The republicans, nothing loath, accepted and even anticipated the challenge. In this way the war with Austria and Prussia promised to assume immense proportions in the coming year. The members of the great coalition planned — in so far as a loose association of states may ever be said to have a plan — to attack France from every side and humble her pride in one rapid campaign. The English were to sweep down upon her coasts, the

Spaniards to cross the Pyrenees and attack from the south, the Piedmontese to pour over the Alps, and the Austrians and Prussians to operate along the eastern border from the direction of Belgium and the Rhine. Under these circumstances the question of the defense of the French soil became again, as it had been in the summer of 1792, the supreme question of the hour. It was plain that in order to meet her enemies, who were advancing from every point of the compass, France would have to be united and display an almost superhuman energy.

Overthrow of the Gironde

The new crisis quickly developed the animosities between Gironde and Mountain into implacable hatred. There can be no doubt that both sides were equally patriotic; but the immediate issue was not love of country so much as the most practical means for meeting the threatening invasions. The philosophers of the Gironde insisted on pressing their scruples about the September massacres and on rejecting every war measure which implied an encroachment on the new-won liberties of the individual. But since the situation would not wait either on debate or moral scruple, the fanatical leaders of the Mountain resolved to rid themselves of their rivals. Mobs were regularly organized by Marat and other minor henchmen in touch with the Parisian masses to invade the Convention and howl at its bar for the heads of the Girondist leaders. On June 2, 1793, the Convention finally yielded to pressure and excluded from its midst and put under arrest thirty-one Girondist leaders, among whom were the brilliant orators Vergniaud, Isnard, Brissot, and Gensonné.

The Mountain supreme

The fall of the Girondists meant the removal of the last check upon the fierce determination of the Mountain. The power now lay in its hands to use as it would; and the most immediate end of power, the Mountain had from the first maintained, was the salvation of France from her enemies. To accomplish that great purpose the party now deliberately returned to the successful system of the summer of 1792 — the system of terror. This new phase of the Revolution, famous as the Reign of Terror — it could appropriately be called the Long Reign of Terror, in order to distinguish it from the Short Reign of Terror of August and September, 1792, which it closely resembles — begins on June 2nd, with the expulsion from the Convention of the moderate republican element, represented by the Gironde.

THE REIGN OF TERROR (JUNE 2, 1793, TO JULY 27, 1794)

A strong executive: the Committee of Public Safety

The Short Reign of Terror of the summer of 1792 was marked by two conspicuous features: first, an energetic conduct of the war and, second, a bloody repression of the monarchical opposition. The Long Reign of Terror reproduces these elements developed into a system. What is more likely to secure an energetic defense than a strong executive? The Mountain, therefore, created a committee, finally, of twelve members, called the Committee of Public Safety, which it endowed with almost unlimited powers. While it is true that the Committee of Public Safety was established some weeks before the Girondists fell, the fact that it did not acquire its sovereign influence until the summer of 1793 proves how intimately it was associated with the Mountain scheme of government.

Robespierre and Carnot

Of the famous Committee of Public Safety the most conspicuous figure was Robespierre, for which reason the whole period of the Terror is sometimes identified with his name. But Robespierre, if most in view, was by no means the most active of the members of the Committee. He was indeed the hero of the populace and the Jacobins and swayed the Convention by his oratory, but the man who provided for the defense of France was Carnot, aided by such capable administrators as Prieur and Lindet. During the prolonged internal convulsions these men kept as far as possible aloof from politics and quietly and unostentatiously attended to business. It was they who carried out the universal conscription voted by the Convention; it was they who equipped the armies, appointed the generals, and mapped out the campaigns. If France was able to confront the forces of the coalition by armies which soon exceeded the enemy in numbers and are sometimes set, though with evident exaggeration, at 1,000,000 men, this great achievement, on which hung the salvation of the country, may be written down primarily to Carnot and the other working members of the Committee. But why was not that fiery titan, Danton, a member of the executive? In view of the fact that the creation of the Committee of Public Safety was largely his work, he had been originally appointed a member, but in the course of the summer of 1793, owing, it is surmised, to an intrigue of Robespierre, he was dropped from its roll. Of course he remained a powerful political factor, with a strong following in and outside the Convention, but that he should have allowed himself to be crowded, without a struggle, from the seat of power was and remains a mystery.

The machinery of the Terror

With the conduct of the war provided for by means of a powerful executive, it remained to systematize the repression of the anti-revolutionary elements. The machinery of the Terror, as this systematization may be called, presented, on its completion, the following features: first, there was the Law of the Suspects. By this unique measure the authorities were authorized to imprison anyone soever who was denounced to them as "suspect," a term that could be stretched to mean almost anything. It was afterward said by a wit that all France went about in those days conjugating the verbal expression, "I am suspect," through all its moods and tenses. In consequence, the prisons were crowded from garret to cellar with thousands of victims. To empty them was the function of the second element of the terrorist machinery, called the Revolutionary Tribunal. This was a special court of justice created for the purpose of trying the suspects without the delays incident to the ordinary courts. However, even the Revolutionary Tribunal at first provided certain safeguards for the accused. With the passing of time these were more and more eliminated until merely to be brought to trial was tantamount to condemnation. On sentence of death being pronounced by the judge there remained for the luckless victim the third and last step in the process of the Terror: he was carted to an open square, called the Square of the Revolution, and amid staring and hooting mobs, who congregated to the spectacle every day as to a feast, his head fell under the stroke of the guillotine.

Marat and Charlotte Corday

Before the Terror had well begun, one of its most revolting agents, Marat, fell victim to that violence which he had so sedulously preached. Marat was the mouth-piece of the utterly ragged and lawless element of Paris. He had lately developed a thirst for blood that can only be accounted for on the ground of disease. Yet this degenerate impudently published his frothings under the name of "the Friend of the People." The blow which finally put an end to his wild declamations was delivered from an unexpected quarter. Many of the Girondists, on being proscribed, had succeeded in making their escape to the provinces. At Caen, in Normandy, the fugitives aroused the sympathies of a beautiful and noble-minded girl, Charlotte Corday. Passionately afflicted by the divisions of her country which she laid at

Marat's door, she resolved by a bold stroke to free France from the oppressor. On July 13, 1793, she succeeded in forcing an entrance into his house and stabbed him in his bath. She knew that the act meant her own death, but her exaltation did not desert her for a moment, and she passed to the guillotine a few days after the deed with the sustained calm of a martyr.

Execution of Marie Antoinette, October, 1793

The dramatic incidents associated with so many illustrious victims of the Terror can receive only scant justice here. In October Marie Antoinette was summoned before the Revolutionary Tribunal. She faced the court with noble dignity and on receiving her death-verdict mounted the scaffold with the courage befitting a daughter of the Caesars.[1] A few days after the death of Marie Antoinette, twenty-one Girondists, representing the total number at that moment in the hands of the victorious Mountain, travelled the same road. They were followed by the duke of Orleans and Madame Roland, each intensely hostile to the other but charged alike with complicity in the Girondist plots. The duke of Orleans, head of the secondary branch of the house of Bourbon, awakened few regrets either then or afterwards. An ambitious intriguer, he had from his youth plotted against Louis XVI. To save his miserable life he had joined the Jacobin club and, dropping his hereditary titles, invited eternal ridicule by reintroducing himself to the world as Mr. Equality (*Egalité*). When in 1792 he was elected to the Convention, he unblushingly committed his final act of infamy by voting for the death of the king. His very antipodes was Madame Roland.[2] Her honest but bookish enthusiasm for a regenerated public life naturally drew her to the Girondist party. For a time her house had been their meeting-place, and she herself, with the emotional extravagance characteristic of the period, had been worshipped as the muse, the Egeria, of the republican philosophers. In spite of her political immaturity, her mind had the imprint of nobility and sustained her in her hour of trial. On mounting the steps of the guillotine, she paused to contemplate a statue of Liberty which had been erected near by. Her last words were addressed to the impassive goddess. "Liberty," she said, "what crimes are committed in thy name!"

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[1] Marie Antoinette left two children, a princess of fifteen years and the dauphin, Louis, aged eight. The princess was released in 1795, but before that mercy could be extended to the boy, he had died under the inhuman treatment of his jailers. The systematic torturing to death of the poor dauphin is one of the dark blots upon the men of the Terror. The dauphin is reckoned by legitimists as Louis XVII.

[2] Madame Roland owed her influence in part to her husband, who was a prominent member of the Gironde and a minister during the last months of the reign of Louis XVI and again in the summer and fall of 1792. Roland made his escape from Paris when the Gironde was proscribed, but committed suicide on hearing of the death of his wife.

Revolt at Lyons, Toulon, and in the Vendée

But it would be a mistake to suppose that the Terror was limited to Paris or was directed merely against prominent individuals. By means of Deputies on Mission, clothed with the powers of the Committee of Public Safety, and of so-called revolutionary committees set up in every community it was carried into the provinces on the ground that all France would have to be inspired with the same martial sentiments if the war was to be won. The departments, inhabited for the most part by men of moderate means and moderate opinions, had from the first shown signs of restlessness under the violences of the Terror; and when the Gironde, a provincial party, fell victim to the Mountain, identified with Paris, the situation straightway became strained and led to the raising here and there of the standard of revolt. Thus the great city of Lyons refused to recognize further the authority of the Convention, while the important naval station, Toulon, went a step farther and actually surrendered to the foreign enemy, the English. Here was matter for thought but it was as nothing compared with the great rising in the west. The peasants of the region called *La Vendée* gathered in armed bands under the leadership of priests and nobles, and inflamed by the attacks upon the Catholic Church and the attempt of the Convention to conscript them for war, refused to bow their necks to the revolutionary régime.

The Convention crushes the revolts

This difficult situation the Convention, or rather its agent, the Committee of Public Safety, met with unflinching resolution. It sent an army against Lyons, and in October, 1793, after a brave resistance, the city was taken. Then the Convention resolved to inflict an unexampled punishment, happily only partially carried out: it ordered the destruction of the city and the erection on the ruins of a pillar with the inscription, "Lyons waged war with liberty; Lyons is no more." In December, 1793, a French army regained Toulon, chiefly through the skill of a young artillery officer, Napoleon Bonaparte; and, in the same month, another army scattered the insurgents of the Vendée. But discontent continuing to smoulder among the peasants of the agricultural west, the Committee of Public Safety was moved to despatch thither as Deputy on Mission one Carrier, armed with full powers to stamp out the embers. The vengeance wreaked by this madman upon the hostile priests and peasants makes the infamies of the Revolutionary Tribunal at Paris look like nursery pastimes. Dissatisfied with the slow process of the guillotine, Carrier invented new methods of wholesale execution. The most ingenious, the *noyade* (drowning), consisted in loading an old vessel with one hundred, two hundred, and even eight hundred victims — men, women and children — floating it down the Loire, and then scuttling it as it approached the sea. By such means the Terror penetrated to every corner of the land and held all France in subjection.

Disruption of the Terror inevitable

But its rule was, by its very nature, exceptional. Sooner or later there was bound to occur a division among its supporters; and when division came the revolutionists were sure to rage against each other as they had once raged in common against the aristocrats and moderates. The supreme statesman of the period, Mirabeau, had foreseen that development. In a moment of prophetic insight he had declared that the Revolution, like Saturn, would end by devouring its own offspring.

End of the Hébertists, March, 1794

Ominous signs of the disintegration of the Mountain, the party of the Terror, began to appear in the autumn of 1793. The most radical wing, which owed its strength to its hold on the government of the city of Paris and which followed the lead of one Hébert, had turned its particular animosity against the Catholic faith. To replace this ancient cult, despised as aristocratic and superstitious, the Hébertists invented, in the spirit of reckless atheism, the so-called religion of Reason, and presently forced its acceptance upon the city of Paris by means of a decree which closed all places of Catholic worship. Although this extravagant measure was soon withdrawn and religious toleration, identified with the Revolution, reasserted in principle, Robespierre took alarm. He was further annoyed with the Hébertists because they leaned toward communism and dared launch an attack on private property. Disinclined to such extravagances, Robespierre, who, though a republican, was a characteristic bourgeois, denounced Hébert and his ilk before the Jacobins, and in March, 1794, abruptly sent them *via* the Revolutionary Tribunal to the guillotine.

The overthrow of Hébert was followed by that of Danton, a man of a better and nobler stamp, who, falling, carried his friends and satellites down with him. A rude son of the soil, with a claim to real statesmanship, he had exercised a decisive influence in more than one great crisis: France had primarily him to thank for her rescue from the Prussians in the summer of 1792; and, again, the establishment of the Committee of Public Safety was largely his work. But now he was growing weary. The uninterrupted flow of blood disgusted him and he raised his voice in behalf of mercy. Mercy, to Robespierre and his young follower, the arch-fanatic Saint Just, was nothing less than treason, and in sudden alarm at Danton's "moderation" they hurried him and his friends to the guillotine (April 5, 1794). Thus Robespierre was rid of his last rival. No wonder that it was now whispered abroad that he was planning to make himself sole dictator.

The fall of Danton, April, 1794

And between Robespierre and a dictatorship there stood, in the spring of 1794, only one thing — his own political incapacity. That he had the Jacobins, the municipality of Paris, the Convention, and the Committee of Public Safety in his hands was proved by their servile obedience to his slightest nod. On May 7th he had the satisfaction of wresting from the Convention a decree after his own heart, for that body made solemn affirmation to the effect that the French people recognized a Supreme Being and the immortality of the soul. It sufficiently characterizes the solemn pedantry of Robespierre that he never in his life took anything so seriously as this ludicrous declaration and that he had no inkling of the absurdity of the festival of June 8, 1794, at which he presided as high-priest and proclaimed the gospel of the Supreme Being to the heathen. Two days after the ceremony he revealed the spirit of fanaticism which animated his religious leadership. In order to facilitate the condemnations of the suspect the Revolutionary Tribunal by the law of June 10th was quadrupled and its procedure stripped of the last vestiges of legal form. Then only did the executions in Paris begin in a really wholesale manner. During the six weeks before the adoption of the new measure, the numbers of those guillotined in Paris amounted to 577; during the first six weeks after its adoption, the victims reached the frightful figure of 1,356. No government office, no service rendered on the battle-field secured immunity from arrest and death. At last, the Terror invaded the Convention itself. Paralyzed by fear that body submitted for a time to the desperate situation. But when the uncertainty connected with living perpetually under a threat of death had become intoler-

Supremacy and fall of Robespierre

able, the opponents of Robespierre, men of his own party, banded together in order to crush him. It is only fair to say that he took no personal part in the indiscriminate slaughter of these last weeks. He had a certain fastidiousness distinguishing him favorably from many of his associates in the governing clique, low profligates such as Billaud, Collot, and Fouché, who covered themselves with every infamy. With his immense following among the people he could doubtless have anticipated his enemies, but instead of action he wrapped himself in a mysterious silence. On the 9th of Thermidor (July 27th)[1] he and his adherents were condemned by the Convention and executed the next day.

THE RULE OF THE THERMIDORIANS (JULY 27, 1794, TO OCTOBER 26, 1795).

The reaction in the Convention

The fall of Robespierre put an end to the Terror, not because Robespierre was the Terror, but because the system had, after a year of wild extravagance, become so thoroughly discredited, even among its own supporters, that the Convention saw itself obliged to discontinue the methods of tyranny. The Thermidorians, many of whom had been the vilest instruments of the Terror and had dipped their hands into every kind of crime, bowed, therefore, to the force of circumstances. Supported by the Plain, the men of the middle ground in the Convention, they studiously heaped all the blame for the past year on the dead Robespierre and hypocritically assumed the character of life-long lovers of law and order. Slowly the frightened bourgeoisie recovered its courage and rallied to the support of the Thermidorian party; and finally a succession of concerted blows swept the fragments of the

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[1] The Convention, guided by its hatred of the royalist past, had introduced a new system of time reckoning. Since the birth of the republic was regarded as more important than the birth of Christ, September 21, 1792, the day when monarchy was formally abolished, was voted the beginning of a new era. The whole Christian calendar was at the same time declared to be tainted with aristocracy and a new calendar devised. Its chief feature was the invention of new names for the months, such as: Nivose, Snow month; Pluviose, Rain month; Ventose, Wind month, for the winter months; Germinal, Budding month; Floréal, Flower month; Prairial, Meadow month, for the spring months, etc.

It is worthy of notice that the Convention, a body of men unhampered by tradition, discussed many laudable reforms and carried some of them into effect. One change has invited imitation. The ancient and conflicting systems of weights and measures were supplanted by the uniform metrical system.

Terror from the face of France. The municipality of Paris, the citadel of the rioters, was dissolved; the Revolutionary Tribunal dispersed; the guillotine dismantled; the functions of the Committee of Public Safety restricted; and, to make victory sure, the Jacobin Club, the old hearth of radicalism, was closed. During the next year — the last of its long lease of power — the Convention ruled France in substantial accord with the moderate opinion of the majority of the citizens.

The Terror successfully defends France

But if the Terror fell, its overthrow was due not only to the horror it inspired but also to the fact that it had accomplished its end. Its cause, as well as its excuse, was the danger of France; and whatever else be said, it had really succeeded in organizing the resources of the country against the forces of a tremendous coalition. On this defense the reader must now bestow a rapid glance. In the campaign of 1793, during which the Committee of Public Safety was engaged in creating its republican armies on the basis of a general conscription of the youth of the country, the French had been obliged to yield ground at certain points. But by 1794 the work, largely due to Carnot's organizing talents, had been done, and the armies, numerous, well-equipped, and commanded by young men of ardent spirit, were enabled to carry the war into the territory of the enemy. Thus the tables were turned and monarchical Europe, instead of invading republican France, found itself invaded. In the course of this year (1794) an army under Jourdan conquered Belgium; and, shortly after, Pichegru seized Holland. Belgium, which ever since the Treaty of Utrecht had been a dominion of Austria, was promptly annexed to France, but Holland was left independent, though reconstituted as a republic and subjected to French influence. During these stirring events the ancient animosities between Prussia and Austria had flared up anew and proved of incalculable benefit to France. Suspicious of each other over the final partition of Poland, they refused to act whole-heartedly against the French, who were in consequence enabled to occupy the whole left bank of the Rhine. Thus incurable jealousies, coupled with the demoralizing effect of the revolutionary victories, undermined the coalition; and as the Thermidorians had no reason for continuing the war indefinitely they entered into negotiations with Prussia and Spain and in the spring of 1795 concluded peace with them at Basel. By these treaties, which acknowledged the French conquests, France began to emerge as victor. None the less fighting was by no means over, since England and Austria remained in the field against her.

The Convention completes a republican constitution

While these successes were being won abroad, the Convention took up the long-neglected task for which it had been summoned and in the course of the year 1795 completed a new constitution for republican France. This constitution was ready to be promulgated, when the representatives, fearful that a free election might bring the royalists back to power, resolved to provide for the perpetuation of the republic to which they were devoted. They accordingly passed a law by which they virtually perpetuated themselves on the strength of a provision declaring that two-thirds of the new legislature must be composed of men who had sat in the Convention. Over this high-handed measure the monarchists, who, favored by the powerful reaction against the Terror, had become both numerous and bold, waxed so exceeding wroth that in October they organized an armed rebellion and swept down on the Convention in order to force it to rescind its action. After a long succession of riots instituted by anarchical radicals France now witnessed the strange phenomenon of an uprising of conservatives. Nothing could have shown more convincingly the recent sharp turn-about of opinion.

Napoleon Bonaparte saves the Convention

However, the Convention was sufficiently in earnest about its republicanism to resolve to defend itself and entrusted with the task one of its members, Barras, who had come to the front in the Thermidorian period. But Barras, who was no soldier, conferred the command of the troops upon a young officer and acquaintance of his, Napoleon Bonaparte. Bonaparte had already creditably distinguished himself at Toulon and elsewhere and wanted nothing better than this opportunity. When the rioters marched against the Convention on October 5th he received them with such a volley of grape-shot that they fled precipitately, leaving hundreds of their comrades dead upon the pavement. It was a new way of treating armed popular uprisings and it had its effect. Henceforth, in the face of the firm resolution of the government to defend itself, partisan groups lost their taste for overawing those in power by means of insurrections. Bonaparte and his volley of grape-shot meant the return of *authority* and proclaimed with brazen tongue that violence masquerading as liberty had seen its day.

The Convention could now without fear complete its remaining

The Constitution of the Year III

business. On October 26, 1795, its stormy, cowardly, and yet, in some respects, highly creditable career, came to an end, and the new constitution went immediately into effect. It is called the Constitution of the Year III from the year of the republican calendar in which it was completed. Its main provisions mark a return from the loose liberal notions of the constitution of 1791 to a more compact executive. Nevertheless, the tyranny of the *ancien régime* was still too near for the objections against a too-powerful executive to have vanished utterly. Therefore a compromise was found in a multiple executive of five members, called the Directory. The legislative functions were entrusted to a lower house, called the Council of Five Hundred, and to a senate of two hundred and fifty, called the Council of Ancients. This bicameral legislature, too, represented a departure from the constitution of 1791, whose single legislative chamber had proved a failure. Exactly as in the earlier constitution, however, the suffrage was limited by a property qualification with the result that the Directory signified a strictly bourgeois régime.

THE DIRECTORY (1795–1799)

The Directory plans a concentrated attack upon Austria

The Directory wished to signalize its accession to power by terminating the war with a brilliant victory over the remaining enemies of France, Great Britain and Austria. But an attack upon Great Britain was, because of the insufficiency of French naval power, out of the question. Austria was more vulnerable, and Austria the Directory now resolved to strike with the combined armies of France. In accordance with this intention, "the organizer of victory," Carnot, who had been elected a Director, worked out a plan by which the Austrians were to be attacked simultaneously in Germany and Italy and forced back upon Vienna. Two splendid armies under Jourdan and Moreau were assigned to the German task, which was regarded as by far the more important, while the Italian campaign, undertaken largely to divert the attention of the Austrians from Germany, was intrusted to a poorly equipped army of 30,000 men, which, through the influence of the Director Barras and in reward for services rendered in connection with the October insurrection, was put under the command of General Bonaparte. But the unexpected happened. By the force of his genius Bonaparte upset completely the calculations of the Directory and gave the Italian campaign such importance that he, and not Jourdan or Moreau, decided the war.

Bonaparte in Italy, 1796

Bonaparte's task was to beat, with his army, an army of Austrians who, together with their Piedmontese allies, considerably outnumbered him. Resolved to meet them separately, he managed by a swift and secret movement to wedge his way between the allies, and by forcing the Piedmontese away from the Austrians toward Turin to hold them at his mercy. As a result the king of Sardinia-Piedmont sued for peace and retired from the war (April, 1796). Demoralized by these successes of the enemy, the Austrians fell back toward Milan. But Bonaparte, who broke every rule of the old deliberate strategy and moved with the stealth and swiftness of a beast of prey, outflanked them and, before May was over, had by a series of engagements driven them out of Lombardy. The pope and the small Italian princes, in alarm, hastened to buy peace of France by the cession of territories and of works of art, while the Austrians tried again and again to recover their lost position. But at Arcola (November, 1796) and Rivoli (January, 1797), Bonaparte, by his astonishing alertness, beat signally the forces sent against him. Then he crossed the Alps to invade Austria and dictate terms under the walls of Vienna.

The Peace of Campo Formio, 1797

This bold stroke of Bonaparte's determined the Emperor Francis II to sue for peace. Although his brother, the Archduke Charles, had, at the head of the Austrian forces in Germany, beaten Jourdan and Moreau in the campaign of 1796, the emperor was not prepared to stand a siege in his capital. His offers were met half-way by Bonaparte, and out of the negotiations which ensued there grew the Peace of Campo Formio (October, 1797). By this peace Austria ceded her Belgian provinces as well as Lombardy, recognized northern Italy as a sphere of French influence, and accepted for herself the principle of the Rhine boundary, the details to be arranged later with the diet of the Holy Roman Empire. In return for these concessions she received at Bonaparte's hands the ancient republic of Venice, which the young general had just seized with more than a soldier's usual absence of scruple. In spite of Austria's becoming established in this way at the head of the Adriatic, the Peace of Campo Formio virtually delivered all Italy into French hands. True, the ceded Lombardy became the Cisalpine Republic and the former city-state of Genoa was transformed into the Ligurian Republic, but as both of these creations were modeled on the French Republic and submitted to control from Paris, they became, like Holland, timid clients of the triumphant Directory.

Bonaparte the hero of France

When Napoleon returned to France he was hailed as the national hero, who out of the bramble war had plucked the jewel peace. And what a peace he brought, a peace which French rulers had dreamed of for generations and which, while establishing France firmly in northern Italy, carried her also into western Germany by giving her the whole left bank of the Rhine! Undeniably by these acquisitions the republic reverted to the war-aims of the Bourbon monarchy and turned its back on the eloquent declarations against conquest with which it had begun the struggle with Europe back in 1793; but in the exhilaration of victory these idealistic professions were conveniently forgotten and the conqueror himself received with all but divine honors.

Youth of Napoleon Bonaparte

That Napoleon Bonaparte should become the foremost man of France before he had reached the age of thirty would never have been prophesied by the friends of his youth. He was born at Ajaccio, on the island of Corsica, in 1769, of a poor but noble family. The inhabitants of Corsica, Italians by race, had long been under the rule of Genoa but had latterly asserted their independence. Disgusted at their inability to again subdue the islanders, the Genoese had in the year 1768 ceded Corsica to the neighboring kingdom of France. At the time of Napoleon's birth, therefore, the French were occupied in establishing their rule over a people who resisted them heroically but without success. In the midst of the patriotic indignation caused by his country's overthrow the young Corsican grew up. When he was ten years old, his father took him to France to enter him as a cadet in the famous royal military school at Brienne. In due course of time he became a lieutenant of artillery, and it was while he was holding this commission, among a people whom he still detested as the oppressors of his country, that the French Revolution broke out and opened a career to all possessed of talent and ambition. The irresistible current of events caught up and bore the young Napoleon along until he forgot his narrow Corsican patriotism and merged his person and his fortunes with the destinies of France. We have noted how, at the age of twenty-four, he performed his first great military feat at Toulon. The four years of warfare which lay between Toulon and Campo Formio had carried him by rapid stages to the uppermost round of the ladder of success.

Foreign success, domestic failure

In 1797, after two years of existence, the Directory had reason to congratulate itself. Belgium, Holland, Italy, and the Rhine boundary sounded a catalogue of brilliant achievements and assured France a preëminent position on the continent. Unfortunately, the domestic situation continued to give trouble since the country was still bleeding from the wounds inflicted by the divisions of the past years. The religious situation was particularly troublesome because the schism produced by the persecution of the Catholic Church was farther than ever from solution. If we add that financial embarrassments threatened positively to overwhelm the government, we can understand why, in spite of Bonaparte's victories, the royalists steadily grew stronger. As the national finances actually plunged into the abyss in 1797, a word about them becomes absolutely imperative. We have seen that the Revolution from the very first turned to paper money (*assignats*) as the way out of the wilderness. Since then the printing-press had served as the chief source of French revenue; billions of francs had been issued with the result of a disastrous decline in their purchasing power; and when all this paper at last ceased to have any value at all, it was simply repudiated (1797). That meant bankruptcy, which, though hardly with strict justice, was laid at the Directory's door. Doubtless the wisest course would have been to make peace and give France a chance to breathe. But the Directory had a different idea and chose to divert attention from the domestic woes by launching an attack upon the last remaining foreign enemy, Great Britain.

France attacks Great Britain in Egypt

For the year 1798 the government planned a great action in order to bring Great Britain to terms. As the lack of a fleet put a direct attack upon the island-kingdom out of the question, it was resolved to strike at Great Britain indirectly by threatening its colonies. With due secrecy an expedition was prepared at Toulon and Bonaparte given the command. Nelson, the English admiral commanding in the Mediterranean, was of course on the lookout, but Bonaparte succeeded in evading his vigilance and in starting unmolested for Egypt (May, 1798). Egypt was a province of the Ottoman Empire (Turkey) and the key to both the Near and the Far East. By establishing himself on the Nile, Bonaparte calculated that he could sever the connection of Great Britain with India and the regions beyond. Nelson gave chase as soon as he got wind of the movements of the French; and although he arrived too late to hinder them from landing near Alexandria, he just as effectually ruined their expedition when on August 1 he attacked and destroyed their fleet anchored in Abukir Bay. Bonaparte might now go on conquering Egypt and all Africa — he was shut off from Europe and as good as imprisoned with his whole army.

Bonaparte in Egypt

In this way the Egyptian campaign, certainly from every angle an extraordinarily hare-brained enterprise, was lost before it had fairly begun. Bonaparte could blind his soldiers to the fact but he hardly blinded himself. Of course he did what he could to retrieve the disaster to his fleet by his successes on land. By his victory over the Egyptian soldiery, the Mamelukes, in the battle of the Pyramids (1798), he made himself master of the basin of the Nile; and in the year 1799 he marched his men to Syria. The seaport of Acre, which he besieged in the hope of establishing communication with France, repulsed his attack, while the plague decimated his brave troops. Sick at heart over his failure, Bonaparte returned to Egypt and, despairing of a change in his fortunes, resolved to desert his army. Contriving to run the English blockade, he landed on October 9, 1799, with a handful of friends, on the southern coast of France. Though the army he had deserted was irretrievably lost,[1] that fact was forgotten amid the rejoicings over the return of the national hero.

The Second Coalition, 1798, 1799

The enthusiastic welcome of France, which turned Bonaparte's journey northward to Paris into a triumphal procession, was due largely to the new dangers to which the country had been exposed during his absence. Bonaparte was hardly known to have been shut up in Egypt, when Europe, hopeful of shaking off the French ascendancy, formed a new coalition against the hated Republic. Austria and Russia, supported by English subsidies, renewed the war, and the year 1799 was marked by a succession of victories which swept the French out of Italy and Germany. At the time when Bonaparte made his appearance in Europe, an invasion of France had narrowly been averted by the heroic defense put up by General Masséna.

No wonder that the hopes of the nation gathered around the dashing Corsican. What other French general had exhibited such genius as Bonaparte, had won such military glory for himself and France? Moreover, after the ceaseless agitations of the past ten years people were tired to death of revolution, the party spirit, the financial and economic embarrassments, and the continued uncertainty of all social relations. Discontent was so general that optimistic royalists predicted the early return of the legitimate king. In short, France was in hopeless confusion and everybody turned spontaneously to Bonaparte as toward a savior.

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[1] The army surrendered to the English in 1801.

The French public is weary of revolution

The general was no sooner apprised of this state of the French mind than he resolved to act. With the aid of some conspirators in power and urged by public opinion he overthrew the government. The only resistance of note was offered by the Chamber of Five Hundred and was overcome by military force. The ease with which the *coup d'état* of November 9, 1799 (18th Brumaire), was executed proves that the Constitution of the Year III was dead in spirit before Bonaparte destroyed it in fact.

Bonaparte overthrows the Directory, November, 1799

THE CONSULATE (1799–1804)

The successful general was now free to set up a new constitution in which an important place should be assured to himself. Instinctively he divined that what France desired was a strong executive, for ten years of anarchic liberty had disposed the people to be again in love with authority. The result of Bonaparte's deliberations with his friends was the Constitution of the Year VIII, by which the government was practically concentrated in the hands of one official, called the First Consul and appointed for ten years. To hoodwink the democratic enthusiasts still abroad in the land the appearances of popular government were carefully preserved. The legislative functions were reserved to two bodies, the Tribunate and the Legislative Body, but as the former discussed bills without voting upon them, and the latter voted upon them without discussing them, their power was so divided that they necessarily lost all influence. Without another *coup d'état,* by means of a few minor changes in the new constitution, the Consul Bonaparte could, when he saw fit, evolve himself into the Emperor Napoleon who would govern France as its absolute master.

A new constitution

With his position at home secured, the First Consul gave his attention to the war with the Second Coalition. Very opportunely for Bonaparte Russia, disgusted with her Austrian ally, retired from the struggle at the close of the campaign of 1799. As the enemies of France were thus reduced to Great Britain and Austria, a situation presented itself to view closely resembling that of 1796. Not unnaturally Bonaparte resolved to meet it by an analogous plan. Neglecting England as inaccessible and concentrating his attention upon Austria, he sent Moreau into Germany, while he himself went again to meet her in Italy. By a strenuous and picturesque march in the early spring over the Great St. Bernard Pass, a feat which rivalled the performance of Hannibal in the days of antiquity, he was enabled to strike unexpectedly across the Austrian line of retreat and force the enemy to make a stand. In the battle of Marengo, fought June 14, 1800, he crushed the Austrians and recovered all Italy at a stroke. Again Francis II had to admit the invincibility of French arms. In the Peace of Lunéville (1801) he reconfirmed all the cessions made at Campo Formio, and as the Holy Roman Empire became a party to the treaty, there was no longer any legal defect in the cession of the left bank of the Rhine. It is this feature of the Rhine boundary, perfected in every detail, which gives the Peace of Lunéville its importance. As the treaty, furthermore, redelivered Italy into Bonaparte's hands, he straightway reëstablished the Cisalpine and Ligurian Republics in their old dependence upon France.

Bonaparte again in Italy, 1800

Again, as in 1798, the only European state which held out against France was Great Britain. How reduce the great sea-power to submission? The French naval resources were as inadequate now as ever, and as for striking at the British colonies, the recollection of Egypt quickly disposed of the idea. Sated for the time with success and glory, Bonaparte opened (1801) negotiations with the British government, and in March, 1802, concluded, substantially on the basis of mutual restitutions, the Peace of Amiens.

Peace with Great Britain, 1802

After ten years of warfare, France was now at peace with the world. The moment was auspicious. But it remained to be seen whether the country would heartily take up the labors of peace and, while healing its wounds, would at the same time remove the justifiable apprehension with which it was regarded by cowed and defeated Europe.

France at peace with the world

Certainly the First Consul showed no want of vigor in attacking the domestic situation, though the picture which unrolled itself before his eyes was frightful. After the wholesale destruction and careless experimentation of the last decade, France needed, above all, a season of constructive statesmanship. Not that the Revolution had not scattered plentiful seeds; but because the harvest had not been awaited with patience, the seeds had failed to mature. The work before the First Consul during the interval of peace which followed the treaties of Lunéville and Amiens was, therefore, nothing less than the reconstruction of the whole social order. He shouldered his responsibilities with his usual ardor. In a public proclamation he announced that the disturbances had been brought to an end and that he considered it his special task to "close" the Revolution and to "consolidate" its results.

Bonaparte undertakes the reconstruction of France

One of his first cares was to bring back material prosperity. The national bankruptcy of the Directory now proved a help, for by wiping out the worthless paper money it enabled the new ruler to make a fresh and wholesome start based on the resumption of specie payments. With the currency stabilized, confidence again began to prevail in business circles and industry and commerce quickly recovered from their long depression. Surely the country had reason to be proud of its "man of destiny." Sustained by an unexampled popularity, he now undertook to create a number of fundamental institutions, which, in spite of the revolutions of the nineteenth century, exist, in the main, to this day, and are his best title to fame. Let us give these institutions a brief consideration.

Return of prosperity

The administration of France had, during the Revolution, fallen into complete anarchy. The constitution of 1791 had divided France into eighty-three administrative units, called departments, and had supplanted the old royal appointees by a highly decentralized system of local self-government. Practically every office was made elective, requiring a political activity of which the electors, unaccustomed to the exercise of such duties, became weary. They refused to attend the polls and permitted the power to drift into the hands of a few professional politicians connected with the Jacobin club. Even under the Terror, which favored a strong executive, local self-government had been abandoned; and now with Bonaparte's advent a deliberate return was made to the traditional policy of centralized control. As a result

A new centralized administration

every department received an official head, called prefect, who was appointed by the First Consul and reported back to him. By means of the prefects the whole country was bound together by threads which met in the hands of the chief executive. With his wonderful sense of precision Bonaparte so perfected his system that no monarch by Divine Right has ever in an equal degree made his will felt through the length and breadth of his dominion. Democracy, the will-o'-the-wisp pursued through blood and fire for ten agitated years, was sacrificed, but the weary people were content for the present with the order and security assured by the new administration.

The religious tangle solved by the Concordat

Religion, which lay in as bad a tangle as the administration, engaged Bonaparte's attention from the first. To understand his action it will be necessary to review the whole history of the Catholic Church during the Revolution. That the French intelligentsia, which dominated the National Assembly, had developed a decided hostility toward the ancient institution was indicated by the confiscation of Church property which occurred as early as November, 1789. A much more serious measure followed in July, 1790, which under the name of the Civil Constitution of the Clergy ordained a complete reorganization of French religious life. The Civil Constitution of the Clergy was in essence an attempt to set up a French national Church, separated or all but separated from the universal Catholic Church and served by priests and bishops dependent on the state, from which they drew their salaries. When the overwhelming majority of the clergy on order from the pope refused to accept the new national Church, a schism was produced which gradually led to persecution and, in the period of the Terror, to the wholesale slaughter of orthodox priests and prelates. It was the lively animosity against Catholicism which accounts for such extravagant episodes as Hébert's worship of Reason and Robespierre's cult of the Supreme Being. But in spite of banishment and guillotine, Catholicism at the dawn of the new century was still alive. Though Bonaparte, like the bourgeoisie in general of his age, possessed no positive religious views, he had a splendid sense of reality and divined the superior vigor of the persecuted faith. Having also a clear appreciation of the support which the reconstituted Church might furnish his reorganized state, he presently entered into negotiations with Rome. The result was a treaty of peace, called the Concordat (1801): the Church resigned its claim to its confiscated estates and the state undertook the maintenance, on a liberal basis, of priests and bishops; these latter were to be nominated by the state and confirmed by the pope. If the Catholic Church was reëstablished in France by the Concordat, it can not be denied that it was reduced to a much closer dependence on the state than formerly.

The new judicial system

With the administrative and religious snarls unraveled, Bonaparte next gave his attention to the department of justice. The legal confusion reigning in France before the Revolution is indescribable, for everything had been left to chance, and radically different systems of law were in force in the various sections of the country or, often enough, in the same section. The Revolution had made an attempt to clarify the confusion but had not got far when Bonaparte came to power. With his usual energy he soon had a commission of experts at work upon the creation of a precise and uniform system; and in 1804 he was enabled to publish the result of their labors in the Civil Code, called afterward the *Code Napoléon.* No legal labor of similar scope had been undertaken since the distant days of Justinian. While the Roman law was made the basis of the Napoleonic code, modifications were freely introduced dictated by the progress of the centuries and the principles of the French Revolution.[1]

Bonaparte at the parting of the ways

Bonaparte also planned a general system of state education, consisting of the primary, secondary, and university stages, but he made headway with only the more advanced elements of the program and was obliged through the pressure of events to postpone entirely the project for a much needed system of primary schools. From his various achievements, however, some idea can be gained of his constructive and methodizing genius. Let us again note that his labors of peace have survived[2] the subsequent revolutions, while the conquests of his sword have been "swept in fragments to oblivion." Bonaparte as First Consul stood at the parting of the ways. He might continue the labors of peace so happily inaugurated or he might return to the policy of aggressive war lately closed with the treaties of Lunéville and Amiens. We must remember that he was primarily a soldier, animated with restless energy and spurred on by boundless ambition, and that continued civil labors probably failed to satisfy an imagination which embraced the ends of the earth. Besides, he was the heir of the Revolution which with the apparent approval of the whole French people had turned its back on idealist professions and accepted conquest as the logical end of war. With conquest adopted as a national policy who could bring it to a halt or prescribe metes and bounds for it?

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[1] In enumerating the elements of the new France mention must imperatively be made of the peasantry, even though their improved status was not due to any action of Napoleon. The confiscation by the Revolution of the property of the clergy and nobility led to the numerous peasants becoming freeholders on their farms and therewith the most powerful and stabilizing element of French society down to our day.

[2] The religious settlement laid down in the Concordat was rejected a century later by the French government (1905) under circumstances which will be examined in their place.

Napoleon, emperor of the French

Prompted by these personal preferences and general conditions, Napoleon Bonaparte irresistibly lifted his vision to embrace Europe and the neighboring continents and girded himself for a role like that of Julius Cæsar or Alexander the Great. Therewith the Revolution entered upon its last or Napoleonic stage, in which France becomes the tool for the realization of the ambition of the most remarkably endowed man of modern times. He took the initial step upon this path of self-aggrandizement when he modified the consular constitution in his own interest. In 1802 he had himself appointed consul for life; and in May, 1804, he dropped the last veil of republican pretense by the assumption of the title emperor of the French. The final step in this transformation occurred in December of the same year, when in the presence of the pope and with all the formality and pomp of the ancient régime, he crowned himself and his wife Josephine before the high altar of the cathedral church of Paris.

THE EMPIRE (1804–1815)

Napoleon's action in Holland and Italy

The Consul Bonaparte, become Emperor Napoleon I, immediately turned his attention to the subject-republics with which France had surrounded herself. Republics no longer accorded with the new imperial style. At a nod from the emperor the Batavian Republic bloomed forth as the kingdom of Holland and thankfully accepted Louis Bonaparte, a younger brother of Napoleon, as king. In like manner the Cisalpine Republic became the kingdom of Italy and offered the crown to its powerful protector. In May, 1805, Napoleon crossed the Alps and crowned himself king at Milan. The Ligurian Republic now had no further reason for existence and, like Piedmont some years before, was quietly incorporated with France.

Even before these signal acts of aggression had been carried out, the last grain of confidence with which the European governments regarded Napoleon had disappeared. Unescapably it dawned on them that he was an insatiable conqueror, who was awaiting only an opportunity to swallow them all. As early as 1803 continued disputes over the Peace of Amiens had led to a renewal of the war with Great Britain. Napoleon now prepared a great naval armament at Boulogne, and for over a year England was deeply agitated by the prospect of a descent upon her coasts; but the lack of a fleet of warships powerful enough to protect his convoys against the English navy under Nelson made Napoleon's project chimerical from the first, and in the summer of 1805 he unreservedly gave it up.

Renewal of the war with Great Britain

He gave it up because Great Britain had succeeded in playing upon the fears of Austria and Russia until they joined her in a new coalition to curb the alarming power of France. No sooner had Napoleon got wind of this state of affairs than he abandoned his quixotic English plans and threw himself upon the practical task of defeating his continental enemies. His military genius presently celebrated new triumphs, for at Ulm he surrounded and captured the whole Austrian advance guard; and on December 2, 1805, he followed up this advantage by administering a crushing defeat to the combined Austrians and Russians at Austerlitz in Moravia. With his capital, Vienna, and much of his territory occupied by the enemy, the Austrian emperor was reduced to bow down before the invincible Corsican and sign the Peace of Pressburg (December 26, 1805). By this document he gave up his Venetian acquisitions to the kingdom of Italy and the Tyrol to Bavaria, which German state had acted as Napoleon's ally.

The Third Coalition: England, Austria, Russia

These provisions introduce us to a very characteristic feature of Napoleon's policy of conquest. He did not plan to incorporate all the provinces which he might conquer directly with France but rather from France as a center to rule over a ring of dependent territories governed by princes under his control. Especially in regard to Germany, his policy was to reduce the influence of the two great powers, Austria and Prussia, by fattening the smaller states at their expense. Therefore, Würtemberg as well as Bavaria received some of the Austrian spoils and both were at the same time raised by him to the rank of kingdoms. Napoleon was now prepared for a still bolder step; he negotiated with

Napoleon's German policy

the many small German states with a view to bringing them into a special union under his presidency. As they had neither the power nor the moral stamina to resist his persuasions, the world was presently informed of the organization of a new German confederacy, composed of Bavaria, Würtemberg, Baden, and in its final form of all the states of Germany except Austria and Prussia. Of this union, called the Confederation of the Rhine, Napoleon became sovereign under the title of Protector. A glance at the map will show how this triumph made him master alike of Germany and central Europe.

End of the Holy Roman Empire

Naturally, the creation of a new German organization administered the death-blow to the Holy Roman Empire, deserted by its members. It had been an unconscionable time a-dying, and now Napoleon, the product of a revolution which made sport of tradition, bade it begone. Emperor Francis spoke a last service over its remains when he resigned (1806) his now empty title, and in order not to suffer loss of dignity adopted the new designation, emperor of Austria. Certainly no German, however much he might regret the manner of its taking off, had any cause to shed a tear at the passing away of this decrepit government. Though such was not his intention, Napoleon really did the German people an enormous service by lifting an incubus of centuries from their backs. With the Holy Roman Empire out of the way the path was cleared to a happier national future.

Napoleon turns upon Prussia

But that future was as yet hidden behind the clouds of the gathering storm which threatened to destroy every vestige of German independence. For with Austria humbled and the small states reduced to subservience in the Confederation of the Rhine, Napoleon now turned his attention to the remaining factor in the German situation, to Prussia. Ever since 1795 (Treaty of Basel) Prussia had remained steadily neutral, and all the persuasion and threats of the rest of Europe had not induced her to renew the war against her western neighbor. Even after Napoleon became emperor, the government of Berlin pursued an amicable course, weakly hoping for all kinds of advantages from a close association with France. But as soon as Napoleon had disposed of Austria and secured the support of the small German states, he showed his true hand and inaugurated toward Prussia a policy of provocations, which the obsequious government of the incompetent king, Frederick William III (1797–1840), refused for a long time to resent. However, by the autumn of 1806 Napoleon's acts had grown so flagrant that Prussia, to save the poor remnant of her self-respect, had to declare war.

Napoleon as a strategist

Again Napoleon had an opportunity to show that the old military art of Europe could not maintain itself against his methods. As we examine these now, they surprise us by their mathematical simplicity. To get ready earlier than the enemy, to march more rapidly than he, and, finally, to strike him at the weakest spot with concentrated energy — these were the principles of Napoleon's military science which he combined with personal qualities of such hot daring and cool foresight that they have perhaps never been equalled.

The Prussian campaign, 1806

The campaign of 1806 against Prussia brought Napoleon's genius into view more clearly than any that had preceded it. But if the emperor won, his soldiers shared the honors with him. For the Prussian troops, well-drilled mercenaries without any enthusiasm for the cause they represented, were as little the equals of the great national French armies, fighting for fame and country, as the Prussian commander, the ancient duke of Brunswick, who had been trained in the antiquated school of Frederick the Great, was a match for the fiery young emperor. On October 14, 1806, old and new Europe clashed once more, and at the battles of Jena and Auerstädt, fought on that day, the military monarchy of the great Frederick was overwhelmed. With a bare handful of troops King Frederick William fled toward his province of East Prussia in order to put himself under the protection of Russia; and before the month of October had passed, Napoleon entered Berlin in triumph.

The campaign against Russia, 1807

Practically all Prussia now lay in Napoleon's hand. Another man would have preferred to rest before continuing his march of triumph, but Napoleon was unsatisfied as long as there was anyone who dared brave his legions. In order to humble Tsar Alexander, who had presumptuously allied himself with Prussia and was bringing an army to her aid, Napoleon set out from Berlin on a winter campaign which proved indecisive. However, in June, 1807, he met the Russians supported by the remnant of the Prussian army at Friedland and won a brilliant victory. Convinced that it was dangerous to penetrate farther east at that time, he now offered peace to Alexander and to the surprise of the world the enemy of yesterday became the bosom friend of today.

Tsar Alexander was a mercurial young man, easily elated and easily discouraged, and when Napoleon in a succession of personal interviews developed political plans to him in which a considerable part was assigned to Russia, he lent a willing ear. The consequence of the deliberations of the two emperors, of which the disgraced king of Prussia was for the most part a silent witness, was the Peace of Tilsit (July, 1807). By this peace Russia lost not a single village, but Prussia was thoroughly humiliated and condemned to the sacrifice of half her territory. The Prussian provinces between the Elbe and Rhine were made the nucleus of a new kingdom of Westphalia for Napoleon's youngest brother Jerome; and the Prussian spoils of the later Polish Partitions were constituted as the grand-duchy of Warsaw and given to the elector of Saxony. Prussia became a third-rate power with nothing more to boast of than that she still lived.

Treaty of Tilsit and humiliation of Prussia

But more than by the peace the world was agitated by the close alliance with which Alexander and Napoleon capped their Tilsit negotiations. By its terms the tsar promised, in case Great Britain refused to accept a mediation aiming at a general peace, to become Napoleon's ally against her. In return for this favor the French sovereign agreed to support Russia in her projects on Sweden and Turkey; and by way of good measure he diverted the impressionable Alexander with the picture of a Europe divided, as in Roman times, between an emperor of the west and another of the east.

Alliance of Napoleon and Alexander

The Peace of Tilsit carried Napoleon to the zenith of his career, for with Russia as his ally the rest of the continent was subject to his will and obliged to wear his yoke. Let us for a moment with the map before us review his position. He held directly in his hand an enlarged France which overflowed into Germany and Italy. This central nucleus he had surrounded with a host of dependencies where subject-princes ruled according to his will. As he could count with greater certainty on the members of his family than on strangers he had freely promoted his relatives to dependent thrones. While his brothers Louis and Jerome served as kings of Holland and Westphalia respectively, his brother Joseph had been assigned to the kingdom of Naples and his brother-in-law, the brilliant cavalry general, Murat, had been made grand-duke of Berg. Berg, like Westphalia, was an artificial creation out of the German spoils; both states were of course incorporated in the

Napoleon at the height of his power

Confederation of the Rhine and helped to keep it faithful to its mighty Protector. As his most capable relative was probably his step-son, Eugene Beauharnais, son of the Empress Josephine by her first marriage, Napoleon employed him as viceroy in his kingdom of Italy. Even in the Swiss Confederation he exercised control under the title of Mediator. If we now add that by a succession of unparalleled strokes, delivered between 1805 and 1807, he had humbled Austria, Prussia, and Russia, we shall agree that he had nothing further to fear upon the continent. He could therefore resume the struggle with his most inaccessible and elusive foe, with Great Britain.

The war with Great Britain

This struggle is the most momentous chapter in Napoleon's career. Adjourned at the Peace of Amiens (1802), it had broken out again the next year and led to the armament of Boulogne and the plan to invade the island. The project proved to be unrealizable because Great Britain controlled the waters with a superior fleet; and such slight chance as it may have had of being carried out at a later time was completely blasted while Napoleon was fighting the Austerlitz campaign. For in October, 1805, Nelson encountered the French fleet off Cape Trafalgar on the Spanish coast, and though he paid for his victory with his life, destroyed the hostile armament. Since Napoleon commanded no further naval resources, effective fighting on the seas came to an end with this disaster. The Corsican might march with his invincible army from capital to capital; his control stopped with the shore.

Commercial war: the Continental System

Undismayed by his inability to attack England directly, Napoleon now resolved to strike at her indirectly by ruining her commerce and sapping her wealth. He devised an elaborate commercial war which has received the name of the Continental System. In this new war he fired his opening gun when in November, 1806, he issued from Berlin a decree by which he ordered the seizure of all British goods in his own or allied territories and rigorously excluded from their ports all British ships. His calculation was that the requisite supplies of non-European articles, such as sugar and coffee, would be furnished by the vessels of neutral powers, primarily by the United States. To destroy this hope the British answered the Berlin Decree with an Order in Council whereby, under penalty of seizure, they forbade neutral ships to visit ports from which the British were excluded unless they had first put in at British ports to take on a consignment of British goods. To this Napoleon's counterblast was to declare every neutral vessel which obeyed the British order subject to confiscation. Plainly neutrals were between the devil and the deep sea and were welcome only if they rendered service to one or the other combatant. On signing the alliance with Russia Napoleon was able to carry his commercial war to its logical conclusion. This was hermetically to seal the whole continent of Europe against British trade. His dependencies had of course no voice in the matter and were simply expected to obey the orders they received; Austria and Prussia, having been defeated, had already been obliged to meet the imperial wish and close their ports to British ships; and at Tilsit Russia, too, was persuaded to acquiesce in the Napoleonic policy. Nay, more, the tsar agreed to join the emperor in forcing the closure of ports to British goods on every state of Europe which still yearned for British trade. No continental neutrals were to be tolerated on any pretext whatsoever and the mass of Europe was to be flung into the struggle as an economic whole.

Continental System a main cause of Napoleon's ultimate failure

With Napoleon and Alexander standing together no state in Europe could resist the program. By persuasion or threats they all came in with the exception of little Portugal, which, being far away and dependent for its living on English trade, ventured to refuse. Thereupon Napoleon sent an army across the Pyrenees which drove out the Portuguese royal family and successfully occupied the country (November, 1807). The seizure looked like the final triumph of Napoleon's system but appearances are frequently deceitful. At the moment indeed Napoleon's will was law from St. Petersburg to Lisbon, but in the long view of the emperor's career Tilsit and the Continental System mark, if a culmination, also the beginning of decline. In the first place his new purpose involved him in new and ever new wars; and secondly, by dislocating and ruining commerce and industry throughout Europe he created a discontent which lost him his popularity and proceeded at last from sporadic rebellions to a general revolt. It is necessary to remember in this connection that the emperor's astonishing successes had been won over old-fashioned, absolute monarchies, set at such a height above their peoples as to be out of direct touch with them. In Italy and Germany more particularly the masses to a considerable extent had sympathized with Napoleon, for he represented the principles of the French Revolution and his armies brought in their train the overthrow of such feudal evils as serfdom and the reign of privilege. But this precious support the emperor sacrificed when he paralyzed the economic life of Europe and carried exasperation into every city and village. Greeted at first as a liberator, he was gradually cursed as a scourge and reaped the harvest of his policy in a series of national revolts which swept himself, his throne, and his family off the face of Europe. It is of course questionable whether Napoleon's cosmopolitan empire, based on the subjection of so many ancient and spirited nationalities, would have endured under any circumstances; it is certain that by means of the Continental System he himself made adequate provision for his failure.

The policy of Spain during the Revolution

If the occupation of Portugal was an act of unjustifiable violence, it dwindled to blue-eyed innocence compared with what happened immediately after in Spain, for there the emperor struck a friend and ally. The history of Spain during the French Revolution is a miserable tale, largely because of the despicable character of the Bourbon king, Charles IV, and the rank corruption of the court. Having made war upon the Revolution in its first stage, the king had as early as 1795 signed a peace, which in the period of the consulate had ripened into an alliance with the late enemy. For the sake of his good friend Napoleon, Charles IV had joined his fleet to that of France, and also for the sake of that friend he had sacrificed it at Trafalgar, where, acting in support of the French fleet, it had been all but destroyed. As a return for these good offices, Napoleon now deliberately planned to seize the country of his ally, probably in the first instance because he did not feel secure in Portugal unless he had Spain absolutely in his hands. Taking advantage of a quarrel between Charles IV and his son Ferdinand — two clowns as disgusting as any that have ever masqueraded in a royal mantle — he invited the pair to Bayonne, just across the border, in order to lay their quarrel before him. There the trap closed on them and the two simpletons were forced to resign their royal rights to the wily arbiter (May, 1808). Spain was thereupon given to Joseph Bonaparte, who before assuming his new dignity was obliged to surrender the kingdom of Naples, held since 1806, to Caroline Bonaparte's husband, Murat. For not quite two years Murat had served as grand-duke of Berg in Germany. These exchanges of territory were a part of the system by which the omnipotent ruler impressed their servile status upon his political puppets.

The shameless violence and duplicity by which Napoleon seized the crown of Spain sent a thrill of horror through the Spanish people. By disposing of them as if they were a nation at auction he had wounded their pride, and instead of a peaceful occupation he found himself confronted with an insurrection. It was a new phenomenon upon the emperor's path of which he utterly failed to catch the significance. Convinced, soldier-like, that there was no obstacle in the world which would not yield to force, he rapidly diagnosed the Spanish situation as requiring a little treatment by cold steel. If the Spaniards had met in the open field the regular army which he now launched against them, it is plain that their ineffective forces would have gone down before the French eagles like the rest of Europe. But wisely they assembled only in small guerrilla bands, swept from ambuscades upon French detachments and rear-guards, and were gone again before they could be punished. The summer of 1808 brought Napoleon through these tactics his first serious military disasters; and to make things worse England at once took notice of the situation and projected herself into it. Having waited in vain for Napoleon to seek her on the sea, she found and seized this opportunity to seek him on the land. In the summer of 1808 a British army disembarked in the peninsula for the purpose of supporting the Spanish revolt. When Napoleon, angered by the check received by his political system, appeared in person on the scene (autumn, 1808), he had no difficulty in sweeping the Spaniards into the hills and the British to their ships, but he was hardly gone when the scattered guerrillas ventured forth from their retreats and the British forced a new landing.

The insurrection of Spain

Napoleon had now to learn that a people resolved to live free can not be conquered. The Spanish war swallowed up vast sums and immense forces, but the emperor, as stubborn in his way as the Spaniards, would give ear to no suggestion of concession. Slowly, however, circumstances told against him. The revolt showed no signs of abating; and when, in 1809, a capable general, Sir Arthur Wellesley, better known by his later title of duke of Wellington, took command of the British forces, and, using Portugal as his base, foot by foot forced his way toward Madrid, Napoleon's Spanish enterprise became hopeless. Of course that was not at once apparent; but what did very soon become clear was that the enslaved states of central Europe were taking the cue from the Spaniards and making ready for a similar struggle with their oppressor.

Napoleon can not put the Spaniards down

In the year 1809 Austria, encouraged by the Spanish successes, was inspired to arouse the Germans to a national revolt. But the effort was premature, for as Prussia was still occupied by French troops and the whole territory of the Confederation of the Rhine was pledged to Napoleon's interests, only detached bodies in the Tyrol, in Jerome's kingdom of Westphalia and elsewhere, responded to Austria's call. At Wagram (July, 1809) Napoleon laid Austria a fourth time at his feet. In the Peace of Vienna, which followed, she was forced to make fresh cessions of territory not only to France but also to Napoleon's satellites, such as Bavaria and the duchy of Warsaw. The territory yielded to France included Austria's only sea-port, Trieste, and, joined to Dalmatia, was constituted as the Illyrian Province. It was but a trunk shorn of its boughs which the conqueror left; and it is not improbable that he would have felled the trunk, too, if he had not been forced at this time to provide for a complete change of his political system.

Austria tries to organize a German insurrection

The fact was the Tsar Alexander was growing tired of the alliance of Tilsit for many reasons, but chiefly perhaps because his adherence to the Continental System proved ruinous to his country. Napoleon noticed the diminishing heartiness of the tsar and resolved to secure himself against defection by means of an alliance with Austria. That state was, after the war of 1809, in no position to refuse the proffered hand; and when Napoleon further demanded the emperor's daughter, Marie Louise, in marriage, that request, too, had to be granted. That he had ever since 1796 been married to Josephine Beauharnais was a slight annoyance which could be and was removed by means of divorce. Although various reasons were alleged in support of his suit, the only genuine one was that the union had remained childless and that Napoleon imperatively needed a son to perpetuate his dynasty. In April, 1810, the military upstart, for that is what Napoleon was from the point of view of the drawing-room and the court, celebrated his union with a daughter of the ancient imperial line of Hapsburg; and when, in the succeeding year, there was born to him a son and heir to whom he gave in his cradle the resounding title of king of Rome, he could fancy that his empire had acquired a secure dynastic foundation.

Napoleon changes his political system, Russia being replaced by Austria

And surely never did Napoleon's power exhibit a greater outward splendor, never did his behests meet with more implicit obedience than in the year 1811. The spoiled son of fortune had now acquired the imperious habit of falling into a rage at the slightest sign of opposition. Imposing the Continental System with increasing rigor, he punished the pope and his own brother Louis with the loss of their territories when they seemed to him to slacken their vigilance toward British goods. One cloud would not disperse and that was the Spanish rising; but with the help of a little illusion that struggle could be comfortably minimized to an outbreak of bandits and guerrillas. As Napoleon looked about conquered Europe, he might not unreasonably imagine that now was the auspicious time to put an end to the last independent state of the continent, the eastern colossus, Russia. He had made a friend of that nation largely for the purpose of European solidarity against Great Britain; but now that the tsar was secretly opening his ports to British goods, he was adjudged to have broken the alliance and to have merited an exemplary punishment.

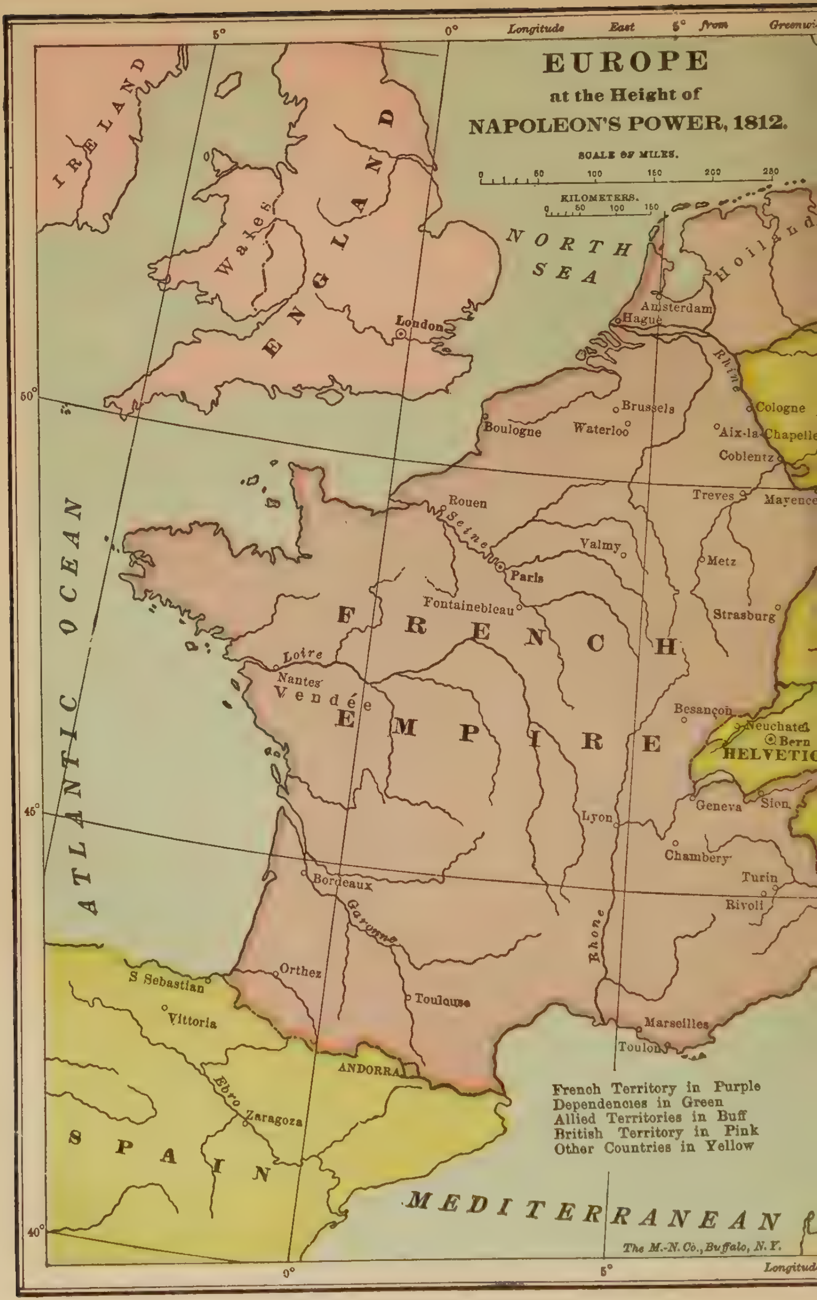
Review of Napoleon's position in 1811

The breach between Napoleon and Alexander became definite in the course of the year 1811. Both powers began preparations for war, and in the spring of 1812 Napoleon set in movement toward Russia the greatest armament that Europe had ever seen. A half million men, representing all the nationalities of Napoleon's cosmopolitan empire, French, Germans, Italians, Poles, seemed more than adequate to the task of bringing the tsar under the law of the emperor. And the expedition was at first attended by many superficial successes. The Russians, retreating before Napoleon, drew him ever farther from his supplies; and when they at last made a stand suffered a defeat which cleared the road to Moscow. On September 15th Napoleon entered the Russian capital. It was his view that the submission of Alexander would now follow automatically.

Invasion of Russia, 1812

But he had underrated the spirit of resistance which animated the empire of the tsar. Here, as in Spain, a determination to die rather than yield possessed every inhabitant, and Napoleon had already received ample evidence of the national aversion in the deserted villages through which he marched. Any lingering doubt on this head was dramatically settled at Moscow. Rather than have their capital fall into the hands of the French, the retreating Russians set fire to it, leaving to the victorious emperor nothing but a smoking heap of useless ashes.

Napoleon at Moscow

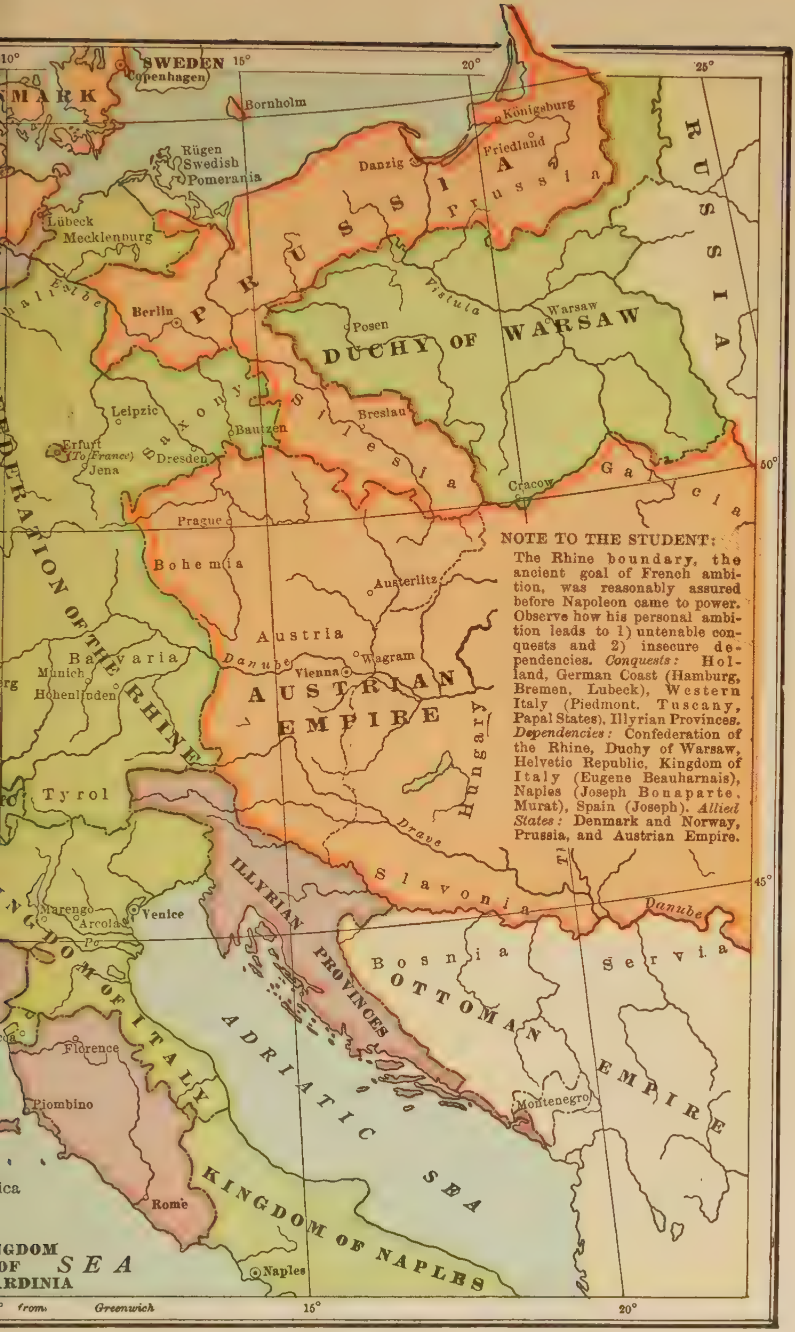


EUROPE
at the Height of
NAPOLEON'S POWER, 1812.

French Territory in Purple
Dependencies in Green
Allied Territories in Buff
British Territory in Pink
Other Countries in Yellow

The M.-N. Co., Buffalo, N.Y.

Longitude East 5° from Greenwi
SCALE OF MILES.
0
50
100
150
200
250
KILOMETERS.
0
50
100
150
5°
0°
50°
45°
40°
IRELAND
Wales
ENGLAND
London
NORTH SEA
Holland
Amsterdam
Hague
Rhine
Cologne
Aix-la-Chapelle
Coblentz
Brussels
Waterloo
Boulogne
Treves
Mayence
Rouen
Seine
Valmy
Paris
Metz
Strasburg
Fontainebleau
FRENCH EMPIRE
Loire
Nantes
Vendée
Besançon
Neuchatel
Bern
HELVETIC
Geneva
Sion
Lyon
Chambery
Turin
Rivoli
Bordeaux
Garonne
Rhone
Orthez
Toulouse
Marseilles
Toulon
ATLANTIC OCEAN
S Sebastian
Vittoria
ANDORRA
Ebro
Zaragoza
SPAIN
MEDITERRANEAN
0°
5°
Longitud



NOTE TO THE STUDENT: The Rhine boundary, the ancient goal of French ambition, was reasonably assured before Napoleon came to power. Observe how his personal ambition leads to 1) untenable conquests and 2) insecure dependencies. *Conquests:* Holland, German Coast (Hamburg, Bremen, Lubeck), Western Italy (Piedmont, Tuscany, Papal States), Illyrian Provinces. *Dependencies:* Confederation of the Rhine, Duchy of Warsaw, Helvetic Republic, Kingdom of Italy (Eugene Beauharnais), Naples (Joseph Bonaparte, Murat), Spain (Joseph). *Allied States:* Denmark and Norway, Prussia, and Austrian Empire.

10°
15°
20°
25°
50°
45°
SWEDEN
Copenhagen
MARK
Bornholm
Königsburg
Friedland
Danzig
PRUSSIA
Prussia
Rügen
Swedish Pomerania
Lübeck
Mecklenburg
Elbe
Berlin
RUSSIA
Vistula
Posen
Warsaw
DUCHY OF WARSAW
Leipzic
Saxony
Bautzen
Breslau
Silesia
Erfurt
(To France)
Dresden
Jena
Galicia
Cracow
Prague
Bohemia
Austerlitz
Austria
Wagram
Danube
Vienna
Bavaria
Munich
Hohenlinden
AUSTRIAN EMPIRE
Hungary
CONFEDERATION OF THE RHINE
Tyrol
Drave
Slavonia
Danube
ILLYRIAN PROVINCES
Marengo
Arcola
Venice
Po
KINGDOM OF ITALY
Bosnia
Servia
OTTOMAN EMPIRE
Montenegro
ADRIATIC SEA
Florence
Piombino
Rome
KINGDOM OF NAPLES
Naples
KINGDOM OF SARDINIA
SEA
from Greenwich

The Russian disaster

In the vain hope that the tsar, unnerved by the invasion of his country, would offer to make peace, Napoleon lingered among the ruins of Moscow for over a month. But as for once Alexander was firm, their delay overwhelmed the French with disaster. For since the retreat, unavoidable in a country eaten bare of supplies, was not begun till October 19th, the troops were overtaken by winter in a vast country with impassable roads and were buried under its blasts. To the misery of cold were added hunger, disease, and the constant raids of the swift-moving Cossacks until the formidable Grand Army of the spring had melted into a few scattered bands of struggling fugitives. Napoleon directed the retreat through the first stages, but early in December he set out for Paris, realizing that he had sacrificed the greatest army ever united under his command in an impossible enterprise. In his absence Marshal Ney, "the bravest of the brave," fighting like a common soldier, did what valor could to save the honor of the French Empire and the remnant of its military power. Late in December a few thousand starved, broken, and half-crazed men, whose brothers strewed the frozen plains of Russia, tottered across the Niemen into the comparative safety of an area held by French reserves.

The revolt of Germany

The loss of his splendid army was, in any case, a serious calamity for Napoleon. But it would become an irremediable catastrophe if it encouraged Germany, long throbbing with suppressed indignation, to rise in revolt and create new complications at a juncture when he required all his strength to repair the supreme disaster of his life. Unluckily for Napoleon the growing body of German patriots felt this fact instinctively and were uplifted with the consciousness that never again would such an opportunity be offered them. They wanted a general and national rising; but they saw that its success would be best assured if it could be organized around Prussia as a nucleus. And Prussia, which Napoleon had trampled in the dust at Jena and shut in a tomb at Tilsit, did not deceive their expectations and raised the standard of revolt.

The renaissance of Prussia

Prussia since her overwhelming disasters had gone through a renovation which is one of the remarkable revivals of history. Her leading men had come to see that her overthrow was the inevitable consequence of her backward conditions and reached the conclusion that new foundations would have to be laid by a series of sweeping reforms. Temporarily silenced by his disasters, the stiff and reactionary king, Frederick William III, hesitatingly yielded to their importunities. Stein, a man of broad vision, was appointed chief minister, and with Scharnhorst in charge of the war department and with other audacious spirits in high places, a number of important reforms were carried through. Serfdom was declared abolished; and together with serfdom all the old feudal class divisions were swept aside in favor of a united citizenry equal before the law. Further, the old mercenary and professional army defeated at Jena was replaced by a national army based on the principle of universal military service first applied by the French republicans in 1793. Plainly such fundamental changes gave Prussia many of the advantages of the French Revolution. And with the new institutions was born a new spirit, unknown hitherto in this feudal and military state, which bound high and low together in a common passionate love of country. When this revived nation heard of Napoleon's ruin on the Russian snow-fields, all classes alike were seized with the conviction that the great hour of revenge had come; no debate, no delay on the part of the timid king was suffered; and resistlessly swept along by the rising tide of enthusiasm, he was forced to sign an alliance with Russia and declare war (March, 1813).

The campaign of 1813: first part

The disastrous campaign of 1812 would have reduced any other man than Napoleon to complete exhaustion. But he faced the new situation as undaunted as ever. By herculean efforts he succeeded in mustering and training a new army, and in the spring of 1813 appeared suddenly in the heart of Germany, ready to punish the new coalition. Everything hinged for him on his defeating Russia and Prussia before the Confederation of the Rhine, already simmering with revolt, and Austria, only waiting for a chance to recover her own, had declared against him. At Lützen (May 2) and at Bautzen (May 20) he maintained his ancient reputation by driving the allies from the field. But clearly the day of the Jenas and Friedlands was over, for not only did he capture no cannon or men, but the enemy fell back in good order on Silesia, while Napoleon had to confess that his victories had been paid for by such heavy losses that to win, at this rate, was equivalent to ruin. On June 4th he agreed to an armistice in order to reorganize his troops and to take stock of the political situation.

Both parties now became aware that the issue of the campaign depended upon Austria, for so delicately adjusted were the scales between the contestants, that the side upon which she would throw her influence would be sure to win. In these circumstances

Metternich, Austria's unscrupulous and juggling minister, undertook, at first, the role of mediator; but when Napoleon indignantly rejected the conditions for a general peace which Metternich proposed, Austria threw in her lot with the European coalition, which by this addition came to embrace the three continental powers and Great Britain. In August, 1813, at the expiration of the truce, there followed a concerted forward movement on the part of the allies, now for the first time since Napoleon's advent to power firmly cemented together. Prussians, Russians, and Austrians crowded in upon Napoleon, who sat ensconced in the heart of Germany, in Saxony, where he defended the strategic line of the Elbe river. Having the smaller force, he saw his outposts gradually driven in, himself outmanœuvred, and his dissolving army crushed utterly in a savage three days' battle at Leipzig (October 16–18). With such remnants as he could hold together he hurried across the Rhine. Germany was lost beyond recovery. The question now was: Would he be able to retain France?

The campaign of 1813: second part

If the great conqueror could have seen a future for himself in France in the role of a beaten man, he might have ended the war by the acceptance of the Rhine boundary, which the allies now offered. But he believed that he could not afford to end the war with a defeat and by rejecting the proffered peace obliged his enemies to continue the struggle. In the winter they invaded France, resolved to annihilate him before he had recovered his strength. His defensive campaign, conducted in the cold of winter with slender forces, is regarded by military men as among his most brilliant achievements; but he was now hopelessly outnumbered, and when, on March 31, the allies forced the gates of Paris, even Napoleon's confidence received a shock. As he looked about him he saw the whole east of France in the hands of his enemies, while the south was as rapidly falling into the power of Wellington, who in the two victorious campaigns of 1812 and 1813 had finally pushed the French completely out of Spain and was now engaged in pursuing them across the Pyrenees.

The winter campaign of 1814

On April 6, 1814, at his castle of Fontainebleau, Napoleon acknowledged that all was over and offered his abdication. The allies conceded him the island of Elba (off the coast of Tuscany) as a residence, and then gave their attention to the problem of the future of France. Not from any enthusiasm for the house of Bourbon, but merely because there seemed to them to be no other way out of the difficulties, they finally gave their sanction to the accession to the throne of Louis XVIII, brother of the last king. As regards the extent of the restored kingdom, it was agreed in the Peace of Paris that France was substantially to receive the boundaries which she enjoyed at the outbreak of the revolutionary wars in 1792.

Abdication of Napoleon; return of Bourbons

The Congress of Vienna

This important preliminary matter arranged, a general congress of the powers assembled at Vienna to discuss the reconstruction of Europe. The modern age has rarely seen a more brilliant gathering of notabilities. All the sovereigns and statesmen who had stood in the center of public attention during the last momentous years were, with few exceptions, present, and a single drawing-room sometimes held the mobile Tsar Alexander, the grave Wellington, the ardent German patriot Stein, the courtly Frenchman Talleyrand, and that passionate enemy of revolutionary change, the Austrian chancellor Metternich. But before the Congress of Vienna had ended its labors, the anti-Napoleonic coalition, which the congress represented, was once more called upon to take the field. For in March, 1815, the startling news reached the allied statesmen at Vienna that Napoleon had made his escape from Elba and had once more landed in France.

Napoleon returns from Elba

The resolution formed by Napoleon, after only a few months of exile, to try conclusions once more with united Europe, was the resolution of despair. Without doubt it was folly on the part of the allies to expect that a man like him, with a burning craving for activity, would ever content himself with the island-realm of Elba, especially as France, his willing prize, lay just a few leagues across the water. However, it was even greater folly on the part of Napoleon to fancy that he could thwart the will of united Europe. A gambler by nature, he waited till he saw what seemed to him a rift in the coalition and plunged into a new adventure. On March 1st he landed unexpectedly near Cannes, accompanied by eight hundred of his old veterans, who had been permitted to attend him in exile as a guard of honor; and no sooner had he displayed his banners than his former soldiers streamed to the standards to which they were attached by innumerable stirring memories. Marshal Ney, who was sent out by Louis XVIII, the restored Bourbon king, to take Napoleon captive, broke into tears at sight of his old leader and folded him in his arms.

There was no resisting the magnetic power of the name Napoleon. The familiar "*Vive l'empereur!*" rang through France till the lukewarm partisans of the Bourbon dynasty fell away from it with feverish alacrity. Discouraged by the diminishing ranks of his supporters, Louis presently fled across the border, while, hailed by the soldiers and common people but hardly by the bourgeoisie whom his perpetual wars had estranged, Napoleon once more entered Paris.

The Hundred Days

The Hundred Days, as Napoleon's restoration is called, form a mere after-play to the great drama which began with the coronation at Notre Dame, reached its climax at Tilsit, and had the curtain rung on it at Fontainebleau. Napoleon's empire was a thing of the past and it was hopeless to revive it against the will of a united Europe. The proof is furnished by the action of the members of the coalition at Vienna as soon as they heard of Napoleon's return from exile: unhesitatingly they renewed the war and prepared for a fresh invasion of France. The issue was decided with spectacular suddenness in Belgium. There Wellington stood at the head of a composite Anglo-Dutch-Hanoverian army, and thither marched to his assistance from the lower Rhine, where he had been in winter-quarters, Marshal Blücher with his Prussians. These enemies, because they were closest at hand, Napoleon resolved to meet first. With his usual swiftness he fell upon Blücher on June 16th at Ligny, before this general could unite with the forces of Wellington, and beat him roundly. Leaving Marshal Grouchy with 30,000 men to pursue the Prussians, Napoleon next turned, on June 18th, against his remaining adversary.

Waterloo, June 18, 1815

Wellington, who had taken a strong defensive position near Waterloo, resolutely awaited the French attack. All the afternoon Napoleon hurled his infantry and cavalry against the "iron duke's" positions without dislodging his tough opponent, and when in the late afternoon the Prussians unexpectedly made their appearance on his right he was caught between two fires. Blücher had evaded his French pursuer and by a forced march had reached the battlefield. Unable to disentangle itself, Napoleon's army was completely ruined. Precipitately the emperor fled to Paris and there abdicated a second time. Deserted by all in his misfortunes, he now planned to escape to America, but finding the coast guarded by English cruisers, was obliged to take passage on the British ship *Bellerophon* to be carried first to England, and thence, in accordance with the verdict of his victorious enemies, to the remote and rocky mid-Atlantic island of St. Helena. There, six years later (1821), he died, a lonely and embittered exile.

Second restoration of Louis XVIII

At Paris, meanwhile, the allies once more restored Louis XVIII to his ancestral throne by virtue of a new instrument called the Second Treaty of Paris. It differed from the document of the previous year in nothing more than that France was obliged to pay for her renewed acceptance of Napoleon by having imposed on her a few border rectifications and a considerable money indemnity.

. . . .

The reaction

With Napoleon's elimination a reaction seized upon Europe which was as natural as it was irresistible. For not only was revolutionary conquest discredited when Napoleon fell, but no less so were the revolutionary principles in which he had his origin and with which he had been more or less identified to the end. The victory of the coalition was interpreted as a victory of monarchy by Divine Right as well as of the old feudal classes, the clergy and nobility, historically identified with monarchy. Through their triumph the monarchs and the old ruling classes gained a new and arrogant self-assurance, while the middle classes, which in 1789 had acted in the confident belief that their hour had at last struck, received a set-back. Plainly France and all Europe were about to experience a period of reaction.

Persistence of the political program of the middle classes

Before narrating the incidents of that reaction it may be well to assure ourselves that the eclipse of the middle classes could not in the nature of things be other than temporary. As their vigor had been steadily ripening for generations and was fundamental to the whole European structure, it was inconceivable that they should be permanently barred from political influence. Partly in consequence of the recent Revolution, but chiefly because of a long evolutionary process, they had become reasonably clear in their minds as to their program and did not dream of abandoning it when the reaction temporarily triumphed. In fact, in so far as that program had already become an integral part of the social and legal system of France and her neighbors, the reaction itself did not dare to disturb it. This program, formulated with a view to undermining the conservative tradition in the state, drew much of its sustenance from eighteenth century enlightenment; in the nineteenth century it has usually sailed under the summary name of liberalism. Although we are anticipating, its leading features deserve enumeration at this point, since by means of them we learn not only what united the liberals throughout Europe after 1815 but also what conferred upon the civilization of the new century its leading political characteristics.

1. *Equality before the law.* Incensed against the feudal orders with their privileges and honors, the middle classes insisted on a leveling to be effected by means of a common citizenship involving equal rights and burdens for the whole population.

2. *Religious toleration.* For the middle classes a dominant church, which undertook to dictate what men were to believe and which threatened to punish every departure from its standards, had become both an absurdity and a nuisance. Their growing sense of personal freedom made them insist on liberation from clerical control coupled with toleration of all reasonable beliefs and cults.

3. *Sovereignty of the people.* To discredit monarchy by Divine Right it would have to be replaced by another principle. This in an age which was turning from dogmatism to empiricism, from gods to men, could only be the sovereignty of the people. That signified in effect that the Divine Right of kings was replaced by the more credible Divine Right of the people. It is true that the bourgeoisie meant by sovereignty of the people the sovereignty of *their* people, that is, of the property holders. The proof is supplied by their unfailing attempt to limit the franchise. However, in theoretic discussion at least the sovereignty of the people could not be held to signify anything else than the sovereignty of the whole citizen body; and the unassailable character of this logic always served to undermine bourgeois exclusiveness and to favor the larger definition.

4. *Nationalism.* The bourgeoisie in fusing all classes into a single legal class made possible the nation in the modern sense. Henceforth under middle class guidance all groups which felt a common impulse due to community of race, language, customs, and institutions were certain to aspire to the leveling of accidental class and state barriers in order to effect a close political fusion. This self-assertion of the national mass came to be called nationalism.

In these four features of the middle class program is indicated the order of liberal ideas with which the conservative reaction of 1815 was met and finally overcome. Realized for the first time in the French Revolution, they served on their revival as the basis for the political reorganization of Europe.

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CHAPTER XX

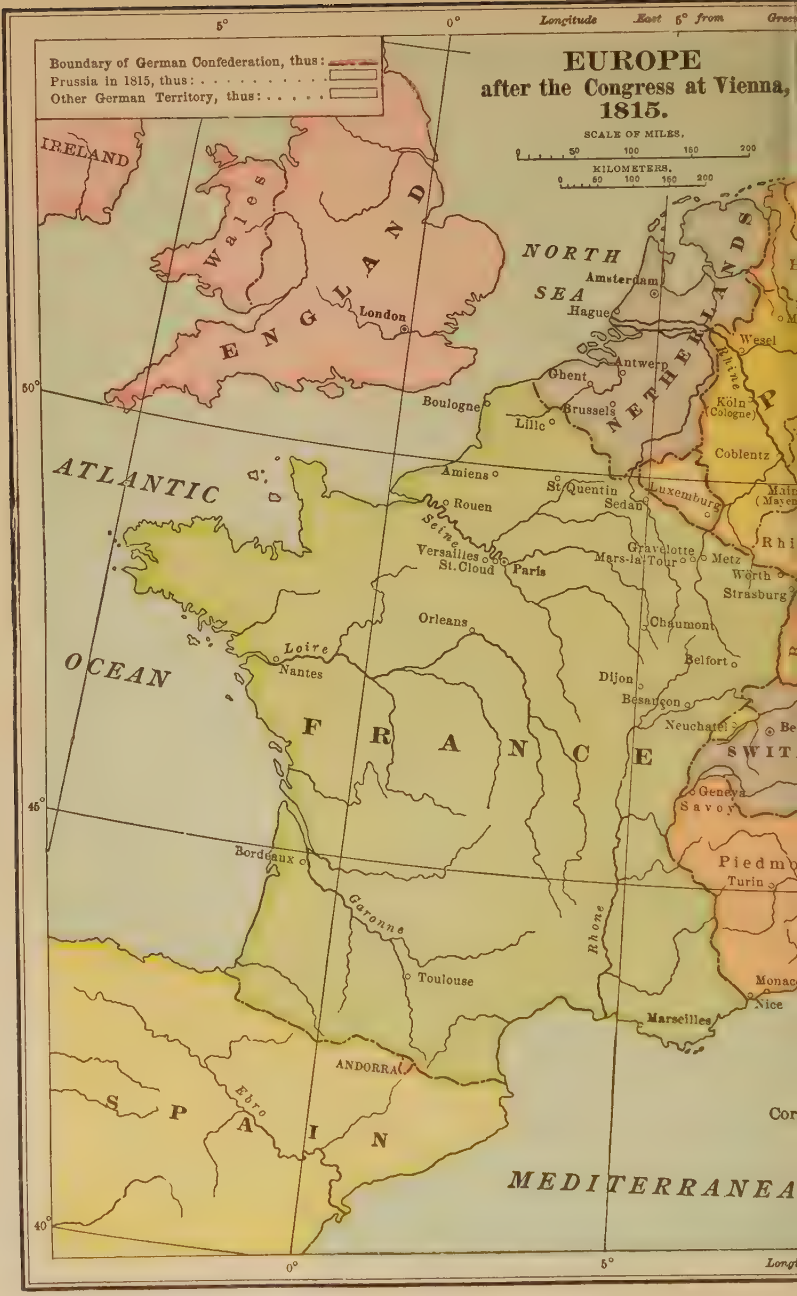
THE CONSERVATIVE REACTION

The principles which governed the Congress of Vienna

The Congress of Vienna, which met to arrange the affairs of Europe after the unparalleled storms of the past generation, gathered the agreements reached among the powers regarding the many matters in debate in a summary document called the Final Act. Taken in connection with the Peace of Paris, this document traces the political geography of reconstructed Europe. It also conveys an idea of the principles and sentiments which animated the victors. Although vehemently condemned by the following generation, they can not fail to be recognized as the logical expression of the conservative triumph. Since the Viennese diplomats felt that by erasing the old boundaries and toppling over the old dynasties the French Revolution had created a general unrest, they persuaded themselves without much difficulty that the surest way to achieve security and permanence would be to reëstablish as far as possible all the states, great and small, in existence before the late disturbances. These states were said to be "legitimate," as against the illegitimate creations of the Revolution and Napoleon. The desirability of separating the sheep from the goats on the score of this distinction of legitimacy, was, in the interest of his master, the restored Louis XVIII, first championed by the supple French diplomat, Talleyrand, and gradually imposed itself as a piece of divine wisdom upon the congress. But while legitimacy made for a general restoration, the four victor powers did not forget to compensate themselves territorially for their past losses and labors. Their hunger for land modified the plan of a restoration pure and simple; and that plan was further affected by the desire to check all possible future aggressions on the part of the feared and hated disturber, France. Legitimacy, territorial compensation for the victors, and hostility to France are the main forces out of the interaction of which grew the new map of Europe.

The greatest interest at the congress gathered around central Europe as the region which had been subjected to the most sweeping territorial changes by the Revolution. In Italy restoration met with few obstacles and was carried through with two notable exceptions. Instead of being restored as an independent state the republic of Genoa was given to the king of Sardinia in order to strengthen him against France; and the republic of Venice was delivered to the emperor of Austria as a compensation for the loss of Belgium. The German settlement caused much more trouble since a return to 1789 would have meant the reëstablishment of the Holy Roman Empire, which everybody was glad to be rid of. But how to replace it? On this head there were wide differences of opinion. A small group of fiery patriots clamored for a strong united Germany, but the German princes were so attached to their separate sovereignty that they would agree to nothing but a loose federation, which was finally accepted. Great was the agitation when the question of territorial compensation for Prussia, one of the four victor powers, came up, for Prussia desired to incorporate Saxony, a small German neighbor. The right of Prussia to an indemnity was admitted in principle on account of its surrender to Russia of most of its Polish territory; and Saxony was in some quarters regarded as reasonable payment, on the ground that its king, having exhibited an exceptional attachment to Napoleon, had forfeited whatever claim to be restored he might have had under the theory of legitimacy. The truth was Prussia and Russia had come to a private agreement over the heads of the congress by which Russia, in return for the bulk of the Prussian Polish spoils, agreed to support Prussia in her effort to gain Saxony. Over this issue the congress was rocked as a boat by a storm, for Austria, Great Britain, and France firmly declared themselves against the Russo-Prussian bargain. Nor was the conflict adjusted by a compromise until both sides had begun to make preparations for war. By the final agreement Prussia got half of Saxony, the remainder being returned to the "legitimate" sovereign. For the part she gave up she received in exchange territory on the left bank of the Rhine (the Rhine province), which brought her into direct contact with France and imposed on her the defense of Germany against its western neighbor. In the final settlement of the Polish-Saxon crisis the tsar received Napoleon's creation, the so-called grand-duchy of Warsaw, with the exception of the province of Posen which was left in the hands of Prussia. This Polish acquisition Alexander agreed to constitute as the kingdom of Poland with himself as king.

Restoration and compensation in Central Europe


EUROPE
after the Congress at Vienna,
1815.
SCALE OF MILES.
0 50 100 150 200
KILOMETERS.
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Boundary of German Confederation, thus:
Prussia in 1815, thus:
Other German Territory, thus:
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Hague
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Boulogne
Köln (Cologne)
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Luxemburg
Main (Mayen
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ATLANTIC OCEAN
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St. Quentin
Sedan
Rouen
Seine
Versailles
St. Cloud
Paris
Gravelotte
Mars-la-Tour
Metz
Wörth
Strasburg
Orleans
Chaumont
Loire
Nantes
Belfort
Dijon
Besançon
Neuchatel
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Geneva
Savoy
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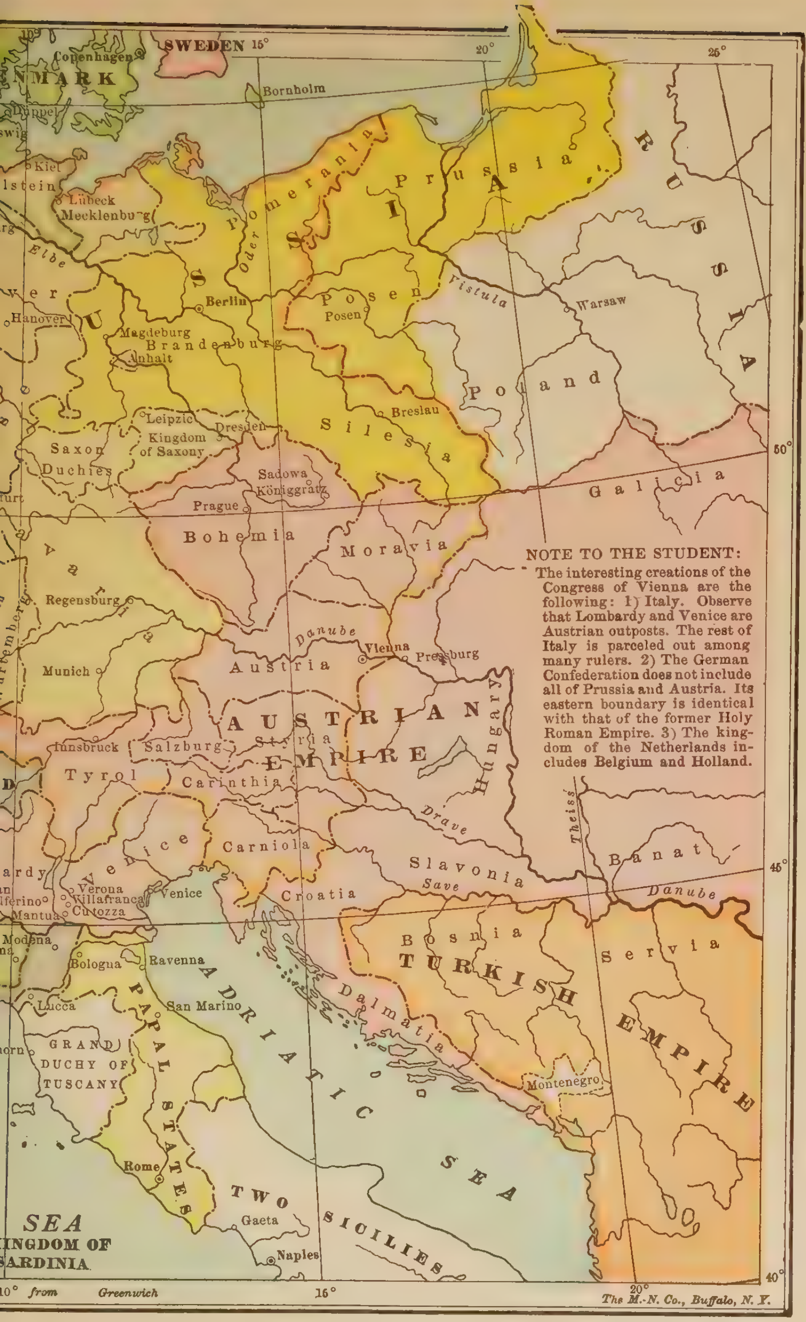
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PRUSSIA
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Hanover
Magdeburg
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Anhalt
Posen
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Vistula
Warsaw
RUSSIA
Poland
Breslau
Silesia
Leipzic
Dresden
Kingdom of Saxony
Saxon Duchies
Sadowa
Königgrätz
Prague
Galicia
Bohemia
Moravia
Regensburg
Bavaria
Munich
Danube
Vienna
Pressburg
Austria
AUSTRIAN EMPIRE
Hungary
Innsbruck
Salzburg
Styria
Tyrol
Carinthia
Carniola
Venice
Drave
Theiss
Banat
Slavonia
Save
Danube
ardy
Verona
Villafranca
Venice
Custozza
Mantua
Croatia
Bosnia
TURKISH EMPIRE
Servia
Modena
Bologna
Ravenna
ADRIATIC SEA
Lucca
San Marino
GRAND DUCHY OF TUSCANY
PAPAL STATES
Dalmatia
Montenegro
Rome
TWO SICILIES
Gaeta
Naples
SEA
KINGDOM OF SARDINIA
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20°
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16°
20°
from Greenwich
The M.-N. Co., Buffalo, N. Y.

NOTE TO THE STUDENT: The interesting creations of the Congress of Vienna are the following: 1) Italy. Observe that Lombardy and Venice are Austrian outposts. The rest of Italy is parceled out among many rulers. 2) The German Confederation does not include all of Prussia and Austria. Its eastern boundary is identical with that of the former Holy Roman Empire. 3) The kingdom of the Netherlands includes Belgium and Holland.

Belgium and Holland united; gains of Great Britain

Between France and Germany lay Belgium and Holland, both incorporated with France during the period of French ascendancy. In order to establish a strong bulwark against France the congress consolidated these two territories and placed them under the rule of the house of Orange. The new creation received the name of the kingdom of the Netherlands. Great Britain, the oldest and the most successful of the enemies of Napoleon, was paid in ample colonial territory, receiving South Africa (the Cape), Ceylon, Malta, and the North sea island of Heligoland.

The rearrangements of Vienna disappoint national hopes

The most serious danger to the permanence of these territorial arrangements arose from the fact that they disappointed the national hopes of the Italian, the Polish, the German, and the Belgian peoples. Let us examine the agreements from this point of view, beginning with Italy. The Bourbon Ferdinand was recognized as king of Naples and Sicily, joined under the name of the Two Sicilies; the pope was restored to the State of the Church; a younger branch of the house of Hapsburg to Tuscany; the king of Sardinia to Piedmont, increased, as we have seen, by Genoa; and Austria was given back her former possession of Lombardy, enlarged by the addition of Venetia. The lesser states, like Modena and Parma, we may leave out of consideration. Italy was thus in effect parceled out in five independent blocks; and since no attempt was made to bind the parts into a whole, and since further, ancient jealousies hindered united counsels, Austria, a foreign power, by taking advantage of the inner divisions, acquired an easy paramountcy. That this ascendancy would give offense to the national sentiment goes without saying. As for the Poles, they remained distributed among the three partitioning powers, Austria, Prussia, and Russia; and even though the mass of them was now united under Tsar Alexander in the kingdom of Poland, they had every right to feel that they had been auctioned off like cattle. In turning to the Belgians let us note that they had been united with the Dutch and placed under a Dutch king without the least account being taken of their wishes. Finally, German nationalist disappointment issued from a situation so complicated that it requires a detailed explanation.

When Napoleon first undermined in order finally to destroy the Holy Roman Empire, he carried through an important domestic reorganization. With his military love of order and hatred of confusion he abolished the many useless small entities, such as the free knights, the free cities, and the prince-bishops, left over from the Middle Age. In general he simply incorporated them in the larger dominions. As a result of this ruthless extinction of absurd survivals there were, when the Congress of Vienna met, instead of some three hundred, only thirty-eight sovereign German states. These may be divided, for the sake of convenience, into three groups: first, the two great powers, Austria and Prussia; second, the five middle-sized states, to wit, the kingdoms of Bavaria, Saxony, Würtemberg, and Hanover, with the grand-duchy of Baden; and third, Weimar, Hesse, and other petty principalities which, together with the city-republics of Hamburg, Bremen, and Lübeck, constituted the numerous group of the small states. Now the national party, headed by the Prussian statesman, Stein, had on Napoleon's fall demanded a close federal union of the thirty-eight existing states; but the Austrian chancellor, Metternich, who feared all novelties as revolutionary, played upon the dynastic sentiments of the German princes until they had been brought over to his program of a loose association to be called the German *Bund* (Union). The Bund was authorized to transact business in a diet, which was composed of delegates of the thirty-eight member states and which sat at Frankfort-on-the-Main; but as the heads of the states yielded none of their sovereignty to the common parliament, it will be seen — and such was Metternich's plan — that the Bund, as a means of effective union, was a farce. As a consequence of this futile organization Germany remained a mere geographical expression and the disappointment of the nationalists was keen.

The German situation

But there was another sentiment besides that of nationalism offended at Vienna. We have already noted the set-back given to liberalism but perhaps we have not sufficiently emphasized the amazing vigor of the current political reaction. Indeed more than political, it was also religious and swept all the ruling circles of Europe fairly off their feet. Evidence of this religious exaltation is furnished by a document drawn up by Tsar Alexander, in which he pledged himself to govern his state in accordance with the New Testament and which he induced all his brother-potentates either to sign or give their assent to. This mystical profession of Christian principles has become famous under the name of the Holy Alliance.[1]

The political reaction; Holy Alliance and Quintuple Alliance

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[1] See the text in Translations and Reprints (University of Pennsylvania), Vol. I. "It is verbiage," said the cynical Metternich.

It owes its reputation less to what it contains (for it is a mass of hollow, well-meant platitudes) than to the circumstance that its name of Holy Alliance came to be applied to the actual and effective league maintained after 1815 by the victors over the Revolution and Napoleon. They achieved such a league by perpetuating their war-time coalition under the name of the Quadruple Alliance. In 1818, when the restored Louis XVIII of France was admitted to membership, the Quadruple became a Quintuple Alliance. Since the Quintuple Alliance embraced all the great powers, it may without exaggeration be held to be the first attempt made in modern times to give the western world a permanent political organization. To give the experiment still greater significance it was agreed that the five powers should meet from time to time in congress. In the light of these facts it may with some show of reason be contended that the Quintuple Alliance, which the average man, incapable of fine distinctions, confused with Tsar Alexander's Holy Alliance, was a shadowy League of Nations. Only we should remind ourselves that it was not designed as a means of directing the ever-changing life of Europe, but that it was constituted solely to defend the arrangements of 1815 against even the minutest change. This immobility was, above all, the obsession of the Austrian chancellor, Metternich. It was he who became the leading champion of the policy of holding congresses but always and exclusively in order that any revolutionary activity might be crushed by concerted action as soon as it arose. In other words, Metternich was in favor of intervening, in the interests of conservatism, in the internal affairs of the European states; and congresses and intervention became the chosen tools of the leagued reactionaries of Europe. Let us, since it has been hallowed by custom, continue to call this system by the name of the Holy Alliance; but let us also agree that such efficacy as it had rested on a definite political agreement laid down in the Quintuple Alliance and not on the mystico-bombastic pronouncement of Tsar Alexander which has approximately the importance of a magniloquent newspaper editorial.

The revival of liberalism

We should now be in a position to understand the nature of the opposition aroused by the triumphant conservatism of 1815. For several years the Holy Alliance operated successfully under the direction of its guiding spirit, Metternich, and actually quelled a number of revolutions. We shall presently examine the particular incidents. But before we do so, let us agree that it was probably impossible to maintain for long that unanimity among the five powers necessary for success. It was to be expected that Great Britain, which had less cause than the continental powers to uphold an extreme conservatism, would presently grow cold to the Holy Alliance. The first rift would encourage others until at last the whole system would violently fall apart. That is indeed what happened; but even before the collapse came, the reactionary program had aroused against it throughout Europe those natural favorers of change, the middle classes. Admittedly their political ideas, already summarized by us as the program of liberalism, had suffered an eclipse in 1815. But under the rough trampling of an unrestrained conservatism, liberalism experienced a revival and soon joined battle with its foe all along the line. It is from this struggle of a resuscitated liberalism against an arrogant and triumphant conservatism that European history largely takes its color and atmosphere from 1815 to 1830 and even to 1848.

The Spanish revolution of 1820

The first serious test of Metternich's policy of a Europe held in an unalterable mould by means of a conservative league of guardians came when certain Mediterranean countries were swept by a revolution. The beginning was made by Spain. On the fall of Napoleon Spain had experienced a restoration in the person of the Bourbon monarch, Ferdinand VII, whom Napoleon had deposed and exiled. The sovereign showed his true face at once by committing a perjury. Although he had sworn to maintain the constitution which had been drawn up during his exile by the heroic defenders of the Spanish soil and which from the year of its completion was known as the Constitution of 1812, he not only set it aside as soon as he had his hand once more on the helm, but encouraged a cruel and wholesale persecution of the patriots on the ground that they bore the terrible taint of liberalism. Spain slipped back to eighteenth century conditions and was governed for the exclusive benefit of a corrupt and incompetent court, an overbearing nobility, and a clergy which did not scruple to revive the repressive rigors of the Inquisition. Before long signs of disaffection appeared everywhere but with particular insistence in the army. This was primarily due to the fact that the army was being despatched to South America to subdue Spain's revolted colonies and that the enterprise, which carried the soldiers thousands of miles from home, was highly unpopular. In January, 1820, some companies about to be embarked at Cadiz raised the banner of rebellion and proclaimed the Constitution of 1812. Instantly garrisons in other parts of Spain took up the cry. At last Madrid itself rose and refused to be appeased until the cringing sovereign had made his bow to the people by taking the oath to the constitution.

Revolution in Naples and Portugal

This Spanish success created imitators. In Naples the fall of Napoleon had brought back another Bourbon, also named Ferdinand, who bore a remarkable moral resemblance to his relative of Madrid. On receipt of the happy news from Spain the Neapolitan army raised the banner of revolt and with the aid of the people forced the king to accept for his realm of Naples the now popular Spanish constitution. Nor did this complete the tale of revolution. The contagion spread to Portugal. In the absence of the royal family, which was still in Brazil, whither it had fled on Napoleon's invasion in 1807, a provisional government was hurried into office which tried to conjure the storm by a profusion of liberal promises.

The Congresses of Troppau and Laibach

Against these popular movements in the Latin south the indignant Metternich resolved to set in action his machinery of congresses and intervention. But if he hoped for unanimity among the powers for the maintenance of the conservative system, he soon saw his mistake. A meeting in the Austrian town of Troppau (1820), called for the discussion of the Neapolitan revolution, which from its nearness to Austria was particularly pressing, revealed that England and France had no desire to share in the proposed intervention. But as the Austrian's counsel prevailed with Russia and Prussia, intervention was accepted in principle, though it was agreed that it should not be undertaken until King Ferdinand himself had been heard in the case. The congress was therefore adjourned to Laibach, another Austrian town near the Italian border, and the mendacious Bourbon had no sooner appeared (1821) and denounced his late liberal acts as wrung from him by force than Austria accepted the mandate of her friends and marched an army into Naples.

Intervention of Austria in Naples, 1821

Unfortunately the Neapolitan liberals had not been able to call a strong government into being. They lacked experience, and worst of all, by falling out with the island of Sicily, which asked for home rule, were obliged to send a part of their army across the straits to maintain their authority. The mere approach of the Austrian forces served to scatter the undisciplined Neapolitan soldiery and break all opposition to the restoration of Ferdinand as absolute king. When the patriots in the Italian north, more especially in Piedmont, tried, in aid of the liberal movement in the south, to raise an insurrection in the Austrian rear, Austria marched an army into Piedmont also. Thus did Metternich by the exercise of a police power, for which he found authority in his own principles and in the mandate of the eastern potentates, make Italy safe for the Holy Alliance.

This first success only stimulated the appetite of the three eastern courts; and when the court of Paris, which had been wavering, now came over to their side, they could take another important step.

Intervention of France in Spain, 1823

At a congress held at Verona (1822) they commissioned France to interfere in Spain. A French army under the duke of Angoulême, the king's nephew, crossed the Pyrenees and entered Madrid practically without opposition. The downfall of Spanish liberalism was as swift and ignominious as that of Naples and for substantially the same reasons. The body of liberals in these two backward countries was small and inexperienced and failed to attach the impoverished and ignorant masses to its program. Priest- and beggar-ridden Naples and Spain were not good soil for an immediate constitutional development. The consequence of French intervention was the restoration of an absolutism, marked, as in the case of Naples, by a cruel persecution of the liberals. The Spanish sovereign, as revolting a combination of imbecility, ignorance, and duplicity as ever disgraced a throne, now hoped that the European monarchs would extend their services to America. The Spanish colonies, embracing the vast regions of Central and South America, were in revolt, and Ferdinand argued that to put down rebellion across the seas was quite as holy work as repressing it in Spain.

The rebellion of the Spanish colonies had run a curious course, for it had begun not with a movement against the mother-country, but with the patriotic refusal to accept the usurper, Joseph Bonaparte, imposed on the peninsula by his all-powerful brother.

Intervention in South America blocked by Great Britain and the United States

While Napoleon was engaged in fighting a losing war against the Spaniards, the colonies governed themselves and, acquiring a taste for independence, had, on Ferdinand's restoration, declared their unwillingness to return to the old allegiance without some provision for home rule. This the stubborn Ferdinand had rejected, with the result that the colonies, one after another, had renounced the Spanish connection. He at once levied war upon them but with such poor success that in his despair he appealed at last to the Holy Alliance. Metternich and his friends duly took up the question thus brought before their bar. However, they had hardly begun to debate the issue when Great Britain and the United States thrust themselves into the situation. The British foreign minister, Canning, had recently succeeded Lord Castlereagh; and in place of the passive attitude taken by his predecessor in regard to the Neapolitan and Spanish interventions, Canning resolved actively to oppose the extension of the system of the Holy Alliance to the Spanish colonies on the purely practical ground that it would injure British trade. The insurrection of the South American colonies had proved a great boon to Great Britain since the war against the mother-country had delivered the South American markets into British hands. As the proposed restoration of Ferdinand VII would indubitably bring in its wake the revival of the ancient Spanish trade monopoly, Canning, in order to avoid that contingency, was ready to risk a breach with the continental powers. In 1823 he boldly adopted the course of recognizing the independence of the South American republics. In this policy he was ably seconded by the United States, prompted to be sure less by trade advantages than by pressing considerations of national security. Through the mouth of President Monroe the Washington government declared (Dec. 1823) in ringing tones that it would not look with equanimity on the attempt of an European coalition to subjugate the South American republics. The message of President Monroe is memorable not only because it marks the entry of the United States upon the stage of world politics but also because it formulates a policy of opposition to European enterprise in the western hemisphere which, under the name of the Monroe Doctrine, has served the government of the United States as a guiding principle down to our own time.

Intervention in Portugal blocked by Great Britain

The upshot of the energetic action of Great Britain and the United States was that the Spanish colonies made good their independence and that the leagued champions of reaction, to the joy of the liberal parties the world over, met their first serious check. Shortly after, they became aware that there were regions, even in Europe, which they could not control. For with Naples and Spain won back to absolutism, conservative logic demanded that Portugal be served the same way. But Portugal, a coastal state, was accessible to Great Britain; and when Canning prepared to protect it from interference by the use of force, the allies saw fit to abandon the enterprise.

Reviewing the events in the Mediterranean countries, we observe that, after winning a number of important successes, the reaction headed by Metternich was obliged to relax its principles in at least two instances, owing to the veto of Great Britain supplemented by that of the United States. Such strength as the conservative program mustered resulted from union; and the defection of Great Britain under the direction of Canning showed that union, on the absurd and unhistorical basis of political immobility, could not be maintained for any considerable length of time. It is sometimes said that Canning destroyed the Holy Alliance. A more correct statement would be that Great Britain under Canning deserted the Holy Alliance, and that, weakened by defection, it was reduced to all but complete dissolution by another event to which we now turn — the Greek revolution.

The Holy Alliance goes to pieces

At the very moment when the eastern powers were formulating their policy against popular movements at the Congress of Laibach, the news reached them that the nefarious spirit of revolt had raised its head also in southeastern Europe and that the Greeks, subjected for centuries to the sultan, demanded independence. The Greek movement was the result of a nationalist revival coupled with the progressive decadence of the Ottoman Empire. The government of the sultan, exercised by venal and capricious agents called pashas, pursued the policy of squeezing every possible penny from its Christian subjects, besides treating them socially as an inferior group wholly at the mercy of their Mohammedan masters. If since their conquest in the fifteenth century the Greeks had meekly bowed their necks to the alien yoke, beginning with the second half of the eighteenth century, they showed signs of an ominous unrest due to the coming among them of a new spirit. They again turned with enthusiasm to their great past; representative Greeks traveled and studied in Europe and on their return disseminated western ideas; and Greek traders, taking advantage of the long revolutionary wars which drove French commerce from the Mediterranean, prospered to a degree unknown for centuries.

The revolt of Greece, 1821

By the beginning of the nineteenth century the Greeks felt encouraged to prepare for a revolt against an intolerable tyranny and founded toward this end a secret political society with branches throughout the eastern Mediterranean. True, the mass of the Greeks lived in the restricted territory of ancient Hellas, that is, in the southern extremity of the Balkan peninsula, but scattered communities of their people might be encountered throughout the Balkan area as well as in Asia Minor. North of the lower Danube lived the mass of the Rumanians, while the heart of the peninsula was held by two Slav groups, the Bulgars and the Serbs. As these three non-Greek peoples had been Christianized in the days of Greek ascendancy, they were members of the Greek Orthodox Church which recognized as its head the patriarch of Constantinople. It further contributed to Greek prestige among the non-Greek Christians that a large part of the clergy, especially among the prelates, was of Hellenic blood and speech. This being the situation which the leaders of the secret society, the *Hetairia Philiké*, had under their eyes, it is not strange that they should have laid their plans for an insurrection against the sultan which, though under Greek guidance, should embrace all the various Christian peoples. To their surprise they discovered they had made a miscalculation. Their fellow Christians refused to accept their leadership because the Greek control of the Slav and Rumanian Churches was almost as much resented as the political control of the Turks. The division among the Christian subjects of the sultan appearing thus early in their period of awakening must under no circumstances be overlooked. Not only did it delay the process of Balkan liberation from the Turk by hindering united action, but after freedom had been gained it became the source of a succession of disastrous conflicts which will engage our attention in due time. At this point it will suffice to note that when the Greek leaders unfurled the banner of revolt in the spring of 1821, they met with no response from either the Slavs or the Rumanians. The movement would have been a complete fiasco, had not the Greeks in ancient Hellas heroically resolved to go on with it, even though they were unsupported by their fellow-Christians of the other races. By sudden concerted action they succeeded in clearing almost all of the Morea (the ancient Peloponnesus) and central Greece of the Ottoman enemy.

The racial and religious situation among the Balkan Christians

Thoroughly alarmed by the rebellion, the sultan made formidable efforts to recover the lost territory. His armies penetrated (1822) into the revolted districts but failed to break the resistance of the little people conducted chiefly in the form of guerrilla warfare. Balked of their prey, the Turks committed abominable atrocities, to be followed presently on the part of the Greeks by acts of similar fury. The tale of mutual butchery between the two races surpasses belief and becomes intelligible only when we remember that the animosity, usual between slave and master, was here blown into an unquenchable flame by wild religious fanaticism. In the year 1824 the sultan, recognizing the exhaustion of his resources, invited the coöperation of his powerful vassal, Mehemet Ali, pasha of Egypt; and the arrival on the political scene of this capable and unscrupulous ruler soon gave another complexion to affairs. The Egyptian mobilized an army and a navy under his son Ibrahim against the Greeks, and Ibrahim, using the island of Crete as a base, gradually penetrated into the Morea. By 1826 he had made such forward strides that to the casual view the Greek cause seemed doomed. But at this point Europe, hitherto painfully indifferent, interposed, and Greece was saved.

The sultan fails to subdue the Greeks

As long as Metternich's influence prevailed among the powers it was clear that Europe would quietly look on while the sultan waded in the blood of his Christian subjects. The *peoples* of Europe, it is true, in contrast to the *governments*, made from the first no secret of their sympathy with the cause of freedom. Bands of volunteers, among whom was the famous poet, Byron,[1] gathered under the Greek banners; but though they rendered welcome assistance, they could not hinder the triumph of the Egyptian forces. In these desperate circumstances nothing was likely to prove of avail short of the action of one or more of the powers. Great Britain was already pondering intervention, when in 1826 she received welcome support from Russia. In the previous year Tsar Alexander, who in his later days had fallen completely under Metternich's influence, had died to be succeeded, in default of direct heirs, by his brother Nicholas I. Nicholas was as fanatical a reactionary as Metternich, but he was also a Russian nationalist and therefore hated to see the sultan, the age-old enemy of Russia, strengthen his hand by subduing the Greeks to obedience. Approaching the London cabinet, he discussed a modest program of intervention, which, by the admission of France, led in 1827 to the Treaty of London. Therein the three signatories agreed to put an end to the bloodshed on the basis of Greek autonomy. Here then was intervention but not of the Metternichian kind! That it was

Great Britain, Russia, and France agree to interfere in behalf of Greece, 1827

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[1] He died of fever, a martyr to the cause, in 1824 at Missolonghi.

actually to be exercised in favor of rebels gives the measure of the completeness of the shipwreck of the Holy Alliance.

The battle of Navarino (1827) and the Turco-Russian war of 1828–29

The Treaty of London had no sooner been signed than the three powers ordered their fleets to concentrate in the Mediterranean and sail to the bay of Navarino, Ibrahim's base in the Morea. They came to announce the end of warfare; and when Ibrahim, outraged at the interference, failed to comply promptly with the request to suspend hostilities, a battle ensued in which the whole Turco-Egyptian fleet was shot to driftwood (Oct. 20, 1827). The roar of the guns at Navarino announced to the world the birth of a new Christian state, but the sultan was not yet ready to concede the point. Profoundly irritated by the Navarino disaster, he opened a heated correspondence with his chief enemy, the tsar, which Nicholas shrewdly utilized to issue a declaration of war. Thus the Greek rebellion culminated in another Turco-Russian conflict, in which the Russians more signally than in any earlier instance exhibited an easy superiority. Their forces crossed successively the Danube river and the Balkan mountains and in 1829 reached Adrianople, only a few days' march from the Turkish capital. At this juncture the sultan's resistance collapsed; he offered to treat and in the Peace of Adrianople accepted all the Russian demands. Not only did he concede to the three powers the right to settle the affairs of Greece as they saw fit, but he renewed and enlarged his former promises of home rule to Serbia and to the two Rumanian provinces, Wallachia and Moldavia, besides acknowledging the tsar as the guarantor of these concessions. The effect of the Treaty of Adrianople was nothing less than to make the tsar co-sovereign with the sultan over considerable parts of his Balkan dominions.

The Greek settlement

After prolonged discussions touching the settlement of Greece the three powers agreed at length on these points: (1) that Greece was to be not merely autonomous under the sultan but an entirely independent kingdom; (2) that its northern boundary against the Ottoman Empire was to be ungenerously drawn from Arta to Volo, thus leaving large numbers of Greeks outside the kingdom; and (3) that the crown of the kingdom was to be given to a young Bavarian prince, Otto by name. It was not till 1832 that these conclusions were finally arrived at. The long delay was due to the fact that shortly after the Peace of Adrianople Europe was shaken by a new revolution in the old center of disturbance, France.

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CHAPTER XXI

THE BOURBON RESTORATION IN FRANCE AND THE REVOLUTIONARY MOVEMENTS OF 1830

Louis XVIII grants a constitution

The restoration of the Bourbons in 1814, and again in 1815, was the work of the victorious allies, for the old royal family was as good as forgotten in France and aroused no enthusiasm among the people. Its position, therefore, was precarious and its success would depend on the wisdom with which it used its opportunity. Louis XVIII, the most moderate and intelligent member of his family, made a not unpromising beginning when he published a constitution (*la charte constitutionelle*), which recognized the institutions of Napoleon — his administration, his legal system, his church, his army, and even his nobility — and conceded to the people a share in legislation by two houses, an appointed chamber of Peers and an elected chamber of Deputies. The system bore a certain resemblance to that of England, except that the ultimate control remained vested with the king, inasmuch as the ministers were responsible to him and not to the chambers. The constitution made a strong bid for middle class support by recognizing that those objects of eighteenth century criticism, the feudal privileges and the absolute monarchy, had departed never to return.

The ultra-royalists

Having wisely inaugurated a policy of conciliation, the king next turned to the task of creating confidence and allaying suspicion. But this was difficult in view of the fact that he was surrounded at court by the *émigrés*, who had returned with the fall of Napoleon and fatuously imagined they had brought the old times back with them in their traveling-kits. At their head was the count of Artois, the king's fanatic brother, who in twenty-five years of exile had learned nothing and forgotten nothing. These courtly gentlemen thought chiefly of revenge and repression. Selfishly animated with the desire to recover their confiscated estates and to restore the Church to power, they compassed, after a few ephemeral triumphs, their own ruin and that of the royal family. Their party policy — they were known as ultra-royalists — was not, at least for the present, to overthrow the constitution, but to insist on a sharp control of the press and to insure themselves a majority in the lower chamber by manipulating the elections. This was relatively easy because, the franchise being dependent on a high property qualification, there were roughly only 100,000 citizens entitled to vote. It is on account of this limitation of the suffrage that the monarchy rested in last analysis on the small body of the well-to-do.

Louis, at first liberal, yields to the ultras

Louis XVIII, with laudable common-sense, at first resisted the clamor of the ultras and leaned upon the constitutionalists. However, he was too weak to maintain his position in the face of continued pressure. The assassination in 1820 of his nephew and ultimate heir, the duke of Berri, shook him profoundly. Although the murder was the deed of a fanatic, who acted only on his own prompting, the courtiers declared that the real responsibility rested with the liberal ministry, which was accordingly replaced with a ministry of ultras. Thus at last the conservatives had triumphed, and controlling the king, the ministry, and the chambers, muzzled the press, passed restrictive electoral laws, and identified France with the Holy Alliance by accepting in 1822 the mandate to suppress the Spanish revolution. With the ultras floating on the tide of power Louis XVIII died (1824). He was succeeded by the count of Artois, under the title Charles X. His accession added the finishing touch to the triumph of the forces of reaction.

Charles X carries out a *coup d'état*

Events now rapidly traveled toward the inevitable crisis. By passing an act which distributed one billion francs among the ancient nobility as an indemnity for their estates confiscated during the Revolution and by other measures of like tenor, the ministry deeply offended the bourgeoisie, who made up the bulk of the voters, and in the election of 1827 suffered a signal defeat. Though Charles X now changed his ministers, he clung with such stubborn infatuation to his reactionary policy that the chamber of Deputies was more and more moved to withdraw its support. With the courage of the self-righteous he resolved to break the resistance of his legislature by an illegal act, a so-called *coup d'état*. On July 26, 1830, he issued four ordinances by which, in the hope of getting a docile chamber, he arbitrarily changed the laws governing the elections and the press.

The four ordinances sounded a challenge which was immediately taken up by bands of republican workmen and students. Parading the streets with loud cheers for the constitution, they presently raised the ominous cry, "Down with the Bourbons!" The king himself was at St. Cloud, just outside the capital, and the few thousand troops in Paris were not adequate to keep the insurgents in hand. Occasional conflicts soon led to a pitched battle, in which the soldiers, outnumbered and fighting without enthusiasm, yielded ground until their commander ordered them to evacuate the capital. On the night of July 29th, the people, brimful, after three days of fighting, of the old republican spirit, rested from their bloody and triumphant work.

The revolution of July 1830

In spite of Charles's misrule there was a large monarchical party of liberal tendency still in France, and this party now stepped forward to save the country from anarchy. In contrast to the republican workmen who had done the street-fighting, its members were recruited from the bourgeoisie. In a gathering of leaders it was decided that what France wanted was a genuinely constitutional monarchy and that the person to secure it was Louis Philip, duke of Orleans. The duke was head of the younger branch of the house of Bourbon and had a revolutionary record, for he had served for a time (1792–1793) as a volunteer in the republican army. This, and the fact that his father was the unsavory Egalité of Jacobin fame, had dug an unbridgeable chasm between him and the elder branch of his house. At the invitation of the moderates he left his country-place to come to Paris and by an adroit conciliation of the republicans, who had accepted the aged Lafayette as leader, took the reins into his hands, practically without opposition. The first business of the improvised government would in all likelihood be a struggle with Charles X. But the frightened king agreeably disappointed expectations. In a fit of despondency he resigned in favor of his little grandson, son of the murdered duke of Berri, and fled to England; but the chamber of Deputies chose to take no further note of his acts and, on August 7th, proceeded to proclaim Louis Philip king of the French.

The middle class turns to Louis Philip

The substitution of the younger for the older branch of the house of Bourbon, which at first blush seems to measure the whole achievement of the so-called July revolution, does not fully express the change which came over France in 1830. In the first place, although the old constitution remained in force, it was liberalized somewhat by a slight revision and, more particularly, by the passing of a law which sufficiently lowered the property qualification for the franchise to bring about a doubling of the number of electors; and, second, the accession of Louis Philip signified nothing less than a complete change of system. Charles X represented legitimacy, was identified with the *émigrés* and the Church, and ruled by grace of God. Louis Philip, a revolutionary and illegitimate sovereign, was cursed and avoided by the convinced royalists, and in order to secure his throne had to lean upon the monarchical middle class. For this reason the July monarchy is often called the reign of the bourgeoisie and Louis Philip himself the king of the middle class (*roi-bourgeois*). Caricatures habitually represented him as a thickset, comfortable grocer, armed with a huge umbrella. The final touch to this change of system was communicated by the replacement of the lily banner of the Bourbons with the famous tricolor of the Revolution.

Results of the revolution

Meanwhile the report of the revolution in Paris had traveled abroad, producing joy among the progressive groups and consternation among the governments. Since the work of the reaction had been so easily undone in France, there was good reason to think that the national and liberal sentiment, outraged by the Congress of Vienna and persecuted by the mean-spirited police-control of Metternich and Tsar Alexander, might assert itself with success in other regions of Europe. France, since the Revolution the acknowledged leader of progressive opinion, had given a signal to which her imitators and admirers everywhere joyfully responded.

Effect of the revolution on Europe

The first people to be seized with the French infection were the Belgians. The reader will remember that by the Congress of Vienna the old Austrian Netherlands had been annexed to Holland in order to create a strong state on the French border. But the union was unfortunate, for the Belgians felt that they were not admitted to complete equality by the Dutch, while the fact that one people was Protestant and the other Catholic kept up a constant irritation, very cleverly fostered by the Belgian clergy. Besides, there was the question of race; while one-half of the Belgians were Flemings and, as a Germanic people, closely allied to the Dutch, the other half were Walloons, that is, Celts who used the French language. Lastly, Flemings and Walloons alike were imbued with French civilization and looked rather toward Paris for intellectual guidance than toward The Hague.

The causes of Belgian discontent

In August, 1830, a revolt, begun in Brussels, spread so rapidly that the Dutch army had to abandon the whole country with the exception of a few fortresses. King William, who had at first treated the Belgian national movement with contempt, now offered concessions, but it was too late. Nothing short of complete independence would satisfy the revolutionists, and since the Dutch king resisted this demand, war seemed to be unavoidable.

The Belgian revolt, August, 1830

When a conference of the powers met at London to deliberate on the issue it was seen that the Holy Alliance was dead, for the conference actually decided to yield to the will of the Belgian people and sever their lot from the Dutch. The truculent King William was cowed into acquiescence and, not without many difficulties and delays, a Belgian assembly declared Belgium a constitutional monarchy and elected a small German prince, Leopold of Saxe-Coburg, king. The boundary of the new realm caused a prolonged dispute with the offended king of the Netherlands, but this matter, too, was finally disposed of, and Belgium, a new state under a new dynasty, was added to the fraternity of nations.

Europe interferes in behalf of the Belgians

In central Europe, in Italy and Germany, the revolution was not received with such enthusiasm as might be expected, when we consider that in these countries the progressive groups had been balked of their dearest hopes by the treaties of 1815. In Italy there was no outbreak outside the papal states, where the government, exclusively in the hands of the pope and his clergy, was about as unprogressive as that of Turkey. Of course the pope called in the Austrians, who quickly extinguished the revolutionary fire. The fact was that Italy, in consequence of the defeat of its liberal hopes in 1821 and its experience of Austrian omnipotence, was unwilling for the present to risk an uprising. The total result of the year 1830 for the peninsula was an increased sense of enslavement to Austria and an increased hatred of the master.

The revolution of 1830 in Italy

In Germany political activity had been reduced to very meager proportions between 1815 and 1830. The Bund, as its projectors planned, was treated as a nonentity by the thirty-eight member states and soon became a general laughing-stock. The only occasion on which it showed signs of life was when, at the instance of Metternich, it adopted severe police measures to bridle the expression of liberal opinion in the press and universities and to hunt the sporadic democrats to their holes (Carlsbad decrees, 1819). In the middle-sized states of South Germany — Bavaria, Württemberg, Baden — constitutions were granted by the rulers; and here all that Germany could show in the nature of popular political activity during this period took refuge. The two great states, Austria and Prussia, and almost all of the small North German states, were, in respect of popular participation in politics, as dead as extinct volcanoes. Throughout this area absolutism flourished unchecked. In Austria the reaction presented to view no single redeeming feature; Metternich's hand seemed to have paralyzed the national energies. In Prussia the case was somewhat different. The king had indeed not fulfilled his promise to his people, given at the height of the struggle with Napoleon, to create a representative government, but he offered some compensation for this omission by a rigidly honest administration and a progressive economic policy. A really notable achievement was the German Customs-Union, called *Zollverein.* Inaugurated by Berlin in 1818 and completed after patient efforts continued through a generation, it gathered around Prussia, under a uniform tariff system, all the German states except Austria. The student can not fail to see that by unifying Germany economically the Zollverein promoted prosperity, strengthened the middle classes, and pointed the way to German political consolidation under that same Prussian guidance which had proved effective in the economic field.

Germany during the dominance of Metternich

Such was the general situation — except for the fact that the Zollverein was as yet in an early, experimental stage — when the news of the revolution in Paris reached Germany. For a revolutionary movement to be really significant it would have to be initiated in the great states, Austria and Prussia; but as these remained quiet, the outbreaks in Germany never acquired more than a local character. In a number of the absolute states of North Germany — Hesse-Cassel, Brunswick, Saxony, Hanover — there were risings which were quickly quelled by the grant of a restricted form of representative government. Phlegmatic Germany, unused to the exercise of political rights, had not acquired the revolutionary habit, and the sole result of the action of 1830 was the establishment of constitutionalism in some of the lesser states. In Austria and Prussia the absolute system seemed to rest on granite, though it was as clear as daylight that the rise of a powerful liberal opinion could not be long delayed.

The revolution of 1830 in Germany

The German movement of 1830 liberal, not national

It deserves special notice that the German movement of 1830 was not only a scattered and local disturbance but also exclusively concerned with liberal aims. No cry was raised for a more effective national organization and no hand was lifted against the feeble and despised Bund. In the light of the unimportant happenings of 1830 we are forced to the conclusion that while the liberal movement in Germany was more developed than the national one, both alike, hardly yet out of their swaddling clothes, awaited the development of a more powerful middle class.

Alexander creates the kingdom of Poland

If the year 1830 saw hardly more than storm-signals in Germany, there was a fierce tempest of the east of her, in Poland. We have seen that at the Congress of Vienna the Tsar Alexander, to whom had been assigned the grand-duchy of Warsaw, converted it into the kingdom of Poland with himself as king. At the same time he gave it a constitution, by which it became a separate entity from Russia with a Polish administration and army and with a Polish diet enjoying a consultative voice in internal affairs. That this constitution represented an act of unusual liberality for the times can not be denied, but it did not satisfy the Poles. They chafed under the remaining restrictions on their independence and could not forget the time when the parts were reversed, and they, and not the Russians and their tsar, ruled eastern Europe.

The Poles rise in revolt, November, 1830

The discontent was kept under control as long as Alexander, the giver of the constitution, lived; but Nicholas I had no sooner succeeded his brother (1825) than the signs of conflict multiplied. The excitement spread through Europe by the July revolution applied the torch to the accumulated discontent, and in November, 1830, the capital, Warsaw, rose in insurrection. The country took the cue from the metropolis; the few Russian troops in Poland retired with all possible speed; and not without surprise at the ease of the achievement, the Poles discovered that they were free under a revolutionary government.

Plainly the success of the movement would depend on united, intelligent action. But that was hard to obtain, owing to the political inexperience of the leaders and to the lamentable social divisions inherited from the past. For one thing the great nobles, who as owners of vast estates were the most powerful group in the country, found it difficult to agree with the democratic element in the city of Warsaw which was largely responsible for the revolution; and second, the bulk of the nation were agricultural laborers in a condition little above that of brutes. Serfs for centuries, they had indeed been declared free by Napoleon (1807); but as nothing was done to convert them into peasant-proprietors, they lived from hand to mouth and were, at least in a material sense, no better off than before. Nevertheless the revolutionary government, aided by the general enthusiasm, managed to create a national army, which with next to no training and a very deficient equipment sustained a most honorable combat when in the spring of 1831 Tsar Nicholas launched his Russian legions against it. However, mere valor was of no avail; at Ostrolenka (May, 1831) the Russians overwhelmed the Poles with their numbers, and a few months later (September) entered Warsaw in triumph. Thus the seal of fate seemed to be set upon the *finis Poloniæ* pronounced in the previous century.

Reasons for the Polish failure

When the Russian autocrat again took hold, it was with the grim resolve to make every possible provision against another Polish revolution. He firmly believed that he had been trifled with because he and his predecessor had proved themselves too generous. He would not err in that way any more. He began by abrogating Alexander's constitution not without calling attention to the fact that the Poles had preceded him in abrogating it by rising in revolution. Then he merged the ex-kingdom into Russia as a Russian province and carried through a succession of measures which aimed to break the rebellious spirit of the Poles: a Russian army of occupation was saddled on the country; Russian was made the official language; the press was put under strict supervision; and most of the Polish educational institutions were closed. Poland fell into complete eclipse. Bound and gagged she lay at the feet of Russia, but as long as the blood coursed in their veins the people were determined to cling to their national memories.

Poland crushed by the Russian autocracy

Reviewing the revolution of 1830 throughout Europe, we may assert that though its fruits, outside of France and Belgium, were small, a new era was struggling into being. The liberal platform, as yet indubitably monarchical but affirming the right of every people to a share in the political direction of the state, had called general attention to itself and could never again be treated as a negligible item. Nationalism, too, always more or less allied with liberalism, had asserted itself,

Results of the revolution of 1830

successfully in Belgium, unsuccessfully in Poland. Through the movements of 1830 the Holy Alliance received its last blow and expired; and although Metternich and other reactionaries might hope to revive it and actually never ceased trying, their effort was foredoomed to failure because a new day which would not be denied had dawned.

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CHAPTER XXII

THE REIGN OF LOUIS PHILIP (1830–1848) AND THE REVOLUTION OF 1848 IN FRANCE

King Louis Philip identified with the middle class

We have seen that the consequence of the July revolution was that Charles X was obliged to vacate the throne of France in favor of his relative Louis Philip, who owed his elevation to the favor and resolution of the bourgeoisie. He thus represented not the united nation but one of its social divisions, and this identification with a limited group largely determined the character of his reign. Friends and enemies alike referred to him jocosely as the king of the bourgeoisie (*roi-bourgeois*); and the phrase has a double significance since it defines not only his political status but also to a certain extent his personality. Abandoning the traditional pomp of royalty, he exhibited an easy fellowship with men of all classes, lived simply in the midst of his numerous family, and, like his bourgeois subjects generally, was shrewd, thrifty, and obstinate.

Legitimists and republicans

The July monarchy never enjoyed a day of complete and unquestioned security. In the legitimists and the republicans it had from the start two uncompromising political opponents. The legitimists, devoted to the older Bourbon branch, worked at all times against Louis Philip, but apart from a single outbreak in that revolutionary home of troubles, the Vendée, were content to bide their time. In the Vendée, the duchess of Berri, mother of the young Bourbon claimant, whom legitimists called Henry V, courageously headed a movement (1832) which, though appealing to the imagination of the royalists, by its failure to arouse the masses proved that legitimism was practically without popular support. Far more serious was the enmity of the republicans. The leaders were stubborn enthusiasts, often of the middle class, who drew their inspiration from the doctrines of the Revolution; and the followers were the workingmen of Paris, Lyons, and other city centers. Prepared to take risks for the cause in which they believed, republican groups appealed in 1832 and again in 1834 to arms only to be suppressed with bloody consequences. After the second rising the government passed a series of repressive acts (the September laws, 1835), which by special courts for the trial of offenses against the security of the state made republicanism practically a felony, and which by an extraordinarily severe censorship drove all republican agitation underground.

The Industrial Revolution and the origin of socialism

But far more important than all the surface agitations of politics and indeed largely explanatory of them was a social and economic upheaval inaugurated in Louis Philip's reign. The upheaval has been ordinarily called the Industrial Revolution. As it will be given later a systematic treatment, it will here suffice to indicate some of its leading aspects. We have already noted[1] that the Industrial Revolution was an offspring of science and that its powerful emblem was the machine. Louis Philip's reign saw the dawn of the modern machine age which signified, in the French as in every other case, the familiar changes associated with factories and tenements and the innumerable problems born of the conflict of capital and labor. Its most immediate effect was to strengthen still further the position of the middle classes since, as the groups endowed with capital, they became the powerful masters of the machines. But the workingmen, too, were strengthened, though at first only in numbers. Since the law forbade them to form trade unions for the purpose of protecting their economic interests, and since it also prohibited their agitating politically through a republican organization, they were wholly at the mercy of their employers. Greatly exasperated by their bondage, they inclined a willing ear to a new type of radical thinker who taught that as long as the bourgeoisie owned the means of production the existing injustice would inevitably continue; the only effective cure, according to the new gospel, was for the working people to overthrow the régime of private capital and to possess themselves of the machines and factories. A journalist, Louis Blanc, was the first to preach in clear terms this doctrine, to which came to be attached the name of socialism. The striking feature of Blanc's program was the proposal that a given body of workmen apply to the state for a loan of capital in order to undertake the coöperative management of a factory under the name of a national workshop. While Blanc and his followers were sincere republicans, their position, envisaging a radical economic upheaval, went far beyond the purely political demands of ordinary republicanism. This difference of purpose between republicans and socialists should be carefully noted, as under Louis Philip a deceptive impression of republican and socialist unity was created because both happened to stand shoulder to shoulder against the common oppressor.

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[1] See Ch. XVIII.

The division of the bourgeoisie into conservatives and progressives

Though the socialist development is interesting in itself and potentially significant, we must not credit it with an important role in the conscious political life of France under Louis Philip. Under the prevailing constitution politics was the exclusive preserve of the middle class and, apart from occasional flurries caused by legitimists and republicans, only the bourgeoisie and their affairs held the stage. Had this middle group remained closely united, it might have continued its rule almost indefinitely. But it fell apart over an issue as irrepressible as life itself. The bourgeois control of the state came to a head in the chamber of Deputies, where one political party took the usual conservative position that the existing system was so entirely satisfactory that it required no change at all, while a minority party scouted this immobility and advocated a moderate program of reform. What the reformers particularly urged was the lowering of the franchise requirement with a view to enlarging the body of the electors. After 1840 the famous historian Thiers assumed the leadership of the progressive minority, while the equally famous historian Guizot served as the head of the conservatives. King Louis Philip leaned strongly toward the conservatives, indeed had so consistently leaned toward them from the first day of his reign that with unimportant intermissions they may be said to have held the power so long as the Orleanist rule lasted. In 1840 the king called Guizot to the ministry, and Guizot steadily maintained himself in office with the support of a majority among the deputies. To be sure he employed highly questionable means to hold his followers together since he rewarded party fidelity with distributions from the vast patronage at his disposal. Though, with a majority behind him, his rule was constitutionally impeccable, it was profoundly corrupt; and this situation led the minority under Thiers to insist with greater and greater vehemence that the only way to break the iron ring of the conservatives was to enlarge the electorate to such an extent as to make bribery by a system of individual favors entirely impracticable.

The February revolution

The method which Thiers chose to carry his agitation for electoral reform among the people was a series of banquets at which the immobility and corruption of the government were denounced by fiery speakers. During the year 1847 these banquets were in progress throughout the country; and one, set for Paris on February 22, 1848, was planned to be a particularly impressive occasion to be inaugurated with a public procession. Scenting danger, the government forbade the meeting, but crowds gathered nevertheless and began to demonstrate noisily to show their displeasure. The next day the rioters resumed their activity, calling so insistently for reform that the king yielded and dismissed the unpopular Guizot. This met the wishes of Thiers who hoped to step into Guizot's shoes; but the passion of the populace having been aroused, the agitation mounted steadily like a flood until on February 24th it burst all bounds. The morning of that day began with an assault upon the district of the Tuileries by the republican masses, which exhibited such savage determination that the timid king abdicated the throne in favor of his little grandson. While the aged sovereign with his queen sought safety in ignominious flight, his daughter-in-law, the duchess of Orleans, led her young son, the count of Paris, to the chamber of Deputies and had him proclaimed king. But it was already too late to save the Orleanist dynasty. The republican multitude invaded the hall, ignored the deputies, and set up a Provisional Government. Owing to the fact that the socialists had helped in the street-fighting and were in possession of certain strategic buildings, some of their leaders, including Louis Blanc, were absorbed into the government; and the two united factions began their rule by announcing to the world that France was henceforth a republic.

The struggle between republicans and socialists

The harmony between the two groups lasted long enough for the Provisional Government to proclaim universal male suffrage and complete freedom of the press. But it was subjected to a great strain as soon as the socialist minority developed its view that the political revolution was merely a beginning to be followed as promptly as possible by a sweeping economic upheaval. To keep the government intact a compromise was arrived at to the effect first, that the state should recognize "the right to work," and second, that in fulfilment of this pledge, which meant that the government agreed to provide labor for every applicant, it should accept Louis Blanc's socialist prescription, the national workshops. The two declarations represented the limit of the concessions which the republicans were prepared to make to their socialist colleagues. And even these were quickly jeopardized. For when early in May the National Assembly, elected to give France a new constitution, met in the capital and took over the powers of the Provisional Government, it was at once seen that it would not tolerate even the mildest socialist experiments. What had happened was that the French people, called to the polls to choose between republicans and socialists, had shown their horror of the unfamiliar tenets of the new school by returning an overwhelming republican majority. Alarmed at this situation, the socialists rose in rebellion (May 15th), on the suppression of which the angered republicans voted to abolish the national workshops. Thereupon in order to save their one valuable concession, the socialists, rendered desperate, made a second attempt to overthrow the Assembly which was only defeated after four days of the bloodiest fighting Paris had ever seen (June 23–26, 1848). Several thousand men were killed defending the barricades they had erected, and other thousands, captured by the victorious soldiers, were either shot or exiled. By this disastrous outcome the socialist party was eliminated for many a day from the political situation.

The national workshops

A great deal of interest has always attached to the national workshops because they represent the first experiment with a frank socialist label made by the government of any European state. But the interest is spurious since the national workshops, as actually instituted, were socialist only in name. Accepted by the republicans against their conviction and under street pressure, the national workshops plan was put into the hands of an anti-socialist management for the express purpose of sabotaging it. Instead of specially trained and reliable workmen being joined in a coöperative enterprise supported by capital advanced from state funds — the program of Louis Blanc — the republican enemies charged with the execution of the plan indiscriminately sent all men applying at the bureau of labor to work with pick and shovel at the fortifications of Paris. This was a not unfamiliar method in France and elsewhere of meeting the unemployment situation and may be defended on the ground that the public disturbances had closed the factories and thrown thousands of men out of work. However, it was very costly to the national purse as the unemployed grew from week to week until their number threatened to become fantastic.

That the anti-socialist members of the Assembly had no stomach for this type of poor relief is intelligible in view of the fact that they would have to meet the expenditure with increased taxes. That they finally resolved to save the budget by ruthlessly suppressing a very haphazard system of unemployment doles, falsely called national workshops, is also intelligible. But when the socialists for their part then and afterwards contended that their scheme had never been tested, they were undoubtedly supported by the facts. So far as the much vaunted experiment of 1848 was concerned, no light whatever was shed on the workableness of the national workshops proposal.

The republican constitution of 1848

A safe inference from the savage struggle of the spring of 1848 was that France, although a republic, was not ready to indulge in hazardous experiments. With the socialists out of the way the the republican majority of the Assembly proceeded to fulfil its mission of giving France a constitution. Insisting on the democratic principle that "all public powers emanate from the people," it drew up a document which vested the legislative power in a single assembly of 750 members elected by universal suffrage. The executive power was conferred on a president elected for four years. As to the manner of the president's election, it was agreed after much discussion, that he, too, was to be chosen directly by the people. In order to inaugurate the new system the election was ordered for December 10, 1848, and to the surprise of all unacquainted with the heart of the French people their choice fell, not upon General Cavaignac, the leader of the republicans and the hero of the battles of June, but upon Louis Napoleon.

Career of the new president

That this prince should ever be called to the head of the nation by popular vote could hardly have suggested itself to the most prophetic spirit. He was the son of Napoleon's brother Louis, king of Holland, and after the death of Napoleon's only son at Vienna (1832) was regarded as chief of the house of Bonaparte. As such he felt it his duty to conspire for his dynasty and made two attempts, in ludicrous imitation of Napoleon's return from Elba, which were greeted by Europe with a burst of Homeric laughter. In 1836 he suddenly appeared in Strasburg, but in spite of his uncle's hat, sword, and boots, donned for the occasion, was only stared at by the amused populace and promptly marched off to prison. Louis Philip felt so secure that he freed the theatrical hero without more ado. Undaunted, the young man made in 1840 another attempt to rouse France by crossing from England to Boulogne; but the boat conveying him and a few helpmates capsized, and wet and dripping he was fished out of the channel by the ubiquitous police. Punished for this second escapade with imprisonment for life, he effected his escape after a number of years and again took up his residence in England. On the proclamation of the republic he became a candidate for the Assembly and easily won the election. Plainly he was outliving the ridicule he had aroused and by his clever trading upon the magic name Napoleon was rallying about him all those classes, especially the peasants, who clung to the traditions of the empire. When some months later his compatriots elected him president, they were thinking less of him, of whom they knew nothing, than of the dead warrior, whose brilliant victories his name recalled. Undeniably, however, the election to the presidency of a prince, who had never let an opportunity pass to declare himself heir to the French throne, was a clear indication that republicanism as a principle was not yet deeply anchored in the national conscience. Under these circumstances it might well be that the republic would prove but a passing phase.

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CHAPTER XXIII

THE REVOLUTION OF 1848 IN GERMANY, AUSTRIA, AND ITALY

Central Europe ready in 1848 for a liberal and national upheaval

If the revolution of 1830 produced no great stir in central Europe, it was, as we have seen, because the liberal and national sentiments had not yet become powerful and, more fundamentally still, because the middle classes, the historic carriers of these sentiments, were insufficiently developed to make successful headway against the conservative interests in control of the government. Hence in the period after 1830 the reaction remained in the saddle throughout Germany, Austria, and Italy. Still the areas of popular unrest continued to multiply, while the growing well-being and self-assertion of the business and professional groups was a certain indication that the days of an uncompromising conservatism were numbered. To people in the alert state of mind of the central European liberals the February revolution at Paris came as a challenge to action. Amidst a general outburst of jubilation they rose here, there, and everywhere, declaring for popular government and a national state. While it is undeniable that France had once more asserted the liberal leadership of Europe by setting an example which the other countries imitated, it remains a fact that by 1848 the liberal movement had developed sufficiently in Germany, Austria, and Italy to make an impression by its own inherent vigor.

Revolution at Vienna

It is one of the ironical touches so frequent in history that Metternich's own capital, the chief shrine of the spirit of reaction, was among the first to voice the new freedom. On March 13, 1848, Vienna rose and drove the aging prince, who since 1815 had been the not undistinguished mouthpiece of an outworn system, from the chancellery of the Austrian empire and from the capital. With Metternich's ignominious flight the whole government collapsed without more ado: absolutism was renounced, and the feeble Emperor Ferdinand, frightened by the tumult in the streets, speedily promised a constitution, a parliament, freedom of the press, and whatever else the rioters exacted. With the suddenness of melodrama a new era seemed to have dawned upon the petrified realm of the Hapsburgs.

Revolution at Berlin

The news of the fall of Metternich caused exultation throughout Germany, on which his hand had rested with no less heaviness than on Austria. In many of the small capitals riots broke out which were placated by liberal concessions; and overshadowing these disturbances, on March 18th Berlin followed the example of Vienna and rose to protest against the autocratic system. In view of Prussia's failure to respond to the revolution of 1830 this action may seem somewhat surprising. But the last decade had been preparing changes. The old king, Frederick William III, who had endeared himself to his people because of his connection with the War of Liberation against Napoleon, had died in 1840. His successor was his son, Frederick William IV, and the new generation surrounding his throne let it be known in no uncertain tones that, while it approved of the efficient administration maintained by the state, it did not intend to let itself be excluded any longer from a share in legislation. In spite of his firm belief in Divine Right, the new king had, as early as 1847, yielded so far to public opinion as to summon to Berlin the representatives of the several provincial estates. This assembly, called the United Diet, at once assumed the airs of a Prussian national parliament; and although it did not accomplish anything, the fact that the king had been obliged to call it together proves that the revolution of 1848 was more than a sudden popular caprice. As a result of the March days, which did not pass without the spilling of blood, the intimidated king surrendered completely to the people. Not only did he, by withdrawing his troops from the city, hand Berlin over to the agitators, but he promised to call an elected parliament and, in addition, to promote to the best of his ability the cause of German unity.

The revolution is national as well as liberal

Thus was all Germany in the course of a few days won over to a thorough-going constitutionalism. But there was also another aspect to the stirring movement: it was animated by a fiery nationalism. The middle class leaders of the revolution were convinced that the time had come to scrap the ludicrous confederation of 1815, the Bund, in order to erect upon its ruins a really effective German union. Resolved to strike while the iron was hot, they met informally in March and quickly came to the conclusion to issue a call for a general German parliament to be elected by universal manhood suffrage and to be endowed with full authority to create a strong federal government. To this bold invitation the German people responded with an extraordinary and apparently united enthusiasm.

Strength and weakness of the German parliament

When the German parliament, elected on these terms, assembled in May, 1848, at Frankfort-on-the-Main, it was found to be by every moral and intellectual standard a very distinguished body of men. But all their learning and high principles did not serve to cancel one fatal defect inherent in their position: so long as they had at their disposal neither an administration nor an army, that is, so long as they possessed none of the realities of power, their status hardly differed from that of a debating society. In the early days of the revolutionary triumph this weakness might be offset by an irresistible public opinion; but if opinion sagged, as it regularly does since it can not be forever maintained at high tension, and if the state governments, panic-stricken by the first glimpse of the revolutionary ferment, recovered breath and courage — what then? The Bund, swept off the stage by the national hurricane, had been established expressly to guarantee the sovereignty of the thirty-eight member states, which would certainly yield their dearest possession only under duress. Austria and Prussia, in particular, proud of their position as great powers, could hardly be expected without some show of resistance to recognize as their superior the democratic and revolutionary body sitting at Frankfort. Sooner or later Austria or Prussia or both together would follow an independent policy, and the clash, testing the question of supremacy, would be at hand.

The Schleswig-Holstein difficulty

The clash came over the Schleswig-Holstein complication. This, one of the most confused questions of nineteenth century history, haunted the European chancelleries like a nightmare for more than a generation. But apart from its enormous legal difficulties it is quite simple since it is a characteristic issue of the new nationalist type. The united duchies of Schleswig and Holstein occupied the southern half of the peninsula of Jutland and were inhabited, except for the northern rim of Schleswig, which is Danish, by a German population. By an accident of inheritance the king of Denmark was also duke of Schleswig and Holstein, but the two duchies were otherwise independent, having their own laws and administration. This independence of Denmark the two duchies, because they were preponderantly German, were firmly resolved to preserve. Toward the middle of the century an issue dawned which put the Germans on their guard. The royal house of Denmark, about to die out in the male line, was faced by a constitutional difficulty. By the law of Denmark the crown would descend to a female line, while by the Schleswig-Holstein law, at least as interpreted by the German population, the crown of the united duchies would pass to the nearest male relative. This prospect of an early divorce between Denmark and the duchies rejoiced the Germans as much as it grieved the Danes, and in 1846 the king of Denmark took the weighty step of issuing a public declaration to the effect that, come what may, he would see to it that the ancient union was maintained. This declaration the German population regarded as a breach of law and custom; they were thrown into a revolutionary mood and, taking advantage of the general agitation of 1848, they rose in revolt, proclaimed Schleswig-Holstein independent of Denmark, and appealed to the German parliament at Frankfort for support.

The German parliament bows to Prussia in the matter of the Danish war

The German parliament at once responded with fair words, but when it came to deeds found itself hampered by the fact that it had neither an army nor other resources at its disposal. In consequence it was obliged to appeal to Prussia, which bordered on the duchies, to go to the aid of the rebels. Entering Schleswig-Holstein, the Prussians drove out the Danes, but the latter retaliated by seizing the Prussian merchant vessels in the Baltic. This fact, coupled with the interference in behalf of Denmark of Russia and Great Britain, induced King Frederick William, who had only with reluctance obeyed the German parliament, to sign a truce with Denmark (August 26th). By its terms he practically redelivered the duchies into the hands of the Danes. Thereupon the legislators at Frankfort mounted their high horses, branded Frederick William as a traitor, and declared the truce null and void. On sober second thought, however, they recognized that without an army they could not coerce Prussia and, reversing themselves, endorsed all that Prussia had done. The incident was highly instructive as to the distribution of effective power between Prussia and the German parliament. Greatly humiliated the members turned to the constitutional labors for which they had been summoned, resolved to bring them to a conclusion before the revolutionary tide which had swept them to power had completely ebbed. At this task we shall leave them while we look into the affairs of Austria and Italy.

Austria falls into its component parts

The Austrian Empire was as strange a patchwork of states and peoples as has ever been pieced together by fortune and policy. Germans in Austria proper, Hungarians along the middle Danube, Italians in the provinces of Lombardy and Venetia annexed in 1815, and at least six different groups of Slavs chiefly in the northern and southern areas were expected to live together as brothers in a common household. Surprising as it may seem, it is undeniable that the experiment proved fairly successful so long as the emperor at Vienna exercised an unimpaired absolute power and the national sentiments of the component peoples remained in abeyance. But as soon as the March revolution had undermined the emperor's autocracy at the central seat, the nationalist passion of the various peoples was fanned into flame and the whole Hapsburg structure threatened to fly apart with violent centrifugal action. In the course of a few weeks the Italians at Milan and Venice, the respective capitals of Lombardy and Venetia, drove out the Austrian garrisons and declared for independence; the Hungarians, ignoring Vienna, set up their own government; and while the Slavs remained relatively quiescent, some of them, notably the Czechs of Bohemia, inaugurated measures looking, if not toward complete sovereignty, at least toward home rule. To the casual observer the proud Austrian Empire seemed to have reached its end. Let us follow these insurrections in their leading centers.

The Italian patriots turn upon Austria

In Italy the fall of Metternich was no sooner reported than the people of Lombardy and Venetia, long restive under his lash, rose, fell upon the troops, and declared for independence. The Austrian army, yielding to the sudden pressure, retired in good order under its general, Radetzky, to a chain of impregnable fortifications prepared for just such an occasion at the foot of the Alps and known as the Quadrilateral. A Provisional Government at Milan appealed to all Italy for help and especially to Charles Albert, king of Sardinia-Piedmont, the most powerful of the Italian princes and the only one devoted to the general cause. As for the moment the national movement was irresistible even the other rulers, such as the king of the Two Sicilies, the grand-duke of Tuscany, and the pope, who traditionally served only their local interests, agreed to send contingents to fight side by side with the Sardinians for the liberation of the northern provinces. It was Italy's first great national war; its purpose the expulsion of the foreigner.

In this heroic enterprise, originating in the spontaneous action of the people, there was one weakness which no enthusiasm could overcome. Among the motley and undisciplined Italian forces the Sardinian army was the only efficient body and its numbers were too small to resist the Austrian legions. When on July 25th the decisive clash came at Custozza, within the Quadrilateral, whither the king of Sardinia had led his army in order to dislodge the Austrians, the veteran General Radetzky inflicted a complete defeat on the Italians, reconquered Lombardy, and obliged Charles Albert, in order to save Piedmont from invasion, to sue for a truce. When at the expiration of the truce the war was renewed, the Austrians won another great victory at Novara (March, 1849), and the struggle was over. Sick at heart the defeated Charles Albert abdicated, and his son and successor, Victor Emmanuel, made haste to sign a treaty with Austria by which, in return for abandoning the national cause, he received back his undiminished realm. That left the Austrians free to deal with their two revolted provinces of Lombardy and Venetia. Milan, the capital of Lombardy, being already in their hands, siege was now laid to Venice and the city obliged, after a courageous defence, to capitulate.

Austria defeats Sardinia and her allies

Though the struggle in the north against Austria marks the climax in the drama of the Italian revolution, the rest of the peninsula shared in the aspirations and delusions of that year of turmoil. While the revolutionary movement was at its height, the pope, the grand-duke of Tuscany, the king of the Two Sicilies, and the lesser princes had made every conceivable concession to the liberals; but as soon as the tide receded, they hurried to revert to the cherished system of absolutism. The king of the Two Sicilies was the first to cast aside his liberal mask. A despot without a scruple or, rather, a vaudeville sovereign in real life, he overthrew the constitutional system, first in Naples and afterward in Sicily. A reaction worse than that imposed by the Austrians in Lombardy, because its author was more despicable, fastened upon the fair provinces of the south. Far more memorable was the march of the revolution in the central section, in the State of the Church, of which Pope Pius IX was sovereign. In fact the course which the revolution

The revolution in Naples

took at Rome throws so much light on Italian problems that we must examine it somewhat more fully.

The revolution at Rome

Pius IX, elected to the papacy in 1846, was a kind and affable man, with a reputation for liberalism which he owed to nothing more significant than an occasional good-natured word and deed. However, as a born Italian, he did in a measure sympathize with the Italian national movement; and undeniably when Lombardy revolted against Austria, he gave evidence of approving the action by sending a papal contingent to the rebels' aid. But as soon as he became aware of the consequences of this step he called a halt. To send troops against Austria meant a declaration of war against that power and the adoption of a martial policy hardly consistent with his position as head of the universal Church. He found himself in a dilemma, the inevitable consequence of his dual character; for as pope and successor of the Prince of Peace he had spiritual obligations toward the whole Catholic world, while as secular lord of an Italian territory he had definite temporal interests, the imperative one at the moment being to join with the nation against the foreign conqueror. Obliged to choose between his obligations to Catholicism and those to his temporal state, he naturally preferred the greater to the less and, to the relief of Austria but to immense indignation of his Roman subjects, withdrew from the Austrian war. The incident proved that a pope, who wished to play a consistent international role, could never follow exclusive national ends. But the Romans, who were not philosophers but passionate Italians, showed their disgust with their sovereign by rising in revolution. A strong republican faction pronounced against Pius as a traitor to Italy; and when, alarmed at the situation, he sought refuge (November 24, 1848) with his friend, the king of Naples, the revolutionists took affairs into their own hands and converted the papal dominion into a republic. The leading spirit of the new government was Mazzini, a high-minded, life-long prophet of Italian unity and a tireless conspirator against the selfish reigning houses of his divided country.

The Roman Republic never had more than a fighting chance. Catholics the world over were horrified at the dispossession of the Holy Father and several Catholic governments considered measures looking to his restoration. Louis Napoleon, just elected president of the French Republic, was especially delighted at the opportunity offered to curry favor with the Catholic clergy and peasantry of

France; and intent only on his own advantage and heedless of the fact that he was pitting one youthful republic against another, he sent an army to Rome to sweep Mazzini and his followers out of the city. General Garibaldi, who had been created commander-in-chief of the Roman forces, offered a gallant but hopeless resistance. In July, 1849, the French entered the conquered city. When on the invitation of his rescuers the disillusioned Pope returned to his capital, he was cured of such slight predilection for reform as he may once have felt and reëstablished the traditional autocratic system with all its time-worn abuses.

France overthrows the Roman Republic

Thus with a harvest of disappointments the Italian revolutionary action of 1848–1849 came to a close. Affairs relapsed to their former state; the brave effort had been apparently in vain. But one fact, shining out like a star in the night of their discouragement, was that patriotic Italians had found in the king of Sardinia a sovereign dedicated to their cause and in his army the one substantial hope of a future renewal of the war for independence. True, Charles Albert had been defeated; but not only had he stood by Italy till his overthrow, but his successor, Victor Emmanuel, showed an even more resolute spirit. For though subjected in turn to Austrian threats and bribes, he refused to give up his interest in Italy or to qualify as a reactionary by withdrawing the constitution granted to his country in 1848. Such sturdy attachment to the liberal-national program roused a love and admiration which drew the eyes of the Italians of north and south alike toward Piedmont and the house of Savoy.

Italy looks to the house of Savoy

At the same time that Austria was occupied with stamping out the Italian revolution, she was obliged to attend to rebellions in several other sections of her extended dominions. We have already noted that the March rising of the Germans at Vienna had served as the signal for nationalist upheavals among the Italians, Hungarians, and Czechs, not to mention a number of smaller groups. With chaos ruling in the capital and with the imperial authority paralyzed at its core by the unfortunate circumstance that the Emperor Ferdinand was a harmless imbecile, it is more than likely that the Austrian Empire would have been lost, had it not been for the army. Its ancient traditions and effective discipline held it together in spite of the intolerable confusion at Vienna. In Italy, as we have seen, it furnished incontrovertible

The army saves the Austrian Empire

evidence that it had not gone to pieces like the civil government; and with the Italian example before them the Austrian generals in command in the other rebellious areas became desirous of employing Radetzky's remedy of the sword to the situation under their eyes. An unruly multitude imposing its will by street demonstrations is never a match for trained soldiers under professional command. When, in June, General Windischgraetz, commanding at Prague in Bohemia, came to grips with the insurrection of the Czechs, he snuffed it out without much trouble. His next logical step was to attack the revolution of the Germans in Vienna. Arriving in October before the city, he encountered a resistance which broke when his troops stormed the gates and forced their way into the town. With the Czech and German movements once more under control and the Italian cause on the road to ruin there remained only the Hungarian revolt to crush for Austria to be her accustomed self again.

The revolution in Hungary, 1848–1849

The Hungarian revolt turned out to be the hardest nut which the Austrian army undertook to crack and which it might not have cracked at all if it had not received help from an unexpected quarter. It was in the sixteenth century, as the reader will remember, that the crown of Hungary had passed into the possession of the house of Hapsburg. The kingdom of the Magyars had an ancient constitution which conceded considerable power to a representative parliament; and although the Hapsburg sovereigns, aiming at the unification of all their territories under their absolute rule, had frequently set the constitution at naught, they had never succeeded in entirely abrogating it. The Magyars for their part clung stubbornly to their political inheritance; and when the Viennese absolutism collapsed suddenly through the impact of the March revolution, they gained at a stroke all that they had been demanding. As a result Hungary to all intents and purposes seceded from the Austrian Empire, although it continued to recognize the Hapsburg sovereign as its king. But with the insurrectionary fires extinguished in Italy, Bohemia, and at Vienna the baffled central government again plucked up courage and ceased to cringe before the Magyars. Disputes over questions of competence between the parliament at Budapest and the Hapsburg sovereign led to a state of war, and in December, 1848, the hitherto victorious Windischgraetz directed his army upon the Hungarian capital. The struggle which followed constitutes a splendid tribute to the undaunted spirit of the Hungarians. Ever since the revolution had begun, it had been under the powerful guidance of Louis Kossuth, who at the approach of the supreme crisis assumed the dictatorship of the country. Kossuth put the army under the command of the capable General Görgei, who by the adoption of a bold strategy succeeded in driving the Austrian army back upon Vienna. Elated by this success, Kossuth, a convinced republican, issued a decree declaring the deposition of the house of Hapsburg. The measure was of doubtful wisdom, for not only did it divide the Hungarians, many of whom, perhaps a majority, were royalists, but it reduced the Viennese court to desperation and persuaded it to accept the proffered help of Tsar Nicholas. The Russian autocrat, long waiting for an opportunity to ride into the lists in behalf of the monarchical principle, promptly sent an army across the Carpathians which took the Hungarians in the flank. Caught between two fires, the rebels gave a good accounting of themselves; but by August, 1849, their forces had been overwhelmed and with Kossuth, Görgei, and the other leaders either captured or driven into exile the movement for Hungarian independence came to a tragic close.

Austria returns to the absolute system

Thus Austria had emerged from the terrible revolutionary crisis feeble and wounded but intact. It remained to dismiss the general Austrian parliament, which had been summoned on the demand of the people, and to shelve the constitution which the parliament had elaborated. A capable and unscrupulous man, Prince Schwarzenberg by name, who was appointed prime minister late in 1848, carried through these measures of reaction. Then with the scene swept clean of the revolutionary débris, Schwarzenberg frankly returned to the pre-revolutionary absolutism, which envisaged the Austrian Empire as a unitary state under a common army and a common administration and took no account of either traditional rights or national claims. As the feeble-minded Emperor Ferdinand was incapable of supporting so vigorous a policy, and as, besides, he was compromised by having given too many liberal pledges, Schwarzenberg, as early as December, 1848, had persuaded him to resign in favor of his young nephew, Francis Joseph.

On returning now to the affairs of Germany, we are immediately struck by the fact that the progress of reaction in Austria greatly encouraged the conservative party in all the German states and more particularly in Prussia. King Frederick William IV, who, though yielding to revolutionary pressure, had remained an unconverted absolutist, was readily persuaded that the time had come to treat revolutionary Berlin as Windischgraetz had treated revolutionary Vienna. By royal order the Prussian parliament, which was engaged in making a constitution for the state, was first prorogued to a provincial city and then dissolved (December 5th). At the same time the troops reëntered the capital and overawed radicals and liberals alike. Riding on a tide of reaction, the king might now have returned to the old absolutism, but deterred by certain moral scruples, he offered his subjects a constitution of his own making. Most certainly it was a document which failed to incorporate the full liberal demands. In its final form adopted in 1850, it left to the executive the appointment of the ministers, who therefore acted as agents not of the Prussian parliament but of the king. Moreover, in the matter of the franchise the so-called three-class system was adopted, by virtue of which the men of voting age were divided into three classes in accordance with the amount of taxes paid by them. As all the well-to-do were in the first two classes and the rest of the citizenry in the third, and as, further, the representatives of the first two classes by standing together could outvote the representatives of the third the candidate elected to the parliament in a given district was always an agent of the men of property. Nevertheless a Prussian legislature, which made the laws and voted the taxes, secured to the Prussian people henceforth a share in the government and furnished evidence that in Prussia almost alone in central Europe the revolution had not been entirely in vain.

The reaction reaches Germany and Prussia

The next body to feel the chill breath of the reaction was the German parliament at Frankfort. We left it at the time of its discomfiture in the Schleswig-Holstein matter, when the proof of its weakness had been furnished by its inability to control the policy of Prussia. Since then it had proceeded, in spite of multiplying signs that the revolution had passed its meridian, with its work of uniting all Germany by a national constitution. The greatest barrier in its path was Austria. As this country, a mixture of half a score of nationalities, would cut a strange figure in a German national state, it was finally resolved to exclude it from the proposed union. Unfortunately the action excluded also the Austrian Germans, who, ideally, were of course a part of Germany. However, the elimination of the Hapsburg Empire settled almost automatically the related difficulty of the

The German parliament completes its constitution, 1849

headship of the new Germany. Not without heated discussion, it was decided that the chief executive should be a hereditary emperor and that the post would be offered to the king of Prussia. In April, 1849, a deputation from the parliament journeyed to Berlin to offer the crown of united Germany to Frederick William.

The king of Prussia rejects the proffered crown

Their answer was a refusal. Frederick William was too deeply penetrated with ideas of Divine Right to have any sympathy for a popular and democratic honor; he was convinced that the constitution was in many of its features unworkable; and — he was afraid of Austria. Under the energetic Schwarzenberg Austria was just effecting a phenomenal recovery and notified Berlin in no uncertain language that the acceptance of the imperial office by a Hohenzollern would be deeply resented. The Viennese view was that if the German crown was to be revived, it must revert to the house of Hapsburg which had worn it for so many centuries. Frederick William was a weak, well-meaning man of mystical, confused ideas, and, like all waverers, ended by yielding to the various pressures brought to bear upon him. The committee of the parliament went back to Frankfort and reported its failure, whereupon the German assembly sadly acknowledged its inability to go on with its work and not without a small flurry of revolt retired from the scene.

The Prussian and Austrian plans for a German union

Frederick William IV, who, in spite of his refusal of the German crown, felt that he was pledged to do something for the national cause, now made an attempt to persuade the German governments to negotiate among themselves about the bases of a new union. His thought was that since the people, acting through their representatives at Frankfort, had failed to solve the German problem, it behooved the princes to try their hands at it. But against this plan, too, because it excluded the Austrian Empire, the Austrian government threw the full weight of its influence. Finally, Vienna came to the front with a German plan of its own, which proved to be nothing other than the Bund of 1815. Of this ludicrous confederation the great attraction was that it left Austria in Germany; that it did not impair the sovereignty of the member states; and that it reduced the king of Prussia to the level of the other German princes. Although in the spring of 1848 the Bund had fallen like a house of cards before the first revolutionary gust, Austria once more boldly set it up at Frankfort. Then it issued an invitation to all the former members to enter and complete the happy German family. With their eyes directed, above all, to their sovereignty, the German princes deserted Frederick William's proposed union under Prussia and gathered under the Austrian standard. Almost before he knew it, the Prussian king found himself alone like an actor on a deserted stage; and when Austria, aware that she was dealing with a timid man, now haughtily ordered him to give up every idea of a closer union and be satisfied with the Bund, he yielded without a struggle (Treaty of Olmütz, November, 1850). The old Bund — that was the ridiculous issue of the two years' labor of the nation for a better union.

Schleswig-Holstein crushed

In this general collapse of German hopes and illusions the Schleswig-Holsteiners, who had rebelled against their sovereign, the king of Denmark, could not escape disaster. Abandoned by Prussia in August, 1848, they several times renewed the fray, only to be crushed definitely in 1850. A conference of the powers gathered in London to consider their case and decided the succession question against them. It was agreed (Protocol of 1852) that the union between Denmark and the duchies should be maintained and that on the extinction of the reigning line Prince Christian of Glücksburg should succeed to both inheritances. Although the German population of Schleswig-Holstein protested against the decision, they bowed to the verdict of the powers in the hope of finding a future occasion to reassert their rights.

The German situation

With the German parliament banished to the shades, the duchies of Schleswig and Holstein redelivered to the Danes, the Bund set up again at Frankfort, and Austria restored under an absolute sovereign, the Metternichian system with all its attendant miseries and abuses had been given a new lease of life. National and liberal circles were filled with despair. But as no evil is without some grain of good, the confusion of the revolution had shown two things: it had proved that the greatest enemy to German unity was the Austrian court and that a German union, if it ever came, would have to be effected under Prussian leadership. Prussia's prestige, it is true, was, after her many failures, lamentably low. But something remained: it was not forgotten that the national hopes had for a short time turned enthusiastically to her; and by her adoption of a constitution she had begun to divorce herself from eighteenth century forms in order to plant her feet in the present.

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CHAPTER XXIV

THE INDUSTRIAL AND SOCIAL REVOLUTION OF THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

Emergence in England of a middle class, capitalist régime

Again and again it has been emphasized in the course of this book that the leading consequence of the modern social development had been to give an increasing importance to the middle classes, and that up to the time of the French Revolution it was the middle classes of England which had reaped the greatest benefits from an altered world. Among them the abandonment of older attitudes and usages and the experimentation with new ways had gone farther than among the corresponding groups of the continent. It was in England that the absolute monarchy first broke down through an uprising of the middle classes; and it was also in England that the gild system, which minutely regulated the production and sale of goods, first gave way. By the eighteenth century, when the gilds still exercised an unbroken domination over the industry of countries like France and Germany, they had as good as vanished altogether from English soil. In their place had appeared, above all in the flourishing textile industry, a free contract or capitalist system, in accordance with which a small number of wholesalers advanced the raw material (wool, cotton) to individual workers, who converted it into the finished fabric in their homes and on its redelivery to the wholesaler effected a financial settlement. Although the workers labored in their own homes, which were also their workshops, and although they were technically independent producers, it is undeniable that they became more or less dependent on a small group of powerful men with capital and energy, who determined the price to be paid to the workers and dominated the market.

Such a system attached a wholly novel importance to personal initiative and must have served to stimulate the spirit of invention, In any case it was again in England, after gild obstructionism had become a thing of the past, that men first perfected devices which greatly improved the ancient processes of the textile industry. It is notable that so long as the gild system, whether in England or elsewhere, exercised its conservative sway, these processes followed the same familiar groove for centuries. The two most important operations in cloth-making are spinning and weaving. Between 1740 and 1790 a number of ingenious individuals, such as Kay, Hargreaves, Arkwright, and Crompton introduced numerous improvements, among which we may note the spinning jenny and the power loom, with the aid of which one man could in the course of a day turn out as much work as had formerly required three, four, and even five men. There was now need of more cotton. It was met by planting a larger acreage with cotton in the southern section of the United States, but also by the invention of an American, Eli Whitney by name, who constructed a cotton gin capable of picking the seeds from the raw cotton more swiftly than several score of negro slaves.

New inventions revolutionize the textile industry

Into the rapidly changing textile situation of the second half of the eighteenth century James Watt projected (1769) his steam-engine. Harnessed to the new spinning and weaving machinery, it replaced the motive power of man with that of water-vapor. It is a work of supererogation to descant upon the significance of this invention to a generation which is in daily and hourly contact with the miracles wrought by the expansive power of steam. Rather must the student, familiar with the present-day uses of steam, be cautioned against seeing the eighteenth century situation in the light of the twentieth century development. He must not indulge his imagination by assuming that the world changed magically within the hour in which Watt stood before his completed model. It took many additional improvements before the first engine could be put economically to use; and even after it had been annexed by the texile industry, the most advanced of English trades, many decades passed before it was adapted to other forms of enterprise. As its application to transportation had particularly important consequences, we should not fail to note that an American, Robert Fulton, was the first man to build a practicable steamboat. In 1807 his side-wheeler, the *Clermont*, equipped with a Watt engine, made the trip up the Hudson river from New York to Albany. Some years later an Englishman, George Stephenson, built a steam locomotive which, being powerful enough to draw a train of cars, encouraged a group of capitalists to construct (1825) the first English railway. On the heels of these two inventions

The revolution wrought by the steam engine

there followed so intensive a building of steamboats and railways that in a few decades the conditions of travel and transportation in the world had been completely revolutionized.

Electricity revolutionizes the system of communication

Such are a few indications of the earliest applications made of the steam-engine. Because it was hitched before long to the printing-press, saw-mill, pumping-station, and a hundred other kinds of machinery, it became a commonplace to speak of the nineteenth century as the age of steam. But the century was not yet old when a rival power was discovered in electricity. While it took some decades before the possibilities of this new agent were fathomed, before the nineteenth century came to a close its secrets had been sufficiently mastered to utilize it for running trains and street-cars; in fact every indication pointed to an electrical development which would make the twentieth century as distinctly an age of electricity as the previous century had been the age of steam. However, long before the experiments conducted with electricity as a motive power had been crowned with success, ways and means had been discovered to apply it to the simpler purposes of human communication. In 1832 the electric telegraph was invented; and in 1866 the first submarine cable was laid across the Atlantic. In 1876 followed the invention of the telephone, to be succeeded before the close of the century, in 1895, by the wireless. In how masterful a manner the telegraph and, later, the telephone have facilitated and intensified the communications maintained among modern groups and individuals will appear to any one who tries to imagine his daily life without them.

The Industrial Revolution; its spread and cumulative energy

The changes in ways of living effected by innumerable inventions, great and small, but chiefly by the invention of power machinery driven by steam-engines have been so immense that men have agreed they constitute an Industrial Revolution. But if the Industrial Revolution may be conceived of as beginning in England in the second half of the eighteenth century, two features touching its growth must be steadily kept in mind. In the first place, as soon as the Napoleonic wars were over, it leaped across the channel to France and spread thence, though often with conspicuous delays owing to special local conditions, to every country of the continent. In this connection it is well to remember that wherever the French Revolution had forced an entrance, it had destroyed the antiquated gild system, thereby creating the free labor market which already existed in

England and which had been the chief cause of the ferment leading up to the machine. In the second place, the Industrial Revolution must be thought of as a continuous movement still persisting in our day and bearing along the present generation in an ever broadening and more irresistible stream. As for the countries which it has chiefly affected, doubtless Great Britain, where the revolution began, enjoyed an industrial primacy throughout the nineteenth century. Not till the days of Louis Philip and Napoleon III was neighboring France definitely won to the movement. Under these sovereigns France made great forward strides, acquiring an unquestioned ascendancy in certain specialized lines such as silks, velvets, and the highly diversified articles of female apparel. Somewhat later than France, though not systematically till its unification (1871), did Germany experience the Industrial Revolution. With a mighty effort it then came from behind, quickly outstripping the other continental countries; and as the twentieth century dawned, it was plainly girding its loins to catch up with the industrial leader, with Great Britain itself. At the same time Belgium, although a small state, became highly industrialized, while other countries, such as Italy and Austria, felt indeed the new forces but somewhat less intensely. Generally speaking, the measure of a country's industrial possibilities is furnished by the abundance of its supplies of coal and iron. These have proved themselves the basic raw products of the machine age; and because Great Britain, Germany, France, and Belgium, in the order named, have the largest and most convenient deposits of these minerals, these four countries hold a foremost place in the Industrial Revolution.[1] The rule here formulated for Europe is confirmed by the case of the United States. With iron and coal deposits larger than those of all Europe put together and with abundant other raw materials such as copper, lumber, and fuel oil, hardly less valuable than coal and iron, the United States, although starting later than Europe, was able in recent years to overtake the older continent as a producer of machine goods. Henceforth America's position as the industrial leader of the world is bound to become more and more clearly manifest.

Social and economic consequences of Industrial Revolution

While it is permissible to pass hurriedly over all the external and obvious phenomena of the Industrial Revolution — machines, steam-engines, steamboats, railways, telegraph, etc. — because they have become as familiar as domestic animals, whom indeed they have in part replaced, it is necessary to consider much more carefully, because they are less apparent, the leading social and economic consequences of the new movement. They may be conveniently classified under five heads:

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[1] This order reflects the situation as it was up to 1914.

1. *Enormous increase of wealth.* It goes without saying that the Industrial Revolution greatly increased human possessions. Not only were clothes, shoes, hats, china, chairs, and other articles now manufactured quantitatively, but, produced by machines at a lower labor cost, they could be placed more cheaply on the market. The cheaper price in turn attracted a larger number of buyers and greatly stimulated consumption. Statistics prove the rapid increase in the mass of marketable goods, but as we have little space for this type of evidence, let the figures of the British textile industry suffice to illustrate the point. In 1760 the value of British cotton manufactures was $1,000,000; one hundred and fifty years later, in 1910, it was $600,000,000. The ratio of one to six hundred probably gives with reasonable accuracy the increase of wealth, that is, of articles of use, in Great Britain between the above dates.

2. *Accessibility of raw products and of markets.* The new means of transportation — steamboats and railways — made it possible to tap supplies of coal, iron, lumber, etc., which in the days of the horse vehicle and the sailing vessel were practically inaccessible. None the less long hauls continue to mean increased production costs, and therefore the rule has been for great manufacturing centers to develop in close proximity to coal and iron beds. Much more expedient than the transfer of bulky raw materials is the despatch of finished articles; and with the expansion of the new means of transport not only have the European countries been drawn closer together but the other continents have, as it were, been brought to Europe's dooryard and flooded with factory-made goods. In fact, in measure as goods were multiplied beyond the power of the European peoples to absorb them, it became absolutely necessary to find American, African, and Asiatic markets on which to unload the surplus. Thus obliged to look beyond the boundaries of their little continent, the European states entered on a new and more intensive phase of colonial expansion which, toward the end of the nineteenth century, took on the special form called imperialism. In this way the Industrial Revolution has become a lively and even a leading factor in world politics.

3. *Machines and factories bring the triumph of capitalism.* We have seen that capitalism had become a factor in European economics

beginning with the Renaissance and Reformation. The early capitalists were generally wholesalers who organized the expeditions into distant countries and assumed the heavy risks which these entailed. In case a large foreign trade developed, these early capitalists became wealthy and automatically exercised a decisive influence in the affairs of their city and, ultimately, of their nation. When the English wholesalers broke down the prerogative of the gilds and organized production around themselves on a simple contract basis, they climbed another rung or two up the ladder of success. But not till the coming of machines did the capitalist discover the path which led to the domination of society. The reason is not far to seek, for first, machines cost a great deal of money, and second, they have to be housed in specially constructed factories. Plainly these and other advances, such as wages, must be met before there is any return from the sale of goods. In consequence a limited group of moneyed men entered into possession of the means of production and became masters of the situation. While many of them performed immediate, indispensable services in the role of promoters, superintendents, and salesmen, considerable numbers, entirely outside the active management, made a money contribution in return for an interest payment. The investment system predicated on interest gave the new production methods a vast power of expansion, since not only the rich but small individuals also with only petty savings in their stockings were enabled to share in capitalist enterprises. However, the relatively broad participation of the public must not induce us to close our eyes to the fact that in every industrial nation a relatively restricted class of capitalists was created with almost unlimited control of that nation's economic life. The age of machines became synonomous with the age of capitalism.

4. *Growth of population.* Wherever the Industrial Revolution has taken root it has greatly increased population for the simple reason that the production of more goods has enabled more people to live. Statistics would seem to show that the increase is only partially due to an improved birth-rate (or lowered death-rate) and that it most often presents itself to view as migration from the rural districts to the urban centers in possession of the machines. In the case of England, which serves as the industrial type, the total population doubled in the first half of the nineteenth century and has continued to increase since at a scarcely slackened rate. Concomitantly the rural population has in this same period slowly declined until at

present fewer people live on the land than in the eighteenth century. It helps us to grasp how the Industrial Revolution has altered the social aspect of England if we recall that fully three-fourths of the inhabitants of the island reside at present in cities. The food deficit resulting from the enormous increase of the urban population is made up by importations from abroad paid for with the export of manufactured goods. No other country is exactly in the English class, since no other took, after grave political conflicts to be noted later, the English course of deliberately sacrificing agriculture to industry. Germany, for instance, has tried to save its agriculture by protective measures; but even with this support, the German agricultural population has at best remained stationary, proving that the considerable German increase of population belongs to the towns and is of industrial origin. However, while giving the machines their due as population producers, let us not forget that science, which has made machines possible, has, chiefly through the revelations of chemistry, revolutionized also the practices of agriculture by causing three, four, and more blades to grow where but one grew before. Conceding that Europe's amazing growth of population is overwhelmingly industrial and urban, we are obliged, in considering the problem of the maintenance of this human increase, to take account not only of the new foreign markets but also of the improved productivity of the soil.

5. *Economic and social depression of the industrial workers.* What the Industrial Revolution meant specifically to the new class of machine-workers is a special story of the greatest importance. Drawn from privately owned looms or lured from the farm to the factory, they found themselves in frankly deplorable conditions. From having been, to a certain extent at least, their own masters, they were reduced to slaves of iron monsters, to whose wants they attended during long hours and at wages arbitrarily fixed by the employer class. Owing to the novelty of the situation they were completely helpless, for with the employers owning the only available means of livelihood the alternative before the hapless immigrants from the country-side was to work or starve. They were unknown to one another, they lacked even the rudiments of an education, and if in self-defense they tried to combine, they encountered rigorous laws which forbade them to form associations to the end of increasing wages or reducing hours of labor. In England such a prohibitive statute was formally renewed as late as the year 1799. And yet the

wages were literally starvation wages and the working day was commonly reckoned at from fourteen to sixteen hours! As though all this were not misery enough, there was in addition the grim, persistent threat of unemployment. Again and again it descended like a bludgeon, sometimes owing to the ever recurring industrial crises, sometimes because of the employer's discovery that much of the machine-work could be done by women and children, ready and eager to sell themselves at a reduced rate. The social degradation resulting from this wage slavery completes the revolting picture. The towns, springing up like mushrooms around the factories, exhibited a disorder which indicated the complete absence of plan on the part of the people in authority. The workers and their families, herded in cheap tenements, constituted a slum with disgustingly filthy streets and the scantiest supply of such hygienic necessities as light, heat, and water. Of course disease was rampant, periodically assuming an epidemic form and mowing down its victims by the hundreds. Even in the most favorable years the general death-rate of the slum was high; among infants and children more particularly, owing to the lack of milk, cleanlinesss, and fresh air, it was so excessive as to reach the proportions of a national tragedy. It is not unusual to attach the responsibility for these conditions to the middle classes; and since the Industrial Revolution occurred under their auspices, they might, it is true, have fairly concerned themselves with its human implications. However, they were fully occupied with a great utilitarian work which absorbed all their energies and won them the applause of the world, and after the fashion of men at all times they proudly drove their chariot forward until a rumble as of a coming storm warned them of their peril. Then with the damage done they gradually faced the problem — with results which we shall presently examine.

The political program of the middle classes may be summarized as liberalism

An economic and social movement to begin with, the Industrial Revolution necessarily brought in its train a political upheaval because its immediate effect was to strengthen the middle classes, that is, classes which already for generations had been slowly adding to their vigor. We have repeatedly pointed out that they were the leading agency which undermined the feudal system and created the national and absolute monarchy; and we have shown that it was again they who, first in England and then in France and elsewhere, insisted on an immediate share in the government by means of the constitutional system. It was the English middle classes who made up the strength of the Whig, that is, the constitutional party; and in the nineteenth century they and the awakened middle classes of the continent were identified with the various liberal parties which, though separately organized in each country, had, from the point of view of their general purpose, a strikingly international character. In a purely historical sense liberalism, meaning the principles of the liberal party, is not a better or a nobler program than conservatism; it is merely the program by which a powerfully expanding group proposed to secure for itself those benefits and that control which were necessary for the realization of its ends. Wishing to break down the annoying interference of the clergy, liberalism pronounced for toleration; desiring to terminate the political monopoly of the king, it aimed at the constitutional system; and anxious to level the obstructive barriers of a narrow provincialism, it championed the larger cause of nationalism. In other words the liberal program, in spite of its often abstract phraseology, has a very concrete basis in the middle class will to power. And when we now recall that the middle classes built the machines and furnished the capital; that it was they who supplied the engineers, technicians, and financial advisers; that, finally, theirs was the group which organized the educational systems and trained and employed the lawyers, physicians, teachers, and other professional servants, we have the clue to the political upheavals of the nineteenth century and the explanation of bourgeois success. For, although the bourgeoisie met with resistance on the part of the conservative interests in control and, even after a victory, experienced an occasional set-back, its march to power was on the whole uninterrupted. The age of the machine and capitalism is also the age of the middle classes and of their program of liberalism.

Laissez faire the economic philosophy of the middle classes

Alongside its political philosophy the dominant group developed an economic and moral philosophy in close harmony with it. Always and everywhere can we observe among men the passion to make their outlook on the world consistent in all its parts. We made acquaintance with the beginnings of the bourgeois economic philosophy when we glanced at the physiocrats of France with their *laissez faire* and at Adam Smith with his free trade, that is, trade freed as much as possible from artificial restrictions. While these thinkers undoubtedly subjected political economy for the first time to scientific organization, they at the same time planted it on characteristic middle class ground, as even a superficial examination will show. For the bourgeoisie was the class which, identified with business enterprise, found itself systematically thwarted by the mercantilist policy of state interference with the processes of production and distribution. *Laissez faire* and free trade alike advocated a policy of "no interference," since, the more the state abandoned its regulative and patriarchal program, the more the bourgeoisie gained the liberty it craved to exercise to the full its initiative in developing the world's natural resources. The extreme middle class ideal of the state came to be an institution of such exemplary modesty that it habitually kept itself out of sight. Should it ever step forth into the light of day, it was to do so hesitatingly in the role of the benevolent policeman quelling a disturbance. Generally speaking, it was voluntarily to leave the stage, on which the great human action unfolded, to the hero of the piece, the bourgeoisie. *Laissez faire* or "hands off" was, when first raised, the cry of an economic opposition intent on breaking down a hostile system of control. No sooner, however, had the middle classes gained control themselves than *laissez faire* changed to an exultant: leave *us* alone, leave everything to us!

Freedom and individualism the ethical philosophy of the middle classes

While this attitude discloses a vigorous selfishness and materialism, it is indispensable to recognize that it also contains a definite moral core. Let us rest assured that, had they not been supported by a profound ethical conviction, the middle classes could not have pushed so relentlessly to the front and performed their amazing work. The conviction which sustained them and which in their view represented their service to the world was — to put it simply and sweepingly — that theirs was the cause of freedom. They saw, or their thinkers saw for them, that the course of events since the Middle Age had been to deliver man from bondage: the bondage of the Church, the bondage of the feudal law and of dead tradition, the bondage of the absolute state, the bondage of the mercantilist system. Having served a hundred masters, many of them reduced by the wear of time to the merest shadow, man was now to be manumitted and free. The moral philosophers of the bourgeoisie preached *the free man* as the goal of human endeavor. Liberated from the tutelage proper to a ward and a minor, human beings were to be summoned henceforth to assert their manhood. They were to stand on their own feet, to shape their own destiny, and to realize the dignity inherent in them as the crown and glory of creation. It followed from this view of man's development from an early barbarous plane to ever higher levels that life was considered to be essentially a struggle, a free competitive game in which the unfit perished and the best came out on top. There was of course misery, poverty, and defeat, but they were the unescapable reverse of the medal. One forgot about them over the intoxication induced by the conviction that the world was engaged in a movement of uninterrupted progress, that it was driving onward and upward under the guidance of its natural leaders. It was not the degraded mass that counted but the tested and selected few. And even the degraded mass would benefit in the long run from the increased production resulting from a liberated and multiplied activity. Stated in ethical and philosophic terms this position may be defined as a vigorous individualism.

Reasons for the impotence of the working class: (1) lack of education

However, neither the middle class nor its philosophy was left in quiet possession of the field and, as the irony of history would have it, the challenge to their ascendancy issued from the group, which, since it was the child of the Industrial Revolution, the middle class had in a sense called into being. This group was the industrial workers. We have looked at their lowly condition in the first phase of the industrial movement due to the novelty of the situation coupled with their own mental backwardness. The best chance for their social advance lay, on the one hand, in a better education, and, on the other, in the strength to be derived from organization. Turning first to popular education, we note that it was as yet woefully neglected. Of all the great powers of Europe only Prussia possessed in the first half of the nineteenth century a broad public school system that successfully reached the masses. The other countries did not precisely ignore popular education, but they left it to the churches or to private enterprise, and gave it at best a half-hearted support. Not till the second half of the nineteenth century were the European states other than Prussia shamed into establishing public and compulsory systems of primary education. Great Britain made a beginning with the Education Act of 1870; France passed a measure of similar intent in 1881. That these enactments, strengthened by later supplementary legislation, were crowned with success is proved by the fact that the percentage of illiterates in both countries was steadily reduced until at the beginning of the twentieth century it was rapidly approaching the remarkably low percentage which

Prussia, as the oldest champion of popular education, had already succeeded in attaining.

(2) Lack of organization

It is thus clear that the European workers were for a long time grossly uneducated and that in this condition they might easily be dominated by their employers. Still, despite their profound ignorance, they might have counted for something if they had stood together and made vigorous, concerted demands on their masters. Therewith we have touched the second factor in their social depression, the lack of organization. Divining the power of purposeful numbers, the forehanded lords of industry had sought to protect themselves by spreading upon the statute books of all the European countries measures forbidding workingmen to unite. It was not until 1824–1825 that bills were passed in parliament making it possible for the British workingmen to combine in order to promote their interests. And as it was not till the revolution of of 1848 that labor unions came out into the open on the continent, it is clear that they were very slow in unfolding their strength, especially as the revolution of 1848 was followed by a reaction which canceled, for a time at least, all that had been won. Not till 1864 did France pass legislation definitely permitting workingmen to form unions. In short, as it was not till the second half of the nineteenth century that laborers became generally free to combine, their inability promptly to help themselves, ascribable in part to their lack of education, becomes wholly comprehensible.

The problem attacked in turn by philanthropy, Utopianism, and science

In the absence of self-help the first effective succor was extended to the workingmen by sympathizers of the middle class. Humanely disposed people founded societies for medical aid, for distributing milk among babies, for better housing conditions, and other similar purposes. All such activities may be classified as philanthropy; but while conceding that they alleviate suffering and honor those who sincerely practise them, let us agree that they do not penetrate to the root of the working class problem. That problem called for more than a tender heart, much more; it demanded, if it was ever to be solved, a thorough, objective study of all the conditions that surrounded it. Robert Owen (d. 1858) in Great Britain and Saint Simon (d. 1825) in France may be named among those who, though prompted in the first instance by philanthropy, rose in some sort to the exercise of thought and method; and it is interesting that both, different as their proposals were, agreed that the existing system of free competition and capitalist control would have to be abandoned if the workingman was ever to have his due. What they offered by way of cure of the existing evils was so utterly impracticable as to be plainly Utopian — which goes to prove, if proof were necessary, that first ventures into complicated social issues are almost certain to be failures owing to insufficient information. When in the course of the forties the Frenchman, Louis Blanc (1811–1882), took up the championship of the workers, he was already in possession of better data and hence his famous proposal of national workshops represents, even if it is still rather visionary, a forward step on the hard road of facts. However, the view generally held that it was not till the appearance of Karl Marx that the working class problem received a genuinely scientific treatment is probably correct. Marx's approach may claim to be "scientific" in the sense that it analyzes and classifies the body of economic data in order to let them, so far as possible, speak for themselves.

Marxian socialism

Karl Marx (1818–1883) was a German Jew of an intellectual, revolutionary bent, who first announced his economic position in a document issued in 1848 under the name of the *Communist Manifesto.* As the terminology in the new field of thought was still very fluctuating, he used the word communist to indicate something that was later called socialist, and therefore we may accept his Manifesto as the first great pronouncement of modern socialism. Devoting the rest of his life to the study of political economy from the working class angle, he laid down his conclusions in a fundamental work, *Capital,* of which the first volume appeared in 1867 and the other two after his death. Marxian socialism is not only an economic theory but also a philosophy of life. Combating the various bourgeois philosophies with their emphasis on liberty, it stresses equality and looks to the welfare not of distinguished individuals but of the mass of men. The equality which is its goal is to be attained by the many taking over from the few the machines, the railways, the mines, in sum, the total characteristic tools of modern production. The transfer need not necessarily involve violence and bloodshed. It may, indeed it must result primarily from the unescapable operation of historical forces, for the laborers are becoming constantly more numerous as compared with the middle classes and, sooner or later, will be in a position to assert their economic will. The new socialist society of equals owning in common the means of production will thus come about by peaceful stages, by evolution rather than by revolution. However, the workingmen can hasten the happy day by becoming class-conscious, a process involving the absorption of the Marxian philosophy as well as the fixed determination to reorganize the world according to its dicta. To this end they must stand shoulder to shoulder in close ranks like an army marching to conquest. As a class name for the army of workingmen Marx favored the word proletarians. With the idea of winning them to united action he supplied them with an electrifying slogan: Proletarians of all countries, unite! You have nothing to lose but your chains!

The Social-democratic party and The International

Even this bare outline of socialism would be incomplete, if it did not bring out, in addition to the above, that the working class movement was to be not so much national as international. It was to encircle the earth and ultimately make socialism a new world order. Until that not too distant day it was to lock horns with the bourgeois ruling group, and in order to make an effective fight under existing constitutional conditions, it was to organize as a party and descend into the political arena. In this manner socialism would become under the name of the Social-democratic party a factor in the politics of every country of Europe. While each separate Social-democratic party would make its own fight in its own way and in response to the particular conditions which confronted it, it would recognize its world obligations by periodically despatching representatives to an International Social-democratic congress for an exchange of views. This crowning and world organization of socialism would bear the name of The International.

Anarchism and syndicalism

The immediate business of each Social-democratic party was to persuade the workingmen to enter its ranks and vote its ticket. But that, despite the siren character of the Marxian song, was not so easy as it looked. Naturally, as soon as the workingmen got the franchise, the older parties, Conservative and Liberal, also made a bid for the support of the workers; and in so far as they persuaded the laborers that the small, solid benefits offered by them were worth more than the immense but vague promises of the Social-democrats, they actually captured the humble vote. And therewith we have not yet exhausted the list of competitors for working class favor. Since socialism set the fashion of reconstructing the world on a new philosophic plan, it was not to be expected that it would remain alone in the field, especially as the realization of its program called for a vast bureaucratic organization of the state in order to administer the tremendous properties to be held in common. This feature of an omnipotent state was intensely repulsive to a group of thinkers who carried the middle class creed of freedom to its last consequence. To them, too, it was a laudable undertaking to break away from the various bondages of the past, but they saw no reason why a halt should be called before the heaviest bondage of all, the state! They declared themselves to be enemies of the state, that is, anarchists, in the hope that by its destruction the individual man might resume his last and most important right and become his own master, acknowledging literally no superior on earth. While anarchism never became popular, and while it but rarely, because detested and persecuted by its enemies, the existing governments, succeeded in establishing itself in any country as a regular political party, it must none the less be acknowledged to represent one of the most revolutionary forces of the modern world. Presently by the side of pure and uncompromising anarchism a type of socialism found advocates which, without abandoning the main socialist tenets, took over something of its anti-government bias from anarchism. Late in the nineteenth century this movement, called syndicalism, saw the light. While aiming, with socialism, at the capture of the great modern trades by the workers, it put its faith, with anarchism, in the violent destruction of the political state.[1] Though syndicalism has made a more powerful appeal to the wage-earners than anarchism and though, above all, in the Latin countries such as France and Italy, it has enjoyed a remarkable success, it has no more than anarchism, pure and simple, been able to undermine the strength of the socialists.[2] So far at least as Europe is concerned, the respective Social-democratic parties may fairly be said to have steadily increased their following among the workingmen from their origin to the present day.

With the dominant state confronted with so many opponents radically opposed to it, it seemed not improbable that the industrialized countries of Europe would face a domestic situation, which under certain conditions might assume the extreme form of civil war. The French revolution of 1848, in which the republicans

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[1] Syndicalism, on being transplanted to America, gained the support of a body of radical workers who call themselves the I. W. W. (International Workers of the World).

[2] Since the Great War syndicalism, in the non-violent form of Gild Socialism, has made considerable headway in England.

(bourgeoisie) and socialists (workingmen) waged a ferocious battle over the national workshops, illustrates the ever present hazards of the social cleavage. Before long other instances, to be examined at the proper time, accumulated in other countries. And yet, in the main, civil and class war has been avoided because, while some men will fight at the drop of the hat, most fortunately for the cause of a slow and steady development of society the majority is so constituted that its members are always ready to abate something of their extreme demands in the interest of social peace. They will seek a compromise; and compromise has, on the whole, been the most characteristic feature in the relation of the two classes, employers and employees, carried to the front by the Industrial Revolution.

Civil war or compromise?

The most striking evidence of the triumph of compromise is furnished by what is usually called Social or Labor Legislation. The theoretic position of the middle class was, as we have seen, for the state to leave the economic world alone, meaning, in practice, to the capitalists. But in no single instance have they been able to maintain this attitude. If we turn to the always typical case of Great Britain, we discover that as early as 1824–1825 the workingmen were accorded the right to combine; and a decade later (1833) parliament passed its first important Factory Act, which protected children and youths against the most extreme forms of current exploitation by declaring that they might be employed in textile factories no more than nine and twelve hours per day respectively. In 1842 followed the Mines Act, which prohibited underground work for boys under ten years and for women of any age. Slight and almost derisory as these earliest protective measures were, they are important as marking a departure from an uncompromising devotion to "industrial liberty." In the second half of the nineteenth century they were succeeded by a rain, which became almost a deluge, of industrial enactments, providing Great Britain with a great labor code. By virtue of it the state once more "interfered," and on a tremendous scale, in the social-economic situation by restricting or forbidding outright the labor of children and women, by reducing and regulating the hours of employment for both sexes, by providing for light, air, and sanitation in the factories, and by appointing inspectors whose duty it was to see that the regulations were strictly enforced.

Social Legislation

While this Social Legislation was being drawn up in the earliest home of the machine, the other European countries launched similar measures so that by the end of the century elaborate provisions were spread on every national statute book against the most crying abuses of the industrial system. Then, in the eighties, Germany took the lead in a measure which constituted a fresh inroad on the unlimited control originally claimed by the capitalists. The Reichstag passed its famous Insurance Legislation, by which it insured the workingmen against some of the worst evils of their lot, such as illness, accidents, and invalidism due to old age. Other countries have copied and, in the case of Great Britain, have even enlarged on the German legislation with the result that Social Legislation culminating in Insurance Legislation may be said to represent the generally accepted program of every modern industrial society and state. This program, let us again note, travels the line of compromise; but while its benefits are unchallengeable, it is certain that it has not succeeded in removing the most striking antithesis of our age, the antithesis between the middle and the working classes, between capital and labor.

Insurance Legislation

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CHAPTER XXV

THE NINETEENTH CENTURY MOVEMENT IN SCIENCE, RELIGION, AND PHILOSOPHY

Early science investigates matter in motion

The intimate connection of the Industrial Revolution with the natural sciences, on which we have all along insisted, makes it desirable to follow up the picture of the nineteenth century social-economic transformation with the developments in this same century not only in the immediate field of science but also in the general intellectual outlook. Turning first to science, we are better prepared to see the recent phases in their true perspective if we pause to recall the earlier development. In putting out his theory of the ordered movement of the planets around the sun Copernicus stimulated investigation into the whole body of phenomena connected with matter in motion. These researches, conducted by many scholars, among whom Kepler, Galileo, and Newton are the most shining names, culminated in the theory of gravitation and the recognition of an eternally established and majestic universe of law. Hand in hand with these brilliant physico-astronomical discoveries went the development of mathematics, which reached its eighteenth century culmination with the invention of calculus by Newton and Leibnitz. It was calculus that made possible the accurate and complicated measurements demanded by the study of moving objects and it was in mathematical terms that the laws of motion not only of solid bodies but also of such physical phenomena as sound, heat, and light were stated.

Science turns with chemistry to study the composition of matter

These magnificent physico-mathematical achievements encouraged every other kind of scientist to new endeavor. Perceptible advances were made in the eighteenth century in such subjects as botany, zoölogy, and ethnology, but far and away the most promising development occurred in chemistry and is marked by the great name of Lavoisier. Almost at once with Lavoisier's discoveries there was a crowding of investigators into this field, which meant that a new type of curiosity was gaining ground, the curiosity to follow up the knowledge of matter in motion with the study of its composition. What four generations of chemists since Lavoisier have discovered touching the constituent elements of the universe is one of the wonders of the age but can not be dilated upon here further than to point out that chemistry is founded on the atom and that the infinitesimal atom, instead of being the ultimate, irreducible form of matter, has been recently discovered to be a complicated structure of still minuter parts. Thus with so many triumphs to its credit chemistry faces a still more splendid future; and the same may be confidently said of physics and astronomy. For, in spite of a certain air of finality attaching to Newton's crowning work, the discoveries of physicists and astronomers have continued since Newton's day as before to pour forth in an uninterrupted stream. Rightly or wrongly, however, a hurried sketch like this, primarily concerned with indicating the new orientations of science, claims the right to neglect the old lines of investigation in order to call attention to strictly pioneer labors. Even these, because science, growing ever more confident, has branched out on a hundred new lines, are so numerous and overwhelming in their yield that the baffled writer is reduced to a system of meager short-hand notation.

Science turns with biology to the study of life

Under no circumstances may one omit to speak of geology. It was around 1830 that Sir Charles Lyell headed the study of the earth in a new and profitable direction by his *Principles of Geology*. In this book he ascribed the present physical appearance of our earth to the operation through an almost incalculable period of time of causes still busily at work today. This proof of the steadiness and continuity of earth-forces together with the immense stretch of time during which they have operated favorably affected the study of living organisms already undertaken by botany and zoölogy. Concerned hitherto chiefly with tabulating the great variety of vegetable and animal forms to be found in all countries and climates, botanists and zoölogists now turned to the problem of their origin, growth, and structure and therewith became biologists. In this entirely new field, in biology, nineteenth century science produced perhaps its most epoch-making work. And it did so, as usual, by slow accumulations. Long before there was an official study called biology an occasional individual like the poet Goethe (d. 1832) had proclaimed on the basis as much of intuition as of precise scientific data that all life was akin; and Lamarck at about the same period declared that species were not fixed from all time and for all time but were derived from a remote common stock. The records of the rocks as read by Lyell and others repeated this tale of immemorial relationships among living things. There was therefore a growing consensus touching the common origin of plant and animal forms, but how formulate a single inclusive principle which would account for the enormous multiplicity of living shapes? At last in 1859 a book, *On the Origin of Species*, was put out by the Englishman, Charles Darwin, and here, supported step by step by personal observation, the theory was advanced that the factor which explained the great variety of existing species, both vegetable and animal, was Natural Selection. By Natural Selection Darwin wished to signify the tendency of that individual in each species to survive which is endowed with some tiny variation calculated to give it a better chance in its environment. Producing offspring in its turn emphasizing the same variation, the first variable individual might, it was suggested, by imperceptible accumulations through many generations become the ancestor of a new type or species.

The theory of evolution; Darwinism, Mendelism

Thus biological study and speculation, continued for some decades, converged upon a comprehensive principle which came to be called the theory of evolution. Embracing all life, it made of course no exception of man. Our human kind is of the same essential stuff as the tiger, the rat, the rose, and the jelly-fish; and if it flatters our vanity to put man on a special pedestal, the only scientific justification for our bias lies in the circumstance that man is indeed a higher species making a very late appearance in the evolutionary process. Without doubt there is something beautifully unifying and inclusive about the evolutionary theory. Bred in the hard realm of science and having a solemn scientific air, it yet brings to many people something of the expansive feeling of religion. Though such have welcomed it as a new hope, a modern pantheism, we should not fail to see that to the strict scientist it is no more than an invaluable hypothesis. Or rather, admitting that the evidence in favor of an evolutionary development of animate nature is overwhelming, the method by which the development takes place and which Darwin assumed to be Natural Selection remains hypothetical. As early as 1866 a German Catholic monk, Gregor Mendel by name, adduced evidence in favor of the sudden production of new species through the accidental breeding of "sports"; and by the early twentieth century this Mendelian theory had received wide acceptance. While it did not disprove Darwinism, it caused it to be modified; but the theory of evolution as such, let it be understood, does not depend on the validity of either the Darwinian or the Mendelian hypothesis. These are merely suggestive formulations as to how evolution works; and if the darkness of the process is not yet by any means cleared up, the movement itself may be accepted as certain. In any case it supplies the most magnificent framework conceivable for the whole mass of scientific data making up the universe of the modern man.

The theory of evolution and Christianity

The new geology and biology culminating in the evolutionary doctrine and imposing a wholly novel picture of creation profoundly disturbed all the followers of historical Christianity, whether they were attached to the Roman Catholic or to any of the Protestant Churches. For all Christians alike accepted the Bible account of creation, according to which God made the world in six days, and while giving every species its definite, individual form from the start, fashioned man by a special act of grace in his own image. No wonder they were disgusted and enraged with a theory which, while shattering the Bible story *in toto,* seemed intolerably to humiliate man by endowing him with an ape ancestry at the trifling remove of a few hundred thousand years! A crisis rocked the churches which continued for decades and from which some of them have not yet recovered.

Slow adjustment of Protestantism to modern thought

But in the long run a difference made itself felt in the adjustment to the new thought of the Protestant churches, on the one hand, and of the Catholic Church, on the other. Admitting that all Protestant churches rested on the foundation of the Bible, let us take note they had, beginning with Luther himself, insisted also on the right of private judgment. This opened an avenue of escape which the more adventurous Protestants had for centuries back taken advantage of to assimilate the data of science and the various empirical philosophies built thereon. Protestantism in the nineteenth century was therefore no longer what it had been in the sixteenth. It had imperceptibly changed and was, at least in an advanced section of its membership, in some sort of sympathy with an inclusive doctrine of development like evolution. Then, at the beginning of the nineteenth century, Protestant historical scholars, taking up the study of the Bible, made the startling discovery that, far from being the indubitable product of divine inspiration, it was manifestly pieced together by different authors writing under very different conditions. Moreover, while becoming, according to these same critics, a wholly human document, the ancient book actually gained in dignity and interest! The orthodox elements, everywhere in control, rejected these conclusions as blasphemous and vigorously defended all the old positions; but the fact remained that the new liberal thought slowly captured important elements of both clergy and laity within the various Protestant denominations and, in spite of strong and prolonged resistance, prepared the way for an adjustment between the old faith and the new discoveries. By the first quarter of the twentieth century much of the fury which had marked the struggle in its earlier phases had disappeared. Without doubt important orthodox groups cling to this day to what is to them the security and finality of their divine inheritance; but if to generalize a complicated situation is not too hazardous, the statement may be ventured that the Protestant churches either have already or are about to adjust themselves to scientific discovery, including evolution, and that, should they join the modern standpoint to their ancient ethical purpose, instead of cutting themselves adrift, they are likely to become an invaluable factor in the better integration of society.

Pius IX attacks the modern world; his Syllabus of Errors

The quarrel of Catholicism with the new thought was from the first far more uncompromising and the possibility of an adjustment much more remote. Catholicism was based on an absolute, unalterable body of doctrine and possessed in the Church an enormously powerful institution to inculcate and defend its position. Moreover, this vast organization had at its head a single, authoritative official, the pope. When he spoke even great states were obliged to take notice since his views determined the attitude of tens of millions of devoted followers. Ever since the advent of eighteenth century rationalism the papacy had found itself out of sympathy with the direction taken by European thought and had often pronounced itself without reserve on the subject of sceptics and atheists. Then came the French Revolution with its confiscation of Church property and its fanatic persecution of the clergy. Quite naturally Catholicism became violently anti-revolutionary and anti-liberal and identified itself in every country of Europe with political conservatism. In the first half of the nineteenth century the Catholic clergy regularly stood shoulder to shoulder with the forces of the past, with the aristocracy and the absolute monarchy. When the Italian nationalist movement took shape, the pope became its leading victim, being subjected to a long series of acts of spoliation in the name of peninsular unity. To Pius IX, in whose long reign (1846–1878) these misfortunes befell, liberalism and nationalism must have seemed to be indistinguishable evils. And when the theory of evolution was now put forth with its implied refutation of the Biblical version of creation, the pope's cup overflowed and he saw the whole modern movement as a systematic, sinister attack on the Church. Thirsting for the fray, for he was a man of deep convictions, he denounced the age in fiery invectives, culminating in 1864 in an encyclical to which he attached a *Syllabus of Errors* recounting the principal aberrations of our times. Free-thinking scientists, advocates of religious toleration, supporters of lay marriage and lay schools, opponents of the temporal power of the Church — such are a few of the human categories whom the pope solemnly condemns. Indeed it would be difficult to discover a specifically modern movement of thought or politics which Pius IX did not declare to be in conflict with religion.

The Vatican Council proclaims (1870) the dogma of papal infallibility

It is clear that in the eyes of Pius IX the Church was fighting for its life and that it needed to put itself unwaveringly under his supreme command if it desired to survive. This frame of mind explains his calling an Ecumenical Council of the Church. The last previous meeting of such a body had taken place at Trent three hundred years before. He summoned the new council to his palace of the Vatican and in the course of many sessions, but not without grave difficulty, persuaded the assembled prelates to promulgate (1870) the dogma of papal infallibility. By virtue thereof it was declared that when the pope speaks *ex cathedra*, that is, when in his official capacity he defines a doctrine regarding faith or morals, his word must be accepted as infallible. If, as Catholic writers have frequently pointed out, the claim of infallibility was not entirely new, it is yet undeniable that the definition of doctrine in the past had in the main been reserved to the Church Councils. This historical function the Vatican Council now resigned into the hands of the pope. Henceforth there could hardly be found a good reason for summoning another Council. The pope, long absolute in political matters, had become equally absolute in matters of faith and doctrine. As with these new powers all the resources of the Church without any exception became concentrated in his sole hand, he had the satisfaction of feeling that he could confront a hostile world with an army, the members of which would respond as one man to his word of command.

Leo XIII aims at a truce with modern governments

When on the death of Pius IX Leo XIII (1878–1903) succeeded to the throne of St. Peter the struggle with the system of modern thought as well as with the many European governments which had curtailed the rights of the Church continued, but soon a difference made itself noticeable. Inclining, in distinction from the emphatic and downright Pius IX, to the subtle and elastic diplomatic tradition of the papacy, Leo XIII saw no reason for quarreling with governments merely because of their democratic form. He let it be known that to him the political form was immaterial; also he took a stand in favor of Social Legislation. By these means he reëntered the political arena in some sort of alliance with both the Catholic bourgeoisie and the Catholic workingmen. That something like a truce with the European governments resulted and that the Church drew recognizable benefits from this situation is certain. But a politic *modus vivendi* is not a surrender. Neither Leo XIII nor any later successor of Pius IX has ever even faintly hinted that he considered it possible some day to bridge the gap between Catholicism and the general thought movement of the modern world.

Philosophy, the mirror of civilization

Because philosophy reflects as in a mirror the concentrated movement of life and thought, this book has undertaken to indicate at least the main philosophic trends within the compass of occidental civilization. It has pointed out that in the Middle Age a philosophy (scholasticism) saw the light which ordered the leading data of experience under the majestic concept of Christian revelation. In the Renaissance, owing to the vigorous impact of newly acquired knowledge, scholasticism disintegrated without anything particularly satisfactory and constructive being put in its place. If we celebrate Descartes (d. 1649) as the first modern philosopher, it is because he attempted a new integration of experience on another than the traditional and Christian basis. None the less, like the scholastics, he sought an absolute and eternal truth and brought unity into our multitudinous existence by reference to an omniscient and omnipotent creator. His successors, like Spinoza and Leibnitz, while following independent lines of inquiry and drawing a hundred subtle distinctions between themselves and all other thinkers, propounded systems as absolutist and logically coherent as that of the great Frenchman. It was Locke who first definitely took a new track by sacrificing coherence and completeness in favor of a procedure which paid more attention to the immediate evidence of our senses. He thus became the father of empiricism and, drawing philosophy from heaven to earth, brought or tried to bring it into closer touch with the natural sciences. There followed a conflict between the absolutist and dogmatic tendency, on the one hand, and the empirical and observational movement, on the other, which Kant brought at least to a provisional solution by assigning a particular function to each and thus justifying both.

Two main philosophic types: the absolute and the empirical or relativist

With the coming of the nineteenth century the issue could not rest where Kant had left it for the simple reason that the enormous expansion of our mundane life hopelessly disturbed the Kantian balance. With a more varied and experimental living in state and society, with the influx of new knowledge along a hundred avenues of investigation, there was a steadily increasing concentration on the problems of our earth together with a more marked withdrawal from the cold and unprofitable peaks of metaphysics. Empirical philosophies tended to flourish, absolute philosophies tended to decline. Not that this was everywhere the case or at least consistently and from the start. In Germany, for instance, the absolute type long continued to dominate the situation, producing in the work of Fichte, Schelling, and, above all, Hegel, a number of world-constructions, which, though brilliant, were also highly romantic in character as might be expected of products of the Romantic Age. Nor need these men, merely because they were metaphysicians, be thought of as living wholly in the clouds, out of touch with contemporary discovery. Hegel (d. 1831), for instance, marched sufficiently abreast of his time to cast the universe and God Himself in an evolutionary mold. Universe and God became under this philosopher's touch as dynamic as the age in which he lived. But Hegel marks a peak. His prophetic exaltation could not last; and Schopenhauer (d. 1860), discouraged by a mechanical universe propelled by the force of a blind Will, plunged into despair and pessimism. It was left to Schopenhauer's follower, Nietzsche (d. 1900), to break with absolutism in all its numerous disguises from the scholastics down to Hegel and to assign to man the task of facing his earth-born destiny with just his earth-born powers. With Nietzsche German absolutism gave up the ghost and German thought resigned itself to the relativity of experience.

The absolutist trend, which, although most conspicuously represented in Germany, found champions in every country of Europe,

Prevalence of philosophies of the empirical type

came, perhaps in order to distinguish it from its Cartesian and other prototypes, to be called idealism. The name has been helped to greater currency by reason of the fact that the followers of the opposite or empirical school, concentrating more and more exclusively on the material furnished by the senses, acquired the title of materialists. Since in some instances they believed that the true test of knowledge was its usefulness to man, they were also often called utilitarians. These must be understood to be hard, scientific classifications, carrying no suggestion of praise or blame. To be an idealist is no merit in itself nor is being a materialist or utilitarian a demerit. It is essentially a question of two attitudes, which, objectively considered, are equally valid and between which the individual makes a choice usually on the basis of that subtle shade of personality called temperament. However, owing no doubt to the success and preponderance of science during the most recent period, there are now more people than was once the case who are so endowed that they instinctively incline toward a materialist and utilitarian interpretation of the world. The materialist schools, broadly empirical, have therefore been particularly active and an examination would show that they have flourished in England, France, Germany, Italy, and in every other country, besides developing within each country a dozen different varieties. In England let us select for illustration the great name of Herbert Spencer (d. 1903). Spencer undoubtedly communicates a very personal message and like every distinguished spirit eludes strict classification; but by virtue of his intense preoccupation with the natural sciences coupled with his use of evolution as a frame for his picture of the universe, he belongs decidedly with the empiricists. So, on the whole, does his older French contemporary, Comte (d. 1857). He founded the so-called Positivist school on the theory that if the method of science, which had given such sure results, were only resolutely applied to human affairs, nature and man would soon be joined in a new and magnificent synthesis. Both Spencer and Comte were system-builders like the idealists whom they despised, but at least their systems purported to rest on the evidence of the senses and to meet the most severe criteria of science.

To more than one reader it may seem that these few generalizations about modern philosophy are so broad that it would be better not to broach the matter at all. Admittedly modern philosophy is a continent which a man may hardly hope to subdue in a lifetime of effort. And yet, though our superficial procedure fails wholly to do justice to the subject, it may still pass muster if it has succeeded in showing that the natural sciences have with each new generation tended more and more to dominate philosophic thinking. A noticeable consequence of this development has been a tendency to abandon such venerable and unsolvable problems as the soul, immortality, the origin of good and evil, the nature and purposes of God. These belong to the realm of final truths, acknowledged even by the Christian saints and doctors to lie beyond the reach of our human powers and frankly and avowedly beyond the reach of the modern scientific method. Devotion to science means to abandon the pursuit of what is remote and absolute in favor of the innumerable tiny data cognizable by our senses and serving to build up an ever changing, relativist world. The modern man, whenever he is oriented in a truly scientific way, accepts as his one great purpose the making of himself and of his kind more completely at home on earth. That means more, much more than the gross materialism with which he is often charged and with which he is, alas, too often content. It means for each one of us an unremitting effort in his fleeting hour to bring mankind to a level of ability and understanding on which the struggle for existence, without ceasing to be a struggle, will take on something of the aspect of a vast, associative enterprise among all the nations and peoples of the earth.

The modern man accepts an experimental world

And therewith we have touched on a feature of human thought which constantly recurs in history. It is man's search for unity. The significance of medieval Christianity lies in the very fact that, having realized unity for a considerable part of mankind, it aspired to become nothing less than universal. But Christian unity was built on faith and presented itself to view in a changeless and eternal form. On this account it quarreled with something else working irrepressibly in man and nature, it quarreled with "the law of becoming" which we have just encountered as a principle of science under the modern name of evolution. As this history has shown, from the period of the Renaissance the strong forces of development, identical with life itself, were engaged in undermining Christian unity with such success that by the nineteenth century the one and indivisible Church had been replaced not only by countless Christian sects but also by the numerous bands of disbelievers and agnostics who had put themselves entirely outside the

Man and the search for unity

Christian fold. To many an anxious observer it must have seemed that the growing disorganization could only end by engulfing society in chaos. But almost imperceptibly, even while chaos was still gaining ground, the principle of unity had set to work again, this time following a path in close keeping with the experiential attitudes which were at the root of the Christian disintegration. The early Modern Age (the period just before and after 1500) witnessed exploration and discovery, it brought commerce, industry, and the intensified activity of the new monarchical societies. While it is true that conflicts multiplied and that the whole struggle for existence assumed a fiercer aspect, it is also true that a counter-current aiming at the reduction of disorder was set in motion by the practical needs of men of affairs. They were inexorably impelled by the pressure of their daily interests to put travel and exchange on a basis of security. Hence a treaty of peace closing a war came invariably to include strong guarantees for traders and presently involved so many complicated details touching the inviolability of private property, the safety of persons, tariff regulations, and other similar matters that it was found desirable to negotiate special treaties of amity and commerce. Then, in the seventeenth century, the Dutchman, Grotius, took a further step by setting up a body of international law which aimed to secure certain basic rights to all men and all societies in both peace and war.[1] Although Grotius's deductions met with opposition and were honored more often in the breach than the observance, a body of international practices none the less did gradually emerge which tended to take on the character of compulsion. In this way they materially contributed toward a régime of smoother relations among states in time of peace and toward the elimination of some of the more brutal features of warfare. Slowly, with many set-backs, men were working out rules of universal intercourse.

Accelerated movement toward unity in the nineteenth century

To this spinning of threads across the boundaries of states the nineteenth century added a tremendous impulse. We have in this connection only to recall the railroad, the steamboat, and the telegraph to realize at once that the old jealous barriers would have to be modified and that governments which wished to lend support to the most pressing interests of their peoples would be obliged to do their utmost to promote travel, communication, and the exchange of goods and ideas. The rapidity of this movement in recent generations mocks description. Luckily most of the facts are so much a part of our daily experience that it suffices to tabulate a few of them for purposes of illustration. Nineteenth century governments were obliged to make postal arrangements which logically culminated in a Universal Postal Union. Similar agreements about the telegraph were followed by others, hardly less sweeping, touching railroads and steamboats. At the same time private business groups, especially bankers, entered into negotiations for discounting bills and floating loans until to speak of capital as international became a commonplace. Certainly money has recently flowed without particular concern for political boundaries over all the countries of the world. No less important have been the unifying influences of science. A discovery in any one country was immediately appropriated by the others, and scientists, aware of this interdependence, did not hesitate to come together in international societies of physicists, chemists, engineers, physicians, and finally even of historians and artists in order to exchange views and to organize their search for knowledge on the most effective and harmonious plan. And when in the last quarter of the nineteenth century socialism had succeeded in gaining a foothold among the new classes of industrial workers, it, too, organized itself on an international scale and by a system of international congresses brought the workingmen into line with the efforts of business men and intellectuals toward a better coördination of the forces of the world.

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[1] See p. 276.

The governments based on conceptions of absolute sovereignty reluctant to give up their freedom

Although the governments, enamoured of their sovereignty and deeply entangled in traditional rivalries and enmities, were reluctant to yield to the growing movement of association, it will not do to represent them as consistently hostile to it. So far, for instance, as improved communications by post, telegraph, and railroad were concerned we have seen that they seized upon them with an almost rapturous eagerness. But when it came to a modification of their selfish pursuit of power in the form of better boundaries and new territories they not only hesitated but resisted. The idea had become rooted in the conviction of all the European peoples that an unlimited sovereignty was the *summum bonum* of earthly happiness and that its essence was a relentless competition with reference, in the last resort, to war. It was for this reason that they had systematically developed their armies and navies; and even when they permitted their regiments and ships to remain idle for many decades together, they kept them in reserve like a pack of hungry hounds, and even while they negotiated in apparent amity they pointedly drew attention to the leash resting in their hands. Undeniably two contrary currents had taken possession of the modern world and the unity promoted by the rapidly expanding practical needs of men was confronted with the old and rooted absolute conceptions of sovereignty. And instead of these latter declining in strength, it so happened that the extraordinary opportunities unfolded before the European governments in the most recent period in Africa, Asia, and other backward areas stimulated and exaggerated their selfish energy. In the last quarter of the nineteenth century the great powers entered upon the most frenzied phase of their age-long rivalry, the phase known as imperialism and which will be treated in due time. One and all without exception steadily enlarged their means of offense. It became a period appropriately called the armed peace. A growing nervousness possessed the world and forward-looking individuals and groups everywhere raised a cry of warning. Even the governments did not close their eyes to the risks they were running; and when in 1898 Tsar Nicholas II issued an invitation to a meeting to consider means for the preservation of peace all the important states sent delegates to The Hague where the assembly took place (1899). Something was done, although in essence it amounted to no more than a beautiful gesture. A court of arbitration was set up to which governments were advised to submit their disputes, and the rules of war were codified in the interests of a more humane prosecution of armed conflicts. A second Hague conference held in 1907 also confined itself largely to a display of eloquence. In such immediately pressing matters as the reduction of competitive armaments and of exorcising the dangerous spirit of imperialism it did as little as its predecessor.

The terms of the world problem

The most one can say touching the interesting attempts of 1899 and 1907 to bring the question of world peace under the competence of a world parliament is that they disseminated through mankind a greater awareness of the perils involved in a conception of sovereignty which acknowledged no limits in its pursuit of imperialist rewards. No one capable of seeing the world as a whole could fail to grasp that the European development had by the beginning of the twentieth century reached a breathless stage. Doubtless the most promising and characteristic forces of the age were at work to bring men together in a new unity based on immediate, mundane, and experimental considerations; at the same time the old governments with their absolute and obsolete ideas of sovereignty hesitated to surrender as much as a jot or tittle of their boasted self-determination. In seeking to express the situation in the language of philosophy, one might be tempted to say that unity and freedom, both desirable and both dominating forces in human history, had been brought into sharp confrontation with each other, and that unless they could somehow be reduced to an accommodation, a catastrophe of world proportions was inevitable.

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CHAPTER XXVI

FRANCE UNDER NAPOLEON III AND THE UNIFICATION OF ITALY

Louis Napoleon favors the monarchical elements

The indication furnished by the choice of Louis Napoleon as president, that France did not really want a republic, was converted into positive proof by the elections of May, 1849, to the Legislative Assembly, the first parliament under the new constitution. The country returned an immense monarchical majority; and the only reason the republic was not immediately overthrown lay in the circumstance that the monarchists were divided into three groups: legitimists, favoring the elder Bourbon line; Orleanists, devoted to the family of Louis Philip; and a rising Bonapartist faction, supporting the president. While doing his best to strengthen his personal supporters, Louis Napoleon, desirous above all of weakening the republic, encouraged a combination of all the monarchists to reduce the popular rights secured by the recent revolution. Yielding to its conservative bias, the Assembly limited the freedom of the press, forbade political meetings, and finally (1850) capped this anti-republican legislation by a bill which put an end to universal male suffrage, probably the most important popular achievement of the revolution. By making the suffrage dependent on certain residence and tax requirements, practically the whole body of the workingmen was deprived of the vote. Evidence of the prince-president's close attachment to the conservatives (monarchists and clericals) was at the same time furnished by the military expedition sent in the spring of 1849 against the Roman Republic. While the responsibility for this action, of which mention has already been made, falls upon Napoleon, he could not have carried it through without the support of the reactionaries, who plainly delighted in wrecking republics wherever an opportunity beckoned.

More than a year passed before the monarchical majority of the Assembly perceived that the president was playing their game not for their sake but for his own. In view of his past exploits they looked upon him as a rather comic figure, kicked upstairs by capricious Fortune and not sufficiently intelligent to be a serious threat to the state. Under cover of the Assembly's contempt he was therefore able to pursue unmolested his inalterable course looking toward an imperial restoration. As it was the time of railroad-building, the president was constantly invited to all parts of France to assist at the formal opening of some new section, and on these occasions he never failed to make a speech. Beginning with railroads and the blessings of industrialism, he rose rapidly to a vision of the past glories of France under his great uncle and with the last sentence of his peroration had the crowd shouting "*Vive Napoléon!*" and a few, perhaps specially planted individuals, forgetting their republican manners to the point of intoning "*Vive l'empereur!*" In this way he built up a powerful personal following; and when the Assembly, at last enlightened regarding his fixed purpose, drew away from him, it discovered that the conservative sentiment had rallied to the president, while the liberals, offended by the stream of anti-popular legislation, had lost interest in the republic. In 1851 Napoleon, rendered confident by the large personal party he had brought together, let fall the last veil from his plans by presenting himself before the Assembly with the request to alter the constitution to his advantage. The constitution fixed the presidential term at four years, without the right to reëlection. As by the operation of this article Louis Napoleon would have become a private citizen in 1852, he urged repeal upon the legislature. When the legislature refused, he resolved, in order to maintain his power, to overthrow the government.

The president builds up a personal following

The *coup d'état* was set for December 2, 1851. The most important preliminary step, taken during the preceding months, had been to win over the leaders of the army; and with these secured the success of the conspirators was certain. While the troops occupied Paris, closed the hall of the deputies, and put the president's leading opponents under lock and key, the president himself announced by placard the return to the system of the great Corsican as embodied in the Constitution of the Year VIII. The country, called upon to express its opinion upon these proceedings, indorsed the *coup d'état* by a large majority. Louis Napoleon thereupon completed his government on the basis of a granted constitution, which he provided with a false façade of liberalism by means of a legislature elected by universal suffrage. But since

The *coup d'état* of December 2, 1851

the legislature was carefully deprived of all effective powers, the control was concentrated in the sole hand of the chief executive. There was nothing left to make the triumph complete but to gather its last fruits, and exactly a year after the *coup d'état* the president assumed the title Emperor Napoleon III.

The policy of Napoleon III

The new emperor never forgot that he was a usurper, who could retain his throne only if he acquired and kept the good-will of the French people. Clever politician that he was, he therefore tried to curry favor with as many social classes as possible. Hitherto his electoral victories had been chiefly due to the peasants, whose conservative and clerical sympathies he had systematically flattered. Without ceasing to appeal to them he directed his attention also to the middle classes. He had a sufficiently alert and modern mind to recognize the importance of factories and railways, and by vigorously favoring their multiplication he played into the hands of the bourgeoisie. But chiefly he wished to impress all classes alike with his personal prestige, and in order to increase it, he resolved to embark on an adventurous foreign policy. This was taking a page from the note-book of Napoleon I, who had frequently remarked that what the French people preëminently wanted was military glory. Whither the doctrine led that great man we are aware. Napoleon III, too, at first had his military triumphs, but without ever climbing as high as his exemplar managed in the end to fall much lower.

Tsar Nicholas and the Ottoman Empire

Napoleon had hardly seated himself on the throne when a brilliant opportunity presented itself for fishing in the ever troubled waters of the Near East. The alarming feebleness shown by the Ottoman Empire in the Greek War of Liberation persisted during the succeeding decades and prompted Tsar Nicholas of Russia confidently to expect the early agony of the rival state. He referred to the sultan cheerfully as "the sick man," and became convinced that Russia and Great Britain, as the likeliest heirs, should anticipate the sultan's demise by coming to an agreement on the division of the heritage. But as every probable scheme of division would place Russia in possession of Constantinople, and Great Britain, far from wishing to put that strategic point in the hands of the tsar, was delighted to have it held by a sovereign so weak in naval strength as the sultan, Nicholas's overtures were firmly rejected. Other complications, more particularly a dispute between Nicholas and Napoleon as to which of the two enjoyed the right to protect the Holy Places of Palestine, added to the bitterness which gradually charged the tsar's soul. In April, 1853, it suddenly and wrathfully overflowed in the form of an attempt to wrest from the sultan an acknowledgment of the tsar's special position with reference to the Ottoman Empire. In peremptory words the sultan was ordered to concede to the tsar the protectorate over all Greek Christians resident in Turkey. As this would have made Nicholas co-sovereign with the sultan in the Turkish dominions, the British ambassador at Constantinople urged the Ottoman government to refuse. The answer of the Russians was to occupy Moldavia and Wallachia (the Danubian principalities) in order to enforce their claim; and after much diplomatic sparring, in which all the powers took part, another war broke out between the tsar and the sultan.

Great Britain and France support Turkey

But Turkey was not left alone this time as in 1828–1829. Great Britain, having prompted the sultan to resistance, was in honor bound to help him; and though no vital French interest was at stake, Napoleon, glad and eager to find an occasion to put himself forward, offered Great Britain his alliance. Together the two western powers signed a treaty with the Ottoman Empire (March, 1854) and declared war upon Russia. What had threatened at first to be merely another Turco-Russian conflict, thus became a European war, the first on any considerable scale since the Napoleonic struggle.

The Crimean War, 1854–56

The first important move of the campaign of 1854 was that the Russians retired from the Danubian principalities into their own territory and stood on the defensive. The allies therefore were obliged to agree upon some point for attack, and after much waste of time hit upon the fortress of Sebastopol in the Crimea. The war practically reduced itself to the siege of this great stronghold, which the Russians defended skillfully and vigorously for a whole year. Its fall in September, 1855, discouraged the Russians greatly; and as Tsar Nicholas, whose pretensions had caused the war, had died during the siege, to be succeeded by his more moderate and conciliatory son, Alexander II, negotiations were begun which led to a general European congress at Paris and to the signing in March, 1856, of a peace. As the Ottoman Empire had been the ally of France and Great Britain, the treaty in effect registered, even though the fighting had been done by the two western powers, a victory of the sultan over his ancient foe, the tsar.

As a result of the peace the tsar was obliged to renounce not only his plan of a protectorate over the Greek Christians but also certain special rights secured by earlier treaties with regard to such semi-autonomous territories as Serbia and the Danubian principalities (Rumania). In fact Russia was put on an exact level with all the other powers in regard to the Ottoman Empire, the independence and territorial integrity of which were solemnly guaranteed. As for the Christian subjects of the sultan the treaty affirmed that their proper and natural protector was their Mohammedan sovereign and he alone. To discourage Russia from renewing her attacks on Turkish territory, the conferees, largely at the instance of Great Britain, wrote a provision into the treaty neutralizing the Black sea and obliging Russia to promise to maintain neither a naval base nor warships on its waters. Doubtless the treaty of Paris leveled a heavy blow at Russia; but whether it would have a long life was another question, since it was based on the absurd assumption that the disintegration of the Ottoman Empire, which had been proceeding for centuries, could be stopped by the paper command of interested diplomats. Was it, in the nature of things, possible to decree either the cessation of Turkish decay or the arrest of Russian growth?

Napoleon's prestige

The Crimean War, signalized by the spectacular capture of Sebastopol chiefly through the action of French troops, and brought to a close at Paris under the eyes of Napoleon, greatly enhanced the Emperor's influence, though, as already remarked, it would be hard to say what advantage France reaped therefrom. Napoleon III's policy was personal, not national. That is the conclusion which his whole reign confirms, and particularly the steps he now took in the Italian question.

Napoleon reopens the Italian question

As his career must by now have fully convinced us, Napoleon, in spite of his name, was less a soldier than a clever and juggling politician endowed with a consuming ambition and a few general ideas derived from the age in which he lived. We have seen that he supported the Industrial Revolution; at the same time he was so persuaded of the power of nationalism that he looked upon a nationalist reorganization of Europe as inevitable. It is one of the pleasanter sides of his nature that he was occasionally willing to risk something in behalf of a cause which stirred his soul. The spectacle of Italy in chains had excited his sympathy when, as a young exile from France, he had dwelt on Italian soil. It was even popularly held that he had joined the Italian revolutionary society of the Carbonari. His youthful memories now led him to play with the thought of the liberation of the peninsula from Austrian rule — a generous impulse without doubt, but one explained by his personal predilections, not grounded in the necessities of the French state of which he was the official guardian.

Cavour obtains an alliance with Napoleon

Ever since the failure of the rising of 1848 Italy had been again swayed by Austria. In these circumstances the hopes and prayers of the patriots turned with increasing fervor to Sardinia-Piedmont, now a constitutional state under a young and vigorous king, Victor Emmanuel II. In 1852 the king appointed as the head of his ministry a remarkably gifted nobleman, Count Cavour by name, who cautiously and systematically prepared the liberation and unification of the peninsula. In Cavour's view the great national movement was to radiate from Sardinia-Piedmont as its center; but because this state could not by itself defeat Austria, the minister held that one of the great powers would have to be persuaded to lend military help. That could only be France, which had never ceased to regard Austria's hegemony in Italy with a jealous eye and whose sovereign did not conceal his sympathies for the oppressed Italian people. With remarkable skill Cavour manipulated the various elements of the situation. In order to curry favor with both Great Britain and France he took their side in the Crimean War and actually despatched a Piedmontese expeditionary corps to Sebastopol; then having laid Napoleon under obligation, he lured him with the prospect of a greater than the Crimean glory to be won across the Alps; and at last, in 1858, he drew him into an alliance (agreement of Plombières). The Franco-Sardinian alliance was directed against Austria, which was to be deprived of Lombardy and Venetia and driven out of Italy.

The Italian war of 1859

The war began in the spring of 1859 and was over in a few weeks. By two victories, at Magenta and at Solferino, the allies — France and Sardinia — drove the Austrians out of Lombardy back upon the Quadrilateral. Italy was ablaze with bonfires and with tumultuous enthusiasm hailed Napoleon as its liberator wherever he appeared. But much remained to be done; the Quadrilateral, one of the strongest defensive positions of Europe, would have to be taken before the Austrians could be said to have been really driven from Italy. Just as everybody was expecting a fresh advance of the allies, the telegraph flashed the news of a dramatic change: Napoleon had met the Emperor Francis Joseph of Austria in private conference at Villafranca and arranged a peace (July 11th). By its terms Austria agreed to give up Lombardy, but was permitted to retain Venetia and therewith a powerful foothold in the peninsula. Disgusted with what he stigmatized as Napoleon's perfidy, Cavour resigned from office — luckily only temporarily — but Victor Emmanuel II accepted the Villafranca arrangements, comforted by the reflection that the cause of Italian unity had for the first time successfully unfurled its banner.

Napoleon's reasons for making peace

The considerations which moved Napoleon to his sudden turnabout were manifold. He was not a masterful character and easily fell victim to his fears. One of these concerned the military problem of breaking through the Quadrilateral. So strong was this position that not improbably the French might bleed themselves to death before it. The second fear concerned Prussia, which, moved by sympathy for Austria, was preparing to mobilize upon the Rhine and threaten his exposed flank. And finally, he was filled with dismay by the wild nationalist tempest sweeping over Italy from the Alps to the straits of Messina. He gave Lombardy, representing one-half of the stipulated terms, to Victor Emmanuel and hurried home, resolved to wash his hands of the troublesome Italian question. Tempted as much by his own mystic hopes about nationalism as by Cavour's promise of easy laurels, he had plunged into a movement of liberation which he expected to control at every point. In place thereof the self-deceived adventurer faced a national turmoil which broke all bounds and mocked at compulsion.

Sardinia annexes (1) Lombardy (1859); (2) the north-central states (March, 1860)

To this turmoil we must now give attention, for it brings us face to face with the piece-meal method by which Italian unification was brought about. Elated by the war against the national enemy, Tuscany, Modena, Parma, and the Romagna (the northern section of the Papal States), making up together north-central Italy, rose against their princes and, driving them from their thrones, declared for annexation to Sardinia. Victor Emmanuel, pleased though he was, dared not accept these territories without the consent of the all-powerful Napoleon. Feverish negotiations followed, which ended (March, 1860) in an agreement that permitted the annexations in return for the cession to France of Savoy and Nice. It was a typical political trade based on the principle of give-and-take. The cession of the Alpine county of Savoy deeply hurt the king, for it was the original home of his dynasty; but as Savoy with even Nice thrown in was manifestly worth less than the north-central states, Cavour persuaded Victor Emmanuel to yield. In the course of a single year the kingdom of Sardinia-Piedmont had absorbed first, Lombardy, and second, the remainder of northern Italy with the exception of Venetia. These two acquisitions represent the first and second steps in the process of Italian unification.

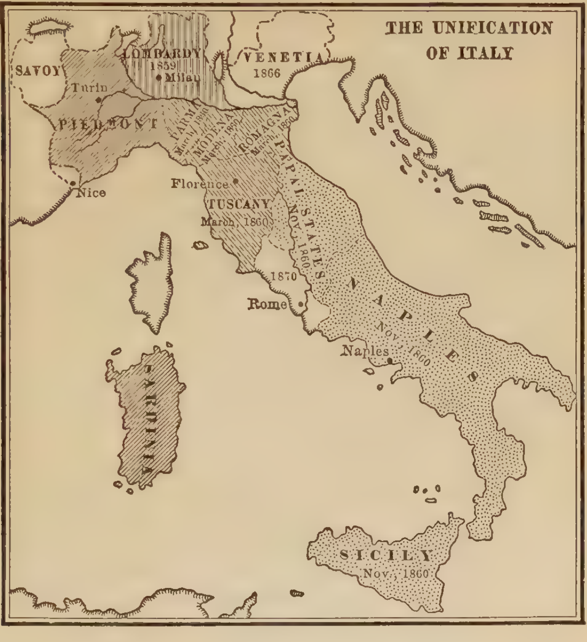
Garibaldi conquers the Two Sicilies

The third step was the capture in the summer of 1860 of the kingdom of the Two Sicilies. This was accomplished by a daring buccaneering expedition led by Italy's soldier of fortune, Giuseppe Garibaldi. Secretly encouraged by Cavour, Garibaldi gathered at the port of Genoa one thousand volunteers, called from their conspicuous attire his thousand Red Shirts, and in May suddenly set sail for Sicily. He had only to show himself with the national colors for the Sicilians to toss their hats into the air and abandon the hated Bourbon king. Sicily conquered, Garibaldi crossed the straits to the mainland, and again proof was furnished that the imported, Spanish-minded Bourbon dynasty had never taken root among the people. The victory fell as usual to the courageous heart, and, acclaimed as a savior, the bold conqueror in September entered the unresisting city of Naples. Being a convinced republican, Garibaldi now took up the plan of organizing his conquest as a separate democratic state. The project alarmed and outraged Cavour, who regarded it as the wreck of his unitary policy. He therefore persuaded his king to march the Piedmontese troops through the Papal States into the southern kingdom in order to dispute Garibaldi's possession. In the face of this opposition and, on the further ground, that the south Italians manifestly desired annexation to Sardinia, Garibaldi yielded his position and generously surrendered his power into the hands of King Victor Emmanuel. A plebiscite taken (Nov. 1860) in Sicily and Naples gave a staggering majority for absorption into the northern kingdom. With the defeat and exile of the Bourbon king, Francis II, who made a last stand at the fortress of Gaeta, the Neapolitan incident was brought to a happy close.

Simultaneously with Naples another issue had arisen and become pressing. In driving through the eastern sections of the Papal States, Cavour had become aware that these territories too (Ancona, Um-

Annexation of the bulk of the Papal States

bria) passionately desired annexation to Sardinia. The weak papal forces were easily disposed of and, encouraged by a favorable plebiscite (Oct. 1860), Cavour carried through the annexation of these territories. While these events were proceeding, the tempestuous Garibaldi attempted to wring from the king permission to lead an expedition against the city of Rome; but as Rome was held by French troops and the attempt to capture the capital of the pope would have meant a war with France, Cavour interposed a firm veto. He was a statesman who knew when to go forward and when to retreat; and although he held with Garibaldi and the impulsive patriots that Italy would remain a torso until Rome and Venice, too, had been joined to the Italian trunk, he took a realist's account of things and forces as he found them. Just as to drive upon Rome would precipitate a war with France, so to descend upon Venetia would certainly cause a war with Austria; and for neither of these conflicts was Italy as yet, according to Cavour, prepared. He resolved to bide his time, convinced that sooner or later incidents would occur which would play into his country's hands and enable it to complete the work of unification


THE UNIFICATION OF ITALY
SAVOY
LOMBARDY 1859
Milan
VENETIA 1866
Turin
PIEDMONT
PARMA March, 1860
MODENA March, 1860
ROMAGNA March, 1860
PAPAL STATES Nov. 1860
Nice
Florence
TUSCANY March, 1860
1870
Rome
NAPLES Nov. 1860
Naples
SARDINIA
SICILY Nov. 1860

so happily begun. It was folly to overlook that for the present the movement of advance was effectively checked.

Proclamation of the kingdom of Italy

In view of these elements of the general situation, Cavour resolved to inaugurate a period of rest and domestic consolidation. In consequence of the rapid march of events since 1859 he had upon his hands a kingdom of Sardinia plus a mass of annexations several times its size. In February, 1861, he summoned to Turin, the Sardinian capital, elected representatives from all the recent acquisitions who enthusiastically proclaimed the transformation of the kingdom of Sardinia into the kingdom of Italy. At the same time the Sardinian constitution was made applicable to the new state and Victor Emmanuel took the title king of Italy. It was a proud and uplifting moment in the history of a reborn people. But there was much work ahead; an administration, an army and navy, a modern economic system had to be created, not to mention the necessity of finding a *modus vivendi* with the pope, who, outraged by his spoliation, had excommunicated the king, Cavour, his rebellious subjects — in fact, everybody conspicuously connected with the movement of unification. The important work of domestic regeneration had hardly begun when the great Cavour, worn out by his labors, died (June, 1861), and the cloak of the inspired statesman fell upon the shoulders of well-meaning but humdrum politicians.

The Austro-Prussian crisis enables Italy to acquire Venetia

Twice the impatient Garibaldi took the bit between his teeth and charged upon Rome, resolved to repeat his buccaneering exploit of 1860. Both attempts were failures because the government of Victor Emmanuel, true, in spite of temptation, to Cavour's counsels, refused to precipitate a war with France. And exactly as the great leader had prophesied, fortune before long successively produced the two opportunities which enabled Italy to realize her hopes with regard to Venetia and Rome without exposing herself to excessive risks. The first opportunity occurred in 1866. In that year there broke out the long-threatening war in Germany between Austria and Prussia, of which we shall hear in the next chapter. Prussia naturally appealed to Italy for help, and the two powers, upon both of whom Austria rested like an incubus, made an alliance. Austria was obliged to face two enemies at once; and although victorious over Italy, defeating her army at Custozza (June 24th) and her navy at Lissa in the Adriatic (July 20th), was so conclusively crushed by

Prussia at Sadowa that she had to sign a peace. In the hope of winning French favor, the emperor of Austria had, on receipt of the news of Sadowa, handed over the Italian objective, Venetia, as a present to Napoleon III; but the French emperor at the conclusion of peace transferred the province to Victor Emmanuel. Venetia was promptly incorporated with Italy, and in November the old republic of St. Mark gave the king a stirring and patriotic welcome in its midst.

The Franco-German War enables Italy to acquire Rome

The Patrimony of St. Peter (Rome and its immediate environment) now alone remained outside the reconstituted nation. If the question had been submitted to the vote of the Romans whether they wished to be governed by the pope or by the king, there can be no doubt for whom they would have declared. But French troops held the city for the pope, and Napoleon made it plain that, much as he had done for Italian unity, his complaisance stopped at the walls of the Eternal City. To snatch Rome from the pope would have precipitated a French war. The upshot was that the Italian government resolved to let time do its work, and when in 1870 a war broke out between France and Prussia, its patience was fully rewarded. Obliged to mobilize his full strength against the Germans, Napoleon III withdrew his garrison from Rome and, shortly after, was rendered wholly impotent by his capture at Sedan. There was now no one to hinder the march upon Rome. In September, 1870, the Italian army appeared before the gates and forced its way into the city amid the plaudits of the citizens. Although Pope Pius IX poured renewed anathemas on his despoilers, he was not disturbed in his vast official residence, the Vatican palace, from which he continued to rule the Catholic world. While Rome is therefore still the head of Catholic Christianity, it has since 1870 been also the secular capital of the Italian state.

Rulers of the House of Savoy

(Sardinia-Piedmont; Italy)

Charles Albert, 1831–1849
Victor Emmanuel II (son of the above; first king of Italy) 1849–1878
Humbert I (son of his predecessor), 1878–1900
Victor Emmanuel III (son of Humbert I) 1900–

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CHAPTER XXVII

THE UNIFICATION OF GERMANY

Although, following the failure of the German revolution of 1848, Prussia remained a constitutional state, this success offered only a slight consolation to the dejected liberals in view of the fact that a dark reaction spread its shadows over the country. The erratic king, Frederick William IV, once more openly expounded his views of Divine Right, and leaning on the landowners (*Junker*), the army officers, and the Lutheran clergy reduced the action of the Prussian parliament (*Landtag*) to the smallest possible scope. The press was muzzled and political meetings were forbidden. As, in addition to the loss of credit resulting from this domestic situation, Prussia suffered from having at the dictation of Austria (1850) meekly reëntered the Bund, her influence among the liberal and unitarian elements of German society temporarily disappeared. In the year 1858 occurred a change, slight in itself but destined to become significant. In that year, owing to the appearance of symptoms of insanity, the reactionary monarch was replaced by his brother William, first as regent and, on the demise of the patient in 1861, as king.

The reaction in Prussia

The advent of William was hailed as the dawn of a new era and attended by a revival of hope among the liberal elements. Endowed, in sharp contrast with his romantic brother, with a matter-of-fact mind and having besides, through long association, a professional interest in the army, the new ruler inaugurated at once what seemed to him an urgent military reform. The Prussian army, a creation of the Napoleonic wars, was based on a law of 1814 which prescribed universal military training in the form of three years' service with the colors and two years in the reserve. At the time this system was adopted some 40,000 recruits reported annually for training and the total standing army was slightly in excess of 120,000 men. Since then the population of Prussia had increased by more than fifty per cent; but as only 40,000 recruits could be annually accommodated on the basis of the existing arrangements, the principle of universal compulsory

King William I and the Army Reform Bill

training had in practice been abandoned. The new sovereign determined to make military training once more general, not only of course because of his devotion to the principle but also because its strict enforcement would provide a larger army and secure for Prussia a greater degree of consideration in the councils of Europe. At the same time he wished to introduce a few minor changes, such as the extension of the service in the reserve from two to four years, which recommended themselves to him on technical military grounds. He had an Army Reform Bill presented to the parliament, which actually voted the recommended changes in a provisional form. Then a hitch occurred. The liberals had acquired a majority in the lower house and, desiring to reduce the military expenditures, demanded certain concessions, above all, the reduction of the service with the colors from three to two years. Angered by this attempt to interfere in the organization of the army, which he looked upon as a government service pertaining to the king alone, William dismissed the lower house only to find that in the new elections the people returned a larger liberal majority than before. The king, who, on the strength of the provisional vote, had already begun the reorganization of the army, persisted in carrying through the work, while his liberal opponents with ever waxing shrillness declaimed against the unconstitutionality of his action. In this way it came about that, beginning with the year 1861, Prussia entered upon a vivacious struggle between executive and legislative, which, while it turned immediately about the Army Reform Bill, involved also the question of the constitution, since the king insisted on giving permanent character to a measure only provisionally authorized by the legislature.

The ministry of Bismarck

Discouraged but obstinate, King William resolved to make a last attempt to force his measure through the parliament and in October, 1862, appointed Otto von Bismarck as prime minister. Bismarck was a Brandenburg squire (*Junker*) of ancient lineage, who had emerged into public life in 1848 as the fearless defender of the royal prerogative. On the strength of his militant conservatism he was drawn into the diplomatic service and acted successively as the Prussian representative in the Bund at Frankfort, and at the courts of St. Petersburg and Paris. This experience greatly broadened his outlook. Not only did he gain a masterful grasp of the general European situation, but he reached the conclusion that German unity was feasible only under Prussian leadership and that it would not be attainable except through the destruction of the Bund and the ejection of Austria from Germany. As an efficient army was indispensable to such a program, he was prepared to support the king against the lower house with all the fighting zest at his command.

Bismark's unshaken stand

As soon as he presented himself with his conservative record and his habitual self-assurance before the parliament a tremendous storm broke loose. But he refused to be deflected from his path and with apparent tranquillity faced even the prospect of a civil war, which seemed not so remote in view of the uncompromising position of the two opponents. Before that pass was reached, however, a succession of events occurred which drew public attention elsewhither and which enabled Bismarck by a series of brilliant successes to effect a triumphant reconciliation of the sovereign with the parliament and the people.

The Danish War, 1864

In the year 1863 took place the long-expected death of Frederick VII of Denmark, the last male of his line. By the verdict of the powers known as the Protocol of London (1852) he was succeeded at Copenhagen by his relative, Christian IX; but the duchies of Schleswig and Holstein, which had never accepted the Protocol, immediately proclaimed the Duke of Augustenburg, who, according to their view, was the rightful heir. At bottom their action was due less to legal than to nationalist considerations. They wished, as Germans, to break the ties that bound them to Denmark and they counted confidently on the support of German public opinion. Nor were they mistaken. Even the sluggish Bund was sufficiently stirred to plan an intervention in their behalf, but before the measure had got well under way, it was rudely pushed aside from an unexpected quarter. Convinced that the shadowy Bund was unable to meet the crisis but that Prussia could, Bismarck persuaded Austria to join him in settling the issue in a manner conformable with the interests and obligations of the two great German states. Luckily for the Prussian minister, King Christian IX played into his hands. Immediately upon his accession the king had signed a bill, incorporating Schleswig, the northernmost of the two duchies, with Denmark. This was a clear breach of the London Protocol, which recognized Christian as king of Denmark on the strict understanding that he would respect the historical autonomy of the duchies. Prussia and Austria issued an ultimatum to Copenhagen, demanding that the incorporation be withdrawn without delay. When Christian, under pressure from the Danish nationalists, refused to yield, Berlin and Vienna declared war, and in January, 1864, Prussian and Austrian troops entered the duchies side by side. In a swift campaign they brought Denmark to her knees. By a peace signed in August Christian IX ceded Schleswig and Holstein to the victors.

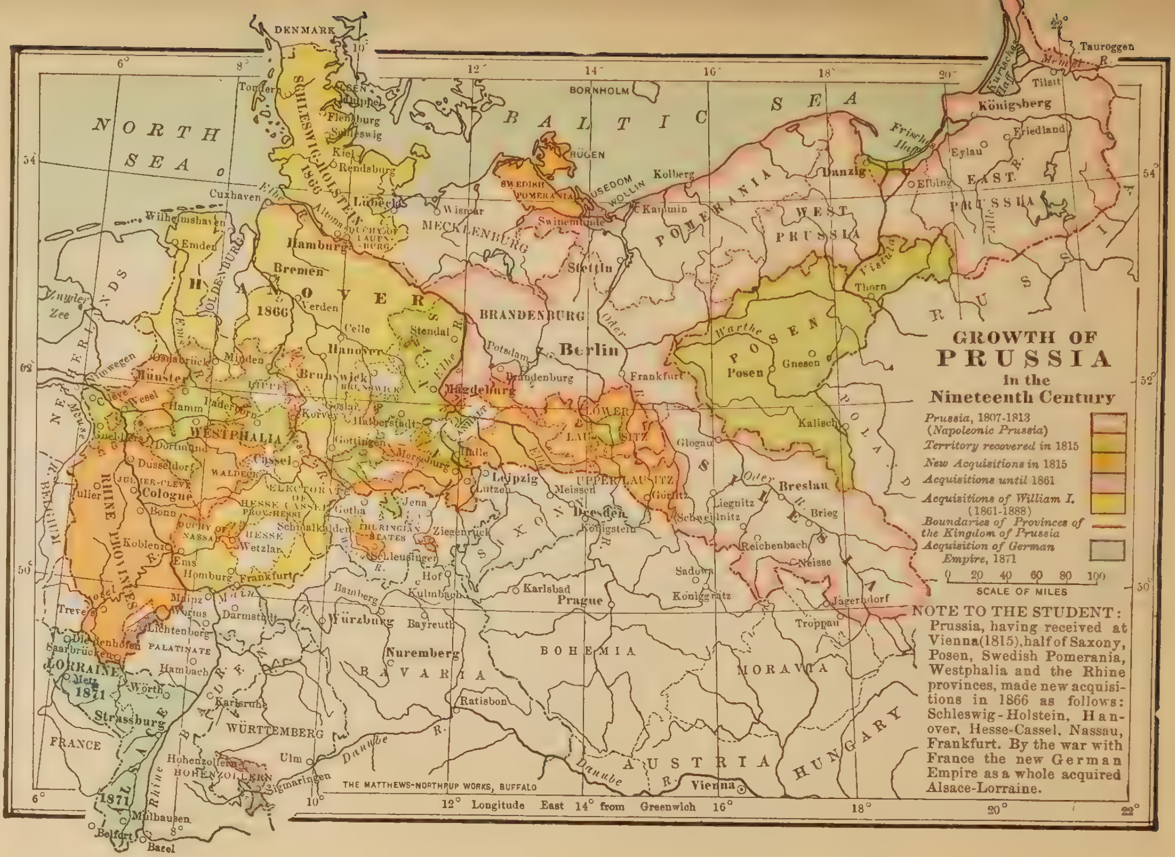
The question now was how to divide the spoils, and this question Bismarck faced without flinching since he regarded it as the convenient door through which to enter on the larger issue of German unity. Preliminary to an effective reorganization of Germany was, as he saw the situation, the exclusion of Austria; and since he foresaw that Austria would never depart voluntarily, he was prepared to resort to war to drive her out. As King William hesitated to accept Bismarck's uncompromising view, the negotiations between Berlin and Vienna were spun out till the spring of 1866, when the Prussian king at last went over to his minister's opinion. In consequence Bismarck sought contact with that other enemy of Austria, the young kingdom of Italy, and signed an alliance which, in the event of victory, promised Venetia to King Victor Emmanuel. As the rulers of the other German states all feared that a renovated Germany under Prussian guidance would impair their sovereignty, most of them, and more particularly those of the larger states such as Bavaria, Würtemberg, Baden, Saxony, and Hanover, sided with Austria. With these arrangements made, in June, 1866, the two apparently well-matched combatants took the field. While the ostensible issue between them was the division of the Schleswig-Holstein booty, Bismarck had succeeded in making it as clear as day that the real issue was the reorganization of Germany on a different and more solid basis than the Bund.

Bismark prepares for war with Austria

Although a part of the Prussian army had to be detached against the German allies of Austria, the Austrians, too, were hindered from concentration in a single mass by the obligation of sending an army to Venetia to defend that province against the Italians. Weakened only by these subtractions, the Austrians and Prussians, assembled in two great armies, made ready to meet each other in Bohemia. This meeting of the two leading powers, it was evident, would decide the war.

The several theaters of the war

And now it was proved to friend and foe that the reform of the Prussian army was a most timely measure. The Prussians were more quickly mobilized than the Austrians and showed themselves to be much better armed and disciplined. By the admirable arrangements



GROWTH OF PRUSSIA

in the Nineteenth Century

- *Prussia*, 1807-1813 (*Napoleonic Prussia*)
- *Territory recovered in* 1815
- *New Acquisitions in* 1815
- *Acquisitions until* 1861
- *Acquisitions of William I.* (1861-1888)
- *Boundaries of Provinces of the Kingdom of Prussia*
- *Acquisition of German Empire*, 1871

0 20 40 60 80 100
SCALE OF MILES

NOTE TO THE STUDENT: Prussia, having received at Vienna (1815), half of Saxony, Posen, Swedish Pomerania, Westphalia and the Rhine provinces, made new acquisitions in 1866 as follows: Schleswig-Holstein, Hanover, Hesse-Cassel, Nassau, Frankfurt. By the war with France the new German Empire as a whole acquired Alsace-Lorraine.

THE MATTHEWS-NORTHRUP WORKS, BUFFALO

DENMARK
NORTH SEA
BALTIC SEA
BORNHOLM
RÜGEN
USEDOM
WOLLIN
SWEDISH POMERANIA
SCHLESWIG-HOLSTEIN 1866
MECKLENBURG
POMERANIA
WEST PRUSSIA
EAST PRUSSIA
RUSSIA
POLAND
POSEN
BRANDENBURG
HANOVER 1866
SAXONY
WESTPHALIA
RHINE PROVINCES
HESSE
ELECTORATE OF HESSE CASSEL
DUCHY OF NASSAU
THURINGIAN STATES
SAXONY
SILESIA
LOWER LAUSITZ
UPPER LAUSITZ
BOHEMIA
MORAVIA
BAVARIA
AUSTRIA
HUNGARY
WÜRTTEMBERG
BADEN
PALATINATE
LORRAINE 1871
ALSACE 1871
FRANCE
BELGIUM
NETHERLANDS
Zuyder Zee
OLDENBURG
Tauroggen
Memel R.
Tilsit
Königsberg
Friedland
Eylau
Elbing
Danzig
Thorn
Vistula
Kolberg
Kammin
Swinemünde
Stettin
Wismar
Lübeck
Kiel
Rendsburg
Schleswig
Flensburg
Düppel
Tondern
Altona
Hamburg
Bremen
Cuxhaven
Wilhelmshaven
Emden
Verden
Celle
Hanover
Stendal
Berlin
Potsdam
Brandenburg
Frankfurt
Oder
Warthe
Posen
Gnesen
Kalisch
Glogau
Breslau
Brieg
Liegnitz
Schweidnitz
Reichenbach
Neisse
Jägerndorf
Troppau
Königgrätz
Sadowa
Görlitz
Dresden
Königstein
Meissen
Leipzig
Lützen
Halle
Merseburg
Magdeburg
Halberstadt
Goslar
Korvey
Brunswick
Göttingen
Minden
Osnabrück
Münster
Nimwegen
Cleve
Wesel
Hamm
Paderborn
Dortmund
Düsseldorf
Geldern
Cologne
Bonn
Jülich
Koblenz
Ems
Wetzlar
Homburg
Frankfurt
Cassel
Gotha
Jena
Schmalkalden
Schleusingen
Ziegenrück
Hof
Kulmbach
Bayreuth
Bamberg
Würzburg
Nuremberg
Ratisbon
Karlsbad
Prague
Vienna
Danube
Ulm
Sigmaringen
Hohenzollern
Karlsruhe
Hambach
Lichtenberg
Worms
Mainz
Darmstadt
Treves
Saarbrücken
Metz
Wörth
Strassburg
Mülhausen
Belfort
Basel
Rhine
Elbe
Ems
Meuse
Main
12° Longitude East 14° from Greenwich 16°
6° 8° 10° 12° 14° 16° 18° 20° 22°
50° 52° 54°

of the great strategist Moltke, three Prussian columns were made to converge upon the Austrian army, engaged in concentrating near the fortress of Königgrätz in Bohemia, and catching the enemy at Sadowa as in a vise, crushed him utterly (July 3d). The war had hardly begun when it was over. It was of little consequence that the Austrians in Italy defeated the Italians at Custozza, or that the Prussians completed their triumph by defeating the minor German forces. Incapable of continuing the struggle, Austria was obliged to open negotiations. A truce in July was followed in August, 1866, by the definitive Peace of Prague.

Sadowa (or Königgrätz) July 3, 1866

By the Peace of Prague Austria agreed to cede her rights to Schleswig-Holstein to Prussia, to accept the dissolution of the Bund, to withdraw from German affairs, and to leave Prussia free to form a confederation of the states of northern Germany. The four South German states (Bavaria, Würtemberg, Baden, and Hesse) were accorded the right to form a federation of their own. Although Austria made the further sacrifice of Venetia, which was surrendered to Italy, in view of the immensity of her disaster, her territorial losses were not crushing. As soon as these arrangements were assured, Bismarck made peace with the German allies of Austria. In order to ease the animosities produced by the late conflict he let off the four South German states with small indemnities; but certain hostile North German states, like Hanover, Nassau, and Hesse-Cassel, which drove a wedge between the mass of Prussia around Berlin and her possessions on the Rhine, he incorporated with the monarchy of the Hohenzollerns. Without any question the war delivered Germany into Prussia's hands; none the less as long as the South German states remained aloof from reorganized North Germany, the national unity was incomplete. It took another war, the war with France, to fuse North and South Germany and crown Bismarck's national policy.

The Peace of Prague and the triumph of Prussia

Meanwhile, the Peace of Prague left Bismarck free to establish a North German Confederation. In the stress of civil war, the old Bund had gone to its reward, with no greater outburst of sorrow than had attended, exactly sixty years before, the demise of the Holy Roman Empire. For the first time since the Middle Age Germany was to have a strong union. The twenty-two states which joined it accepted the king of Prussia as chief executive under the title president, while the legislative power was entrusted to a Federal Council or *Bundesrath*, representing the

The North German Confederation

participating governments, and a parliament or *Reichstag*, representing the people and elected by universal suffrage. Although the component states preserved a broad measure of autonomy, they lost their leading sovereign rights which were taken over by the new federal institutions, the Bundesrath, the Reichstag, and, above all, the king of Prussia in his capacity of chief executive. While the constitution, drafted by Bismarck, made in the elected Reichstag a considerable concession to liberal opinion, it was so framed that the king of Prussia and the other sovereigns, represented with him in the Bundesrath, retained substantial control of the policy of the new state. The South German states, free to form a confederation of their own, failed to do so, and occupied a very unsatisfactory position as wandering comets of the German system, until a new crisis drew them into the North German Confederation.

Napoleon and the Mexican muddle

This crisis, which constitutes the last step in the unification of Germany, was precipitated by the strained relations resulting from the victory of Prussia between herself and her western neighbor, France. We parted from the Emperor Napoleon on the occasion of his victorious campaign of 1859 in Italy. While contributing immensely to the liberation of Italy, he had not failed to collect a generous fee for services in the form of Nice and Savoy. The Italian campaign marks the last occasion on which his ventures prospered. Owing to his persistent occupation of Rome with French troops for the purpose of protecting the pope, he sacrificed the good will of the Italian nation, won upon the battlefield, and made himself almost as detested as the Austrians. Then in an evil hour he turned his desires upon the New World. In the hope of fresh laurels he interfered in the internal affairs of Mexico, and beginning with the occupation of Vera Cruz, sent an army against Mexico City and overturned the republic. Thereupon setting up a government of his own, he offered the throne to the Archduke Maximilian, brother of the emperor of Austria. His candidate landed in Mexico in 1864. The American Civil War was just then at its height, and the United States was too embarrassed to do more than register a weak protest against this violation of the Monroe Doctrine; but no sooner had the Civil War been brought to a close than the government at Washington gave Napoleon to understand that he must withdraw immediately. Napoleon shuffled awhile, but did not care to face the consequences of a refusal. The French sailed for Europe, and Maximilian, deserted by his protector, was captured and shot (1867). The victorious Mexicans at once reëstablished their republic.

French jealousy of Prussia

The shame of this disgraceful ending was not the only hapless feature about the Mexican adventure, for, owing to the absence of the best French troops in the New World, Napoleon could not bring his full influence to bear on the Austro-Prussian crisis of 1866. Prussia won, established her supremacy in Germany, and in spite of Napoleon's insistence that France must receive some territorial compensation along its eastern boundary, refused to yield a single foot of land. Napoleon's position was profoundly shaken. The French people were angry with their sovereign because he had permitted Prussia enormously to increase its strength without utilizing its embarrassment to realize wholly or in part that ancient objective of French policy, the Rhine boundary. To appease the opposition the emperor gradually relaxed the autocratic régime in favor of a truly representative system. The new phase of his government is known as the Liberal Empire. But his discomfitures in the foreign field had been too numerous to revive his popularity, and when, in spite of cunning and constant diplomatic pressure, he was unable to wring from Prussia the slightest concession in the matter of French annexations, the relations of the two governments grew rapidly more and more exacerbated. Inevitably the dangerous frame of mind of the diplomats was reflected in the French and German press and public. Under the circumstances an atmosphere of excitement came to prevail which, with the aid of the blundering and scheming of the leading ministers on both sides, caused a relatively unimportant incident to flare up in war.

The Spanish incident

In the year 1868 a revolution had occurred in Spain by which the Bourbon sovereign, Queen Isabella, was expelled. Ever since, the Spanish revolutionary leaders had been looking about Europe for a new king, and finally offered the crown to Leopold of Hohenzollern-Sigmaringen, a distant relative of the king of Prussia. The prospect of a Prussian prince upon the Spanish throne greatly excited French opinion, and Napoleon hastened to protest. Prince Leopold's wise refusal of the crown ended the crisis; but almost at once the French foreign minister, the headstrong duke of Gramont, revived it by insisting that King William should give a promise that he would never permit his relative to renew his candidature. On July 13, 1870, at the order of Gramont, the French ambassador, Benedetti, presented himself before King

William, while he was taking the waters at Ems, with this futile and provocative demand. The king, scenting an effort to humiliate him, gave an unequivocal refusal and then telegraphed a detailed version of the incident to Bismarck at Berlin. The minister, convinced that the refusal by the prince of the Spanish throne was as far as Prussia could in honor go, and prepared and even eager for a war in which France had manifestly put itself in the wrong, gave to the press for general publication a concise version of the Ems despatch. Though it was not a falsification, as has been often charged, it was a conscious act of provocation intended as a counterblast to Benedetti's unjustified demand. The effect in Paris of the Ems message was electric. Press and public declared that French honor had been insulted, and the government, carried off its feet, rushed into war (July 15th).

The advantages are with Prussia

The advantages in the struggle which now ensued were, from the beginning, with Prussia. The first success was achieved in connection with the South German states. Napoleon was hoping that they would, out of aversion for Prussia, side with him, but the far-seeing Bismarck had provided for just such an emergency. Immediately after the war of 1866 he had signed offensive and defensive treaties with the South German states which obliged them to fight shoulder to shoulder with Prussia. Even without these alliances, however, the South German governments would not have remained neutral, for the people were aroused to explosive enthusiasm and insisted on regarding the cause of Prussia as that of all Germany. From a purely military point of view, too, the preliminary honors were all with the German side. The North German Confederation and its allies were ready sooner and mustered a larger and better-organized army than Napoleon. In consequence, the famous Moltke, who acted as chief-of-staff of the German forces, could assume the offensive and carry the war into France.

The early German victories

The Germans found the French drawn up in two main bodies, one in Alsace under General MacMahon, the other in Lorraine, under Emperor Napoleon himself. A simultaneous attack on August 6th was crowned with a double victory, obliging MacMahon to abandon Alsace and Napoleon to fall back on the great fortress of Metz on the Moselle. The combined German armies thereupon concentrated their attack on the French forces covering Metz, and by three bloody battles, culminating in the battle of Gravelotte (August 18th), succeeded in blocking the French retreat and bottling up the best French army in the chief fortress of the eastern frontier. Just before the situation around Metz had become acute, Napoleon made his escape to the army of MacMahon, which he now tried to bring up, as fast as possible, to the relief of Metz. But he was ruinously defeated at Sedan and obliged to surrender with his whole army (September 2d). After a moving interview with King William the fallen emperor was sent to Germany as a prisoner of war.

The investments of Metz and Paris

Thus far the campaign had been managed with extraordinary skill and swiftness on the part of General Moltke. The war had hardly lasted a month, and already Napoleon, at the head of one of the French armies, had been captured, while the second French army, commanded by Bazaine, was locked up in Metz. Apparently, it remained only to march upon Paris and dictate terms of peace. Accordingly, a German army of 200,000 men proceeded westward and toward the end of September undertook the investment of the French capital.

France proclaimed a republic

Meanwhile important developments had occurred in the capital. The calamity of Sedan had hardly become known when the city of Paris rose in indignation against the luckless imperial government. The Empress Eugénie, whom Napoleon had left behind as regent, fled in dismay and, amid scenes of wild disorder, France was declared a republic (September 4th). At the same time a number of men, the most prominent of whom was Gambetta, set up, for the purpose of effectively prosecuting the war, the Government of the National Defence.

Capitulation of Paris followed by peace

The siege of Paris marks the last stage of the war. If the Germans entertained the hope of settling things in a few weeks, they were greatly mistaken. Gambetta, supported by the aroused opinion of the country, made a most active and honorable resistance. But his raw levies were no match, in the long run, for the disciplined soldiers of the enemy. The surrender of Bazaine at Metz, on October 27th, withdrew from the war the last veteran army which France boasted. Undismayed the Parisians held out, until, forced by hunger, they at last, on January 28, 1871, agreed to capitulate. The war was over. In the preliminary Treaty of Versailles (made definitive at Frankfort in May, 1871) France had to buy peace from Germany by paying an indemnity of one billion dollars and by ceding Alsace and a part of

Lorraine. In March the Germans began the evacuation of the French territory.

King William becomes German emperor, January 18, 1871

But it was not the old divided fatherland to which the German soldiers returned. The great victories won by the united efforts of north and south had aroused a boundless enthusiasm. In all circles the feeling prevailed that the present happy military union must take a constitutional form; and, yielding to this sentiment, the South German governments signed agreements with Prussia by which they entered the North German Confederation. It was further stipulated that the completed union was to be called the German Empire, and that its head, the king of Prussia, should take the title German emperor. On January 18, 1871, the completion of the edifice of German unity was proclaimed to the world from the Hall of Mirrors in Louis XIV's sumptuous palace at Versailles. Bismarck, the architect of Germany, was raised to the rank of prince and took the post of chancellor, which, by the terms of the constitution, made him head of the national administration under the emperor.

The Paris Commune

France, in the weeks following the treaty with Germany, went through a terrible crisis. The peace had been authorized by an Assembly which, elected by the people and convened at Bordeaux, had superseded Gambetta's improvised Government of National Defence. This body gave Thiers, a man of conservative views, the provisional executive authority. Being largely composed of monarchists it aroused suspicion among republicans and radicals as to its ultimate intentions. In March, as soon as peace was assured, the Assembly left Bordeaux and moved to Versailles in order to be nearer Paris. Thoroughly persuaded that the next step would be the establishment of a reactionary régime, the extreme radicals, a mixed group of socialists and anarchists, resolved to block action by rising in revolution. Taking possession of Paris, they set up a government which they called the Commune. Commune in French usage means the town or city considered as a political entity, and has nothing whatever in common with what in English is designated as communism. The Commune had no program worth mentioning apart from the purpose of setting up radical Paris as a political entity in as complete independence as possible of conservative France represented by the National Assembly and its executive agent, Thiers.

There followed a bitter civil war which lasted two months (March–

May, 1871). It took the form of a siege of Paris by the national government at Versailles — the second siege sustained by the unfortunate city within a year! The issue was decided by the larger forces and supplies of the national government, and in May the insurgents made their last stand in the heart of the capital. When resistance became useless, a few desperadoes attempted to set fire to Paris and actually succeeded in destroying the Tuileries, the City Hall, and a few other historical structures. The exasperated victors knew no mercy. Thousands of men connected or suspected of connection with the insurrection and representing every shade of radical opinion were shot without trial; thousands more were transported to the colonies or condemned to imprisonment with hard labor. The National Assembly became the unchallenged government of all France. How would it order the future of the country? The year that gave to Germany, which for hundreds of years had been a political laughing-stock, a strong government, brought to France, which for centuries had been the synonym of political strength, a troubled and harassed government faced with the necessity of reconstructing the country from the foundations.

Victory of the National Assembly

Rulers of Prussia and the German Empire
(House of Hohenzollern)

Frederick William III, 1797–1840
Frederick William IV (son of the above), 1840–1861
William I (brother of his predecessor; first German emperor), 1861–1888
Frederick III (son of William I) 1888
William II (son of Frederick III), 1888–1918

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CHAPTER XXVIII

GREAT BRITAIN IN THE NINETEENTH AND TWENTIETH CENTURIES

GREAT BRITAIN IN 1815

The British parliamentary system reared on a narrow property basis

The Great Britain which was victorious over Napoleon and which with its three continental allies undertook in 1815 to reshape Europe was animated by the resentment against the program of the French Revolution common to all the victor powers. This national state of mind found political expression in the domination of the Tory party and in its determination to uphold without change the whole body of inherited institutions. At the core of these institutions was the parliamentary system which, the product of the revolution of 1688, had transferred the political control from the king to the house of Commons and, more immediately, to the ministry (cabinet) representing the majority party in the Commons.[1] Owing to its astonishing success since its creation this British governmental system enjoyed an enormous prestige not only at home but also among the liberal groups of the continent. And yet it was not really liberal or rather it was liberal only in comparison with the absolutism prevailing everywhere else in Europe. Considered in itself it was a system conferring political rights exclusively on property owners and, more particularly, on owners of landed property. Conclusive evidence on this head is supplied by the composition of the two houses of parliament. While it goes without saying that the Lords, a house of feudal, i.e. agrarian, origin and character, consisted predominantly of great landholders, it is less self-evident, but none the less true, that the landed interests dominated also the house of Commons.

The situation in the Commons becomes clear only by an examination of its composition and of the prevailing system of election. There were three classes of constituencies: the *counties* elected 186 members, the *boroughs* 467, and the *universities* 5, making a total membership of 658. Neglecting the university members because numerically unimportant, we may begin with the county members and note that the county franchise was enjoyed by freeholders and was fairly uniform throughout the country. It was the boroughs with their 467 members that chiefly invited the criticism of reformers. By boroughs should be understood what in America are colloquially called towns and cities. In the English boroughs the franchise had been conceded not to the inhabitants but to privileged bodies within each borough. While the electoral system showed much variation from borough to borough, it none the less holds that the privilege of the franchise was, as a rule, so narrowly distributed that the borough members were appointed by no more than a handful of electors. Furthermore, as the list of boroughs having the right of representation had been drawn up in the reign of Charles II and had never since been revised, it happened that not a few had by the vicissitudes of history dwindled to petty villages. Of such reduced boroughs the largest neighboring landowner had usually acquired control and sent up to Westminster some near relative or dependent responsible to no one but the patron who appointed him. Such a borough was picturesquely described as a "pocket" borough. As many other boroughs, nay, the vast majority, depended on so restricted a franchise that the few voters could either be bought or delicately manipulated by socially eminent lords or economically powerful millionaires, it followed that the taunt was justified which referred to the boroughs as generally "rotten."

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[1] See pp. 312; 372–373.

The anomalous electoral system

While pocket and rotten boroughs sufficiently tell the prevailing tale of inequality and corruption, it should be further noted that the south and east of England were favored at the expense of the north and west. This becomes explicable when we recall that the existing system had taken shape in the seventeenth century when the south and east overshadowed the other sections in point of wealth and population. But since the middle of the eighteenth century the Industrial Revolution had produced a startling change. It had brought into existence new towns such as Manchester, Birmingham, and Sheffield in the coal and iron districts of the English north. Themselves totally unrepresented in parliament, they had to put up with the offensive circumstance that vanishing and microscopic communities of the

Under-representation of the industrial north

south, carried in his pocket by some powerful magnate, enjoyed an honor to which the newer, flourishing centers aspired in vain. In sum, the house of Commons did not reflect the British social structure. According to an eminent authority over two-thirds of the total membership were not so much elected as appointed in one way or another by patrons. Under the circumstances, though called the Commons, it belied its name since it represented not the people but a tight little oligarchy of landlords, bankers, and great merchants.

The war with revolutionary France strengthens the Tories

For the period in which it arose this distracting system was, after all, not so very anomalous, for at the end of the seventeenth century the landed aristocracy and the great merchants undoubtedly were the most vital elements of English society. But since the middle of the eighteenth century a change had been going on due to the revolution connected with machines and factories. A new industrial class had come to the front which with its wealth and energy was sure to insist on more adequate political representation. It is highly probable that it would have been heard from before the century came to a close, if the French Revolution had not broken out and, by involving Great Britain in war, had not produced the usual war-time tightening of the reins of government. When in 1815 the victory fell to Great Britain and its allies, the spirit of reaction, as we are aware, triumphed throughout Europe. The victory over Napoleon, won under Tory guidance, so heightened the prestige of the conservatives at home that they were able to extol the inherited system as well-nigh perfect. One enthusiastic lord declared it to be "the best that ever was since the creation of the world and it is not possible to make it better." It was but natural for such a government to identify itself in its foreign policy with the Holy Alliance and in the domestic field to set its face grimly against change.

POLITICAL REFORM AND DEMOCRATIZATION

The Tories encounter opposition

In spite of Tory prejudice and stubbornness, a few years of peace sufficed to blow into flame the justified discontent of the rapidly multiplying middle classes. Most of them, as men of means, possessed a natural caution and asked for nothing more than for political recognition of their type of property (machines, factories, capital); but some of their allies — journalists, pamphleteers, and social students, in short, the important group of intellectuals — went further and, taking their cue from the French

Revolution, set forth such far-reaching demands as universal suffrage and a secret ballot. These men called themselves *radicals* and aroused such fierce indignation among the governing Tories that their agitation was at last suppressed by special acts, the so-called Gag Laws of 1819, which struck at the proud, traditional liberty of Englishmen by severely limiting the freedom of the press and of assembly. None the less the radical critics gradually won over a constantly increasing body of public opinion. Even among the Tories a younger and more elastic group came to see the advisability of offering concessions; and in 1822 with the advent of Canning to the foreign office this group succeeded in persuading the party to inaugurate a modest era of reform.

The Tories make concessions

As has been noted in another connection the first act of Canning on his assumption of the reins of foreign policy was to dissociate himself from the Holy Alliance by supporting revolution in Portugal and in the Spanish colonies. But we are more interested at this juncture in the domestic program of himself and his associates. It was as much of an innovation as his foreign policy, for it broke, albeit gently and indecisively, with the inherited economic system by simplifying the customs tariff. The duties on many articles of import were reduced, while a few duties were actually abolished. More particularly the duty on corn, with which word the English designate all cereal grains, instead of being kept at the established prohibitory figure, was sufficiently lowered to permit a limited importation (1823). All this was not free trade, far from it; but it was a breach with the traditional exaggerated system of protection. In final analysis it was a concession by the ruling landlord group to the new manufacturing and commercial interests which needed open avenues of trade and cheaper foreign food.

Full civil rights given to Dissenters and Catholics

Before long another concession to liberal opinion was recorded in the cancellation of the civil disabilities resting on the descendants of the Puritans, designated by the law as Dissenters. Enjoying since 1689 freedom of worship, the Dissenters had gradually by a process of connivance been admitted to public office, although the so-called Test Acts of Charles II's reign formally excluded them. As there was no use in clinging to laws which were no longer effective, the Test Acts were in 1828 abolished, thus making the Dissenters at last full-fledged citizens in the enjoyment of all the civil rights of Anglicans. While the cancellation of these Acts redounded also to the benefit of Catholics, certain special laws existed which excluded the Catholics from both houses of parliament. The Old Tories, led by their famous man of iron, the duke of Wellington, were very reluctant to admit the Catholics into the national legislature. But Catholic Ireland was prepared to rise in rebellion over the issue and Wellington, in order to avoid the horrors of civil war, in 1829 permitted the Catholic Emancipation Bill to become a law. Therewith an end was made to the religious intolerance which the Reformation and its wars had sunk so deeply in the English and Scottish law and conscience.

The Reform Bill of 1832

With the door thus slowly swinging open to reform it was impossible to avoid the reform of that institution, the parliament, against which criticism aimed its sharpest shafts. As the Tories stubbornly resisted the growing agitation, they were, on the strength of a Whig victory at the polls, replaced in 1831 by a Whig ministry; and in the following year a bill for parliamentary reform at last passed both houses and received the signature of the king. Far from being a radical measure, it was manifestly a patch-work concession to the new manufacturing elements. It did, however, destroy the worst abuses of the old system by abolishing the pocket and rotten boroughs and by creating a more uniform franchise; at the same time it admitted the new towns of the industrial north to representation. Its two main provisions were: (1) *A redistribution of seats.* Seats to the number of 143 were taken from the minor boroughs and redistributed in such a way as to put an end to the most glaring cases of unequal representation. (2) *A more uniform electoral franchise.* In the counties the franchise was given to all holders of land worth £10 a year; also to all tenants-at-will (a peculiar English legal category) of lands worth £50 a year. In the boroughs all occupants of *houses* (whether as owners or tenants) were given the vote, provided the house was worth £10 a year.

Triumph of the middle classes foreshadowed by the Reform Bill

By this reform the total number of voters was about doubled. The increase fell in the counties to the farmers and tenants, in the boroughs to the middle classes. These last were the particular beneficiaries of the act since by reason of the steady expansion of manufactures after 1832 their numbers increased rapidly and they made their power felt more effectively with each new election. It would be an exaggeration to say that by the Reform Bill of 1832 the middle classes leaped at a bound into a position of control; but it would be an entirely fair description of the situation to declare that from 1832 on the middle classes, representing developing industry, were prepared to wrest the power from the older aristocratic interests founded on land tenure. The next generation witnessed a political and social struggle conducted on these lines. In preparation for it the Whigs, who had put through the parliamentary reform and looked to middle class support, reorganized themselves as the Liberal party. Aware that a new time had dawned bringing in its train new problems, the Tories followed the Whig example and presented themselves to the public in the guise of the Conservative party. Henceforth the parliamentary battle was waged between these two heirs of the old Whigs and Tories.

Gradual democratization of Britain

That battle, even when the Conservatives were in power, exhibited the constantly growing ascendancy of reforming and liberal opinion. In order to gain the favor of the widened electorate the former Tories were themselves obliged to become the advocates of change; and conservatism came to mean hardly other than a more reluctant and deliberate form of liberalism. It is therefore less important to follow the succession of ministries after 1832 with their constantly shifting roster of names than to pay attention to the outstanding parliamentary acts by which the government was gradually liberalized, to be at last, in the second half of the nineteenth century, established on a broad democratic foundation. Only the leading stages in this process can be recorded here. It embraces one of the most tremendous revolutions of history, a revolution moreover which has the very rare distinction of having been achieved without the accompaniment of violence.

Reform of local government

With the reform of the central government under way the Liberals could not overlook the local government, where privilege and injustice were as firmly lodged as in the parliament. By a series of acts, of which that dealing with borough government and passed in 1835 is the most important, the administration of county, town, and parish was little by little transferred from the hands of a closed aristocratic circle to elected boards and salaried officials. The act of 1835, known as the Municipal Corporations Act, after destroying the narrow system of privilege under which the towns had hitherto been governed or, more correctly, misgoverned, generously granted the franchise to all taxpayers. Therewith town government in Great Britain became a matter in which all men of property had an interest. It was organized throughout the realm on the same model with administrative responsibility distributed among a mayor, aldermen, and councillors.

Conscious of their increasing power, the urban middle classes were now encouraged to attack the retreating landlords in their most powerful stronghold. This was the Corn Laws. Planned to give the monopoly of the home market to the British growers of breadstuffs, the Corn Laws put so high a tariff on foreign grain as effectively to exclude it. The very rapid growth of the urban population incident to the Industrial Revolution produced a crisis. Not only did the price of bread rise to a fantastically high figure, but Great Britain was really no longer able to provide the quantity of wheat necessary for the sustenance of its people. It was this consideration which had induced even the Tories to favor in 1823 that mitigation of the system of which mention has been made. But the middle classes gradually became persuaded that what the country needed was not mitigation but abolition. They were won to this view by a vigorous agitation for free trade in corn carried on under the auspices of two great leaders, Richard Cobden and John Bright. These men were themselves mill-owners and instinctively and passionately hostile to a profiteering aristocracy. Finally, a terrible famine in Ireland in 1845 precipitated action; and under the general impression that what the British islands needed was plentiful and cheap food, the parliament in 1846 repealed the Corn Laws. The repeal is a landmark. From it dates the decline of farming and the unchallenged ascendancy of manufacturing in the British social-economic system. Wisely or unwisely the country decided to sacrifice agriculture and build its future on the seemingly more promising activities of industry and commerce.

Repeal of the Corn Laws

As soon as the protection of agricultural products had been abandoned there was no object in clinging to any feature whatever of the traditional system of customs duties. In addition to grain, the existing duties protected all articles of home manufacture. But England with its advantage of an earlier start and its vast supplies of coal and iron had so completely outstripped the other countries of the world in machine production that, besides commanding its own market, it freely invaded those of all its neighbors. Having nothing to lose and everything to gain from promoting an intense exchange of goods, the parliament gradually swept away the import duties on hundreds of articles. By 1860 there was only a handful of dutiable articles left. Of these tea, wine, and tobacco were the most important; and even this list was maintained not with a view to protection but solely for revenue purposes. In the course of a few decades of manufacturing and middle class expansion Great

Adoption of free trade

Britain had thrown the old mercantilist theories overboard and committed itself to free trade!

The new masters were not yet sure of their victory over the landlords when they were challenged from an unexpected quarter. Below the middle classes in the social scale were the factory workers. They were increasing in numbers exactly as fast as their employers were increasing in wealth and social prestige. It was they who chiefly peopled the rapidly growing towns. But the capitalists ignored them, and adopting the *laissez-faire* point of view, which preached the non-interference of the state in economic matters, exploited the workers to their heart's content. This situation has been treated in Chapter XXIV. As the new-rich had become identified with the Liberal party, it was highly unlikely that this group of parliamentarians would, unless under compulsion, do anything to right the existing social disequilibrium. It therefore behooved the Conservatives to initiate action; and because they drew their main strength from the old ruling order, which naturally loved to harp on the social iniquities of capitalists and other upstarts, they cautiously took up the cause of the oppressed laborers. Among the timorous reform measures of the Tories in the days of Canning was an act of 1825 which authorized workers to form trade unions "to determine the scale of wages and hours of labor." This was a most valuable economic concession which led some advanced workers to believe that political enfranchisement would follow on its heel. In this they were mistaken. Having in 1832 acquired the vote for itself, the employing class promptly sealed its ears to the clamor of the wage-earners to be admitted to the same privilege.

The workers appear on the scene

But the workingmen were not cowed, especially as they enjoyed the support of a large body of intellectual radicals who supplied leaders and ideas. It was these radicals who in the thirties originated the first great working-class agitation on a large scale. It is known as the Chartist movement from a document, named the People's Charter, which contained the demands of the disfranchised orders. The Chartist movement was based on the conception that the vote was a necessary preliminary to every genuine improvement of the lot of the workingman, and therefore the central and outstanding demand of the People's Charter was universal suffrage. The agitation, attended by many ups and downs, continued for about a decade (1837–48); but as the parliament, satisfied with the existing franchise, refused to pay any attention to it, it ended in

The Chartist agitation

failure. The real reason for its lack of success was that the workingmen were not as yet powerful enough to force the hand of their masters.

The second Reform Bill of 1867

In view of their fiasco the workers after the middle of the century wisely changed their tactics. The law of 1825 had given them the right to form unions; and, temporarily abandoning political action, they contented themselves to conduct a purely economic struggle for reduced hours of work and increased wages. Sometimes by conference with the factory owners, more often by the effective weapon of the strike, they succeeded in considerably ameliorating their conditions of living. And when they now joined their many local unions into a network of great national federations, any demands they might make thereafter were certain to be heard throughout the land. Filled with a new sense of power, they again descended into the arena of politics and this time the parliament could not afford to ignore them. Indeed both the Liberal and the Conservative parties, headed in the sixties respectively by Gladstone and Disraeli, recognized the necessity of yielding to the demands of the trade unions. Ultimately the two parties went the length of competing with each other for the credit of enfranchising the workingmen. It was Disraeli and the Conservatives who, after much political jockeying, in the year 1867 carried the new or second Parliamentary Reform Bill. Far from radical, it was again a moderate measure which followed the lines of the Act of 1832. It deprived a number of smaller boroughs of representation, distributing their seats among the growing urban constituencies; but, above all — and here lies the kernel of the measure — it widened the suffrage. In the case of the counties it cut the property qualification in half, while in the boroughs it enfranchised all *householders*, regardless of the rental value of the house, as well as all *lodgers in tenements* whose lodgings were worth £10 a year. As the skilled mechanics could meet this last condition, it followed that the reform of 1867 substantially enfranchised the unionized workers.

The third Reform Bill of 1884

Conceding that this was a democratic measure, it was not universal suffrage. In their characteristically deliberate manner the British preferred to move slowly and to retain as much of their traditional system as possible. By 1884 they were ready for a third Parliamentary Reform Act, sponsored this time by Gladstone and the Liberal party. By this measure, in an effort to remove certain remaining inequalities, there was again imposed a partial redistribution of seats; but the outstanding feature of the bill was the application of the borough franchise to the counties. In consequence the agricultural laborers, who of course owned no land, were admitted to the vote, provided they were £10 householders or lodgers. It was estimated that after 1885 over 1,800,000 grown men were still excluded from the polls because they could not meet the requirements of the law; but as, for the most part, they were uneducated and unorganized casual laborers, they failed to get a hearing for their case.

The winning of universal male- and female-suffrage

Under these circumstances the issue of a further extension of the parliamentary franchise might have rested, if the British women had not, toward the end of the century, begun an agitation for the political emancipation of their sex. Despite or perhaps because of the extravagant antics of a militant group among them, humorously called suffragettes, successive ministries long refused to make the slightest concession. Then in 1914 the Great War broke out, and in 1918 the government, obliged to recognize the patriotism shown not only by the women of the country but also by the large body of still disfranchised men, brought in and carried what we may call the fourth Parliamentary Reform Bill. Now at last the patch-work procedure of the older bills was dropped in favor of the simple and sweeping principle of universal male suffrage. And not content with the enfranchisement of all men over 21 years of age, the parliament conceded the vote to certain categories of women. Ten years later, in 1928, the female restrictions were cancelled and women admitted to the polls on equal terms with men. An important feature of this latest suffrage bill was that the old distinction of county and borough members was put an end to and the country divided into equal electoral units of 70,000 inhabitants. Since 1832 almost a hundred years had passed and the wheel had come full circle round: oligarchic Great Britain had become a broad-based political democracy.

SOCIAL LEGISLATION

If the progressive democratization of Great Britain may be immediately ascribed to the spread of new ideas and programs, these in their turn, as our story has attempted to make clear, derive from the social-economic changes brought about by the Industrial Revolution. Dynamic ideas do not arise in a vacuum. They spring from an altered social situation and inevitably make their way thence into politics. This hidden nexus is admirably illustrated by the great issue of Social Legislation. We are of course aware that the *laissez-faire* philosophy, with which the middle classes had identified themselves, frowned on Social Legislation as an impairment of the freedom of the employer to make any arrangement he pleased with the individual factory hand. While this demand of the employer conjured up the picture of two equals engaging in an amicable parley before they came to mutually satisfactory terms, the reality was quite otherwise. The hungry, uneducated, and unorganized worker was in the early days absolutely at the mercy of the factory owner, who controlled all avenues to work and could dictate the most hideous conditions before he would permit the starved applicant to lay a hand to the wheel. We have seen that the workingmen protested against the oppression of which they were the victims and, due to their agitation, won first, the right to form unions (1825) and finally (1867), the right of political representation. But long before they gained this latter point, their growing numbers, coupled with the squalor, famine, and disease which surrounded and suffocated them, had invited the attention of humanitarians, novelists, and poets. In the eyes of such men there was something morally wrong with *laissez-faire* and they openly challenged its ascendancy. Only by the state's interfering in behalf of the weak employees against the powerful employers could the intolerable conditions be improved. A ceaseless agitation followed on these lines and gradually obliged the British ruling classes to take cognizance of the brutalities and wanton suffering on which their social structure was reared. In the end parliament was persuaded to undertake, though with the greatest reluctance, to ease the lot of the workers by protective measures. This meant resort to Social Legislation and signified a first, successful modification of the view that the state is properly inspired when it remains a cold, detached observer of the activities of its members.

Social Legislation springs from a new social attitude

In 1833 parliament passed the first act which interfered with the prevalent ruthless system of exploitation. It is called the Factory Act. A more moderate check upon the "freedom of contract" extolled by the employers of labor can hardly be conceived, for the new law declared that children could not be made to work in cotton mills more than nine and youths, that is, adolescents, not more than twelve hours a day. As nothing was said about grown men and women, their working day in such factories

The acts of 1833 and 1842

might continue to run to fourteen or fifteen hours, a figure which was not unusual. But worse than in the cotton mills were the conditions in the coal mines. The scandal cried to heaven and brought about a parliamentary investigation which laid bare to the view of the nation a system which exhibited all the horrors of human slavery. The result was the Mines Act of 1842 which again observed the greatest caution in laying restrictions upon the captains of industry. In fact it did no more than forbid the employment of women of any age and of boys under ten years in underground work.

The making of the labor codes of 1878 and 1901

Slight as the acts of 1833 and 1842 were in themselves, their importance is tremendous in that they denote a new governmental policy. More and more vigorously in the following years parliament assumed the rôle of adjuster and healer of social inequalities, and before long generous and sweeping laws were adopted which fundamentally remodeled the relations between capital and labor. These acts can not be here traced in detail. Let it suffice that they regulated and reduced the hours of labor for every category of worker; provided for heat, light, and air in the factories; instituted protective devices against dangerous machinery; and subjected all factories to rigorous governmental inspection. By 1878 the industrial legislation of Great Britain had grown to such proportions that its parts had to be brought into harmony by being fused into a single Act. And with measures protective of labor dropping after 1878 at an even accelerated pace from the legislative mill a new and more elaborate labor code had to be drawn up in 1901.

The Insurance Legislation of 1906–11

By the beginning of the twentieth century very few people could be found in England who were prepared to uphold the old *laissez-faire* doctrine without considerable subtraction. Indeed the right and duty of the state to protect its weakest members had gained such general recognition that it was no longer stoutly opposed in any quarter. And therewith the ground was cleared for measures which, going beyond the original idea of *protection*, envisaged a program of *financial aid* for workingmen through the channels of the state. It was Bismarck who had pioneered in this particular type of social legislation in connection with his attempt to win the German workers away from the revolutionary Social-democratic party. He favored and in the eighties put through the Reichstag a body of Insurance Legislation for labor which will be examined in its proper place. Early in the twentieth century the British Liberal party won a sweeping victory at the polls largely through the support of the workers, and under the inspiration of the persuasive Lloyd George resolved to attach organized labor permanently to its flag by taking over Bismarck's measures of workingmen insurance. Indeed, as a comparison will show, Lloyd George went farther than his prototype. He argued that the afflictions which render the modern machine worker's lot particularly cruel are sickness, accidents, invalidism through old age, and recurrent unemployment. In the period 1906–11 he and his parliamentary adherents elaborated an amelioration of these four evils in the form of a magnificent Insurance Code. Under this legislation workingmen are paid benefits in the form of medical attention, hospitalization, and money whenever they are incapacitated or thrown out of work from any of the above-specified causes. The vast funds necessary for this immense social service are created by contributions from three sources, the employers, the employed, and the state. If under this arrangement the employers and the state may possibly be conceived as divesting themselves of revenue in behalf of a numerous and heavy-burdened social group, the workers, who are the beneficiaries of the system, are not pauperized, for they are obliged to consent to a not inconsiderable deduction from their wages in order to enter into the enjoyment of the Insurance Legislation.

The Labor party founded in 1900

During the parliamentary battle waged over Lloyd George's insurance program his conservative opponents often taunted him with having gone over to socialism. The charge was not a little plausible in view of the fact that measures of this nature were a feature of every socialist program of Europe. However, it was, as already said, much more a party than a social consideration that moved Lloyd George and the other Liberal leaders to take the course they did. Ever since their enfranchisement in 1867 the workingmen had voted for one or the other of the old parties, though the majority no doubt had attached themselves to the Liberal party. Indeed this party, though middle class in origin and aims, was faced with probable catastrophe without working-class support. By the beginning of the twentieth century that support was by no means any longer a matter of course, for in 1900 the congress of Trade Unions took the momentous step of actively entering politics by founding a party of the workers to be called the Labor party. True, the Trade Union masses tended to cling to the old party allegiances and did not at once obey their leaders. While the parliamentary representation of the Labor party was small at first, it none the less grew with every new election. It is interesting to note that the Insurance benefits, which Lloyd George in the first decade of the twentieth century tossed the workers to hold them in the Liberal ranks, in no way stopped the drift. The Labor party became constantly more powerful right up to the outbreak of the Great War; and no sooner was the war over when its onward march was resumed.

The Labor party twice takes over the government

From the day of its founding the Labor party inclined toward socialism and before long adopted the full socialist program. That means, on the one hand, that it aimed to replace capitalism with a system of production and exchange conducted by the workers in their own interest and, on the other hand, that it became in effect the British branch of the universal Social-democratic party. In the general elections of 1923 the success of the Laborites produced a novel situation. The Liberals fared so badly at the polls that they became numerically the third party, while Labor achieved a representation which brought it face to face with the largest party, the Conservatives. Still the Conservatives could boast no absolute majority in the Commons, and Labor with the passive support of the diminished and chastened Liberals for the first time in history took over the government. Its leader, Ramsay MacDonald, became prime minister. However, his power was too precarious for him to put through any important measure and, before a year had passed, he was defeated and obliged to retire. The new elections were carried by the Conservatives, who under their chief, Stanley Baldwin, took office and conducted the government for the full, lawful term of five years. In the elections of 1929 they suffered defeat, though victorious Labor again failed to obtain an absolute majority. It was a repetition of the situation of 1923. In the name of the Laborites and with promise of support from the Liberals Ramsay MacDonald resumed the ministry with a power as uncertain as before and hence with as little prospect of realizing any essential feature of his socialist program. We may summarize the situation at the close of the third decade of the twentieth century by saying that the parliamentary battle is no longer waged between Liberals and Conservatives but between Conservatives and Socialists. While socialism has become strong enough to endanger the traditional and ruling system, it is not yet in a position to carry through an economic revolution by the deliberate, legal processes to which, rather than to bloodshed and violence, it professes attachment.

IRELAND

The case of Ireland

One of the gravest issues which confronted Great Britain throughout the period after 1815 was Ireland. All the grievances of Ireland at that time can be summed up in a single phrase: it was a conquered country. In order to break its resistance the conquerors had gradually dispossessed the Irish of their land; they had imposed their own Anglican Church upon the island in spite of the fact that the natives staunchly adhered to Catholicism; they had planted Anglo-Scotch colonists in the province of Ulster; they had organized a purely Protestant local administration; and finally, in 1800, they had destroyed the last remnant of Irish independence by merging the Irish parliament with the British parliament at Westminster. Rarely in history has one people forged more terrible chains for another people than the English in the course of centuries of conquest forged for the Irish.

Catholic emancipation, 1829

Not long after 1815 a movement began among the Irish which aimed at removing some of the worst disabilities resting upon them. Its leader was Daniel O'Connell. He directed his efforts against the exceptional laws in force against Catholics and was largely instrumental in producing the legislation of 1829 which won for Catholics throughout the British realm full civil rights. He next agitated for a repeal of the Act of Union (1800) in the hope of gaining for Ireland a modest measure of legislative autonomy. The government met this new activity by suppressing him and his movement by force. However, the Irish, now thoroughly aroused, continued their agitation by means of secret societies which did not scruple to carry on an irregular warfare against the English landlords by maiming cattle, burning farms, and even by occasional murders.

Disestablishment of the Irish Church

By the sixties the anarchic situation on the island had become so intolerable that Gladstone persuaded the Liberal party to attempt to mollify the Irish by removing some of the more conspicuous evils of which they complained. In 1869 he succeeded in putting an act through parliament which disestablished the Anglican Church in Ireland, known to the law under the derisive name of the Irish Church. Therewith the hated tithes, which the Catholic peasants had been compelled to pay for the maintenance of a religious establishment scrupulously avoided by them, were abolished. True, the Anglican Church was permitted to retain its buildings and a part of its estates. But as it was reduced to the same legal footing as the Catholic Church and every other denomination established on the island, the principle of religious equality was securely anchored in the law.

Gladstone attacks the land problem

This resolute step toward righting Irish wrongs Gladstone immediately followed by another. In 1870 he passed the first Land Act, a measure modest in scope but aiming to give a certain degree of protection to the native tenants of the land against the legal owners. To grasp the situation we must recall that, as a result of the confiscations of the previous centuries, the landlords were not only, generally speaking, Englishmen but, in addition, absentees who managed their estates through agents. Owing to the fact that the law had been made by the conquerors, the Irish peasants, who tilled the soil without possessing it, enjoyed no security on their farms and could be evicted from them at the pleasure of the owners. A more recent evil, overpopulation, made a bad situation worse by inducing the peasants to raise the rent on themselves by bidding recklessly against each other for their relatively tiny and unproductive holdings. Of this particular affliction, it is true, the terrible famine of 1845, of which we have heard in connection with the repeal of the Corn Laws, produced a partial mitigation by inducing the peasants to emigrate in swarms to hospitable America.

The Irish reacquire the land

What the Act of 1870 and a second Gladstonian measure of 1881 tried to do was to curtail the power of the landlords and give the farmers a better tenure. But no sooner had the Irish gained this point than they made it plain that nothing short of complete repossession of the land would satisfy them. In 1891 the Conservative ministry of Lord Salisbury, weary of the endless turmoil on the lesser island, resolved on a heroic measure. It brought forward and carried the Land Purchase Act which invited the peasants to buy the lands they occupied out of a fund put at their disposal by the government. Prospective purchasers had to agree to reimburse the government by means of small annual interest payments extending over a number of decades. The Land Purchase Act of 1891, together with supplementary legislation enacted during the succeeding decade, has gone far toward settling the vexed land question by abolishing the foreign landlords and raising the Irish farmers to the level of active and self-respecting peasant-proprietors.

The parliamentary vicissitudes of home rule

Meanwhile the movement for autonomy or home rule begun by O'Connell had never entirely died out, in spite of governmental persecution. In the eighties it powerfully revived under the guidance of a clever politician, Parnell, who resolved to employ his following of approximately 80 Irish members to paralyze the business of the house of Commons until home rule was given a fair hearing. As noise-makers and obstructionists the Parnellites set up a world record. Then, in 1885, a brilliant opportunity presented itself. As a result of the elections of that year neither Conservatives nor Liberals commanded a majority without Irish help. Accordingly the Liberals, eager for office, entered into an agreement with the Irish by virtue of which, in return for Parnell's support, Gladstone promised to back the Irish demand. However, his Home Rule Bill was defeated in the Commons by the defection of a section of the Liberal party (1886). On returning to office in 1895 Gladstone successfully pushed a second Home Rule Bill through the lower house only to have it defeated in the upper house, the Lords. Thereupon for more than a decade, during which the Conservatives governed the country, the home rule issue slumbered. Even after the Liberals had again gained power (1906), they failed to take action on home rule until a decline in the number of their supporters forced them once more to seek the alliance of the Irish party. As a result a third Home Rule Bill was introduced into the Commons in 1912 which passed that body and would, in 1914, have gone into effect, had it not been suspended by the outbreak of the World War.

Protestant Ulster rejects home rule

At this juncture it becomes necessary to observe that after 1912 the chief objection to Irish autonomy came no longer from the English or their parliament but from the Anglo-Scotch colonists settled since the seventeenth century in the province of Ulster. Constituting a powerful and active group of Protestant farmers and industrialists grouped around the thriving city of Belfast, they refused to be separated from the mother-country and prepared to resist the application to themselves of home rule with force. But violence begets violence; and the uncompromising attitude of the Protestant North had the effect of bringing the uncompromising elements of the Catholic South to the front as the true champions of the Irish cause. They were organized under the Celtic name of *Sinn Fein*, which means Ourselves Alone; and gradually discarding the idea of autonomy, they aimed at a complete separation from Great Britain and the establishment of an Irish republic. On Easter day, 1916, a small extremist group of Sinn Feiners, taking advantage of the embarrassment of the British lion caught in the net of the World War, suddenly rose in rebellion. With a force hurriedly dispatched to the Irish shores the London government swiftly and bloodily suppressed the mad attempt.

The Government of Ireland Act of 1920

Although the Irish masses had not supported the armed rebellion of 1916, its ruthless suppression caused them to abandon home rule for the program of independence and they became Sinn Feiners almost to a man. On the termination of the World War the Irish problem therefore presented an entirely new face: the suspended Home Rule Act of 1914 was rejected by the Irish of the North because it conceded too much and by the Irish of the South because it did not concede enough. It had therefore to be abandoned, while a passionate unrest, accompanied by wild excesses of arson and murder, seized upon the whole country. In an effort to compose the fierce civil strife the British parliament passed (1920) a new Government of Ireland Act. Frankly acknowledging that Ireland was made up of two different peoples, it created two states, North and South, each with its own parliament and executive. The Irish North, consisting of six counties of northeastern Ulster, was hardly one-sixth as large as the Irish South, but, in evidence of its greater prosperity, it contained about one-third of the total population of the island. By the new Act, the North secured, together with a measure of autonomy, continued representation in the British parliament at Westminster, a privilege which the South was only too happy to renounce.

Ireland composed of two states: Northern Ireland and the Irish Free State

Against the settlement of 1920, which the North accepted, the South raised a wild outcry and resumed the irregular guerrilla warfare with greater zest than ever. As the country was being slowly ruined by these excesses, a group of leading Sinn Feiners resolved to apply the brakes and signed (1921) an agreement with the British government at London which represented a compromise. While the demand for unqualified independence in the form of an Irish republic was surrendered by the Irish negotiators, they were offered and they accepted the same generous measure of self-government as is enjoyed by Canada and the other free dominions of Great Britain. In sign of its new dignity, the southern section was to be known as the Irish Free State. A group of irreconcilable republicans under DeValera refused to accept this, on the whole, auspicious settlement. They even went the length of armed resistance, which was not broken by the constituted authorities till 1923. Since then the Irish Free State, boasting its own president and legislature but still subject to Great Britain in a few matters such as national defense, has strengthened its foundations as a free dominion of the British Empire. Its two leading political problems are first, the republicans under DeValera, who, though now reduced to a constitutional opposition, are powerful and active; and second, the separate existence of Northern Ireland. North and South have thus far proved irreconcilable and each goes its own way, but the geographic situation and the economic necessities are such that until the two groups agree upon a wholehearted and harmonious coöperation Ireland will labor under heavy disadvantages and fail to win its due place among the nations of the world.

THE BRITISH EMPIRE

The marvelous expansion of the British Empire

Far and away the most important development since 1815 within the whole range of British interests has been the continued marvelous expansion of the British Empire. While the eighteenth century had brought Great Britain a secure ascendancy in Canada and India, it had more than balanced this advantage by the loss of the prosperous colonies destined to become that vast and powerful commonwealth, the United States of America. There followed the conflict with Napoleon which brought victory to Great Britain and confirmed its command of the seas. From this unchallenged supremacy over the earth's waters, taken in connection with the rapid multiplication of British trade under the stimulus of the Industrial Revolution, there sprang a new era of colonial expansion so extraordinary that it actually threw the earlier era into the shade.

The main centers of expansion

To begin with 1815, the Viennese settlement of this year poured into Britain's lap a veritable cornucopia of strategic naval stations, such as Malta, Ceylon, and Heligoland. Best of all, it yielded the important African colony of the Dutch, the Cape of Good Hope. From these key positions added to those secured in the eighteenth century there proceeded a development which has continued without check throughout the nineteenth century down to the present day. Let us enumerate the chief centers of this unrivaled expansion.

1. *India.* 2. *Canada.* These two prizes of eighteenth century activity were, in their original form, no more than footholds for future enterprise. The opportunity afforded led, in the case of India, not only to the piecemeal subjection of the whole of the vast Indian peninsula but also, in the interest of security, to the conquest of a broad belt of territory to the east, north, and west. The rule of this extended India is equivalent to the control of southern Asia. In the case of Canada the territory wrested from France in the Treaty of Paris (1763) was in effect no more than the course of the St. Lawrence river. By the forward drive of the new colonial movement the vast stretches to the west and north of the Great Lakes, uninhabited except for a few roving bands of redmen, were gradually opened to white settlement. The winning of this immense neglected area lying to the north of the United States went forward by orderly stages until in our own day the Dominion of Canada presents itself to view as a rapidly growing civilized community in which the mother-land salutes with pride one of its most promising offspring.

3. *South Africa.* From the Cape of Good Hope as a starting-point British colonial enterprise pushed inland and clashed, before long, with the descendants of the Dutch, called Boers, who, in the capacity of farmers and herders, had spread over the vast South African veld. There followed serious friction which ended, in the beginning of the twentieth century, with the subjection of the Boers and the extension of British control over South Africa. When Germany was defeated in the World War her colony, South West Africa, was added to the mass.

4. *Egypt.* In the last quarter of the nineteenth century Great Britain acquired Egypt in order to secure the mastery of the Suez canal. Presently she pushed thence up the Nile into the tropical Sudan. The southward push from Egypt, taken in connection with the northward push from the Cape, quite naturally suggested the advantage of bringing the intermediate equatorial jungle under subjection. The plan made steady progress but was not fully realized till the World War brought Britain, as one of the rewards of victory, the German colony of East Africa. Therewith a continuous African territory stretching the length of the continent fell to the lot of London and the long-mooted all-British Cape-to-Cairo Railway was brought within the range of possibilities.

5. *Australia.* Because of its great distance from Europe, as well as on account of its apparent barrenness, the island-continent of Australia was neglected in the eighteenth century. With the development of steam navigation it became more accessible and was gradually explored and opened for systematic colonization. Almost completely uninhabited, it was, like Canada, new land which could be settled without encountering the embarrassing problems arising from the presence of a backward and hostile native population.

The Empire enfolds the earth

While India, Canada, South Africa, Egypt, and Australia constitute the shining jewels in the British crown, they are set about and their brilliancy enhanced by almost countless smaller precious stones in the form of scattered possessions, chiefly islands, distributed over the face of all the Seven Seas. They enable Great Britain to maintain a network of communication by ship and cable which enfolds the inhabited earth and is focused at London. By the beginning of the twentieth century the Empire embraced nearly a quarter of the land surface of the globe and slightly more than a quarter of the world's population. And the World War, though Britain won it in conjunction with a score of allies, added almost the whole of the German colonial territory to the bulk of British lands.

Created by trade and maintained by a navy

How was this enormous Empire assembled and how is it held together? The prime mover and upholder has been and is undoubtedly trade. The British merchant, sometimes alone, more often in association with others, pushed his way into all the regions of the earth and tied them up with himself and with one another by the strong ties of material interest. The British Empire is in the first instance a vast trading community. Very appropriately therefore Great Britain itself, the heart of the Empire, is commonly bodied forth as John Bull or J. B., as he is called for short. A solid personage, eminently practical, J. B. is usually pictured as the hearty captain of a merchant ship or as sitting comfortably on a wharf amidst crowded bales and boxes. But let us make no mistake: behind the British traders and their peaceful vessels there looms impressively an invincible navy; and on this instrument of power the immense colonial structure ultimately rests. Never since defeating the navies of the continental powers and achieving the control of the seas has Great Britain relaxed its vigilance or modified its policy aiming at maintaining the leading navy of the world — never till the Naval Conference of 1930. In that year

London was obliged to concede theoretical parity to the United States in order to escape a naval race, in which she was threatened with defeat at the hands of a state with a longer purse. This does not alter the fact that trade and sea power in subtle, masterful interpenetration have made up the imperial cement that holds together the diverse parts of the British realm. Just as appropriately therefore as by John Bull, the mother-country is represented by the helmeted Britannia, who with the trident in her hand rules the waters of the earth and threatens all the shores.

Varieties of colonial government

If we ask next what form of government has been evolved for this Empire, we note at once that, warned by the revolt of the American colonies, the London authorities gradually abandoned the eighteenth century idea that colonies exist for the exclusive benefit of the mother-country. The conception gained ground, and in the course of the nineteenth century has been more and more generally applied, that they have a right to their own life and that, in evidence thereof, they should be accorded a measure of self-government. How far the self-government might go would vary from case to case and be determined in the main by the degree of civilization attained by the colony in question. On the strength of this criterion we may say, speaking summarily, that the colonies came, in the second half of the nineteenth century, to fall into two groups: (1) self-governing colonies and (2) governed colonies. *Self-governing Colonies.* Such are the colonies of settlement, whose white population, being of the same stock as that of the mother-land, was increasingly entrusted with the management of its own affairs. Conspicuous members of this group are Canada, Australia, New Zealand, and Cape Colony (or South Africa). When the component provinces, into which, on the increase of population, these large areas had been subdivided, were adjudged to have given proof of their political capacity, they were conceded the additional privilege to federate, thus enabling them to secure the strength and dignity conferred by political union. By the twentieth century the several colonial federations had reached such numbers, wealth, and vigor that they made another advance: they lost their colonial status and, in the character of dominions, were acknowledged as practically the equals of the mother-country. *Governed Colonies.* Their characteristic feature is the powerful governor sent from London, although with few exceptions they have been given a certain amount of local representation. Colonies of this type are in the main inhabited by non-

European peoples, black or brown; and the theory is that these backward races are not yet capable of self-government but will receive it in proportion to their advance in civilization. Far and away the most important colonies of this class are India and Egypt.

With these general principles in mind we may glance at the development which has taken place among the leading members of both the self-governing and governed groups.

The Dominion of Canada. The slow but steady flow of British immigrants into Canada led in 1837 to serious unrest. The people demanded what they called "responsible" government, that is, the cessation of interference on the part of the appointed governor with the conduct of local affairs. When the Westminster parliament wisely conceded the point, there followed a rapid growth of the four eastern provinces, Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, Quebec, and Ontario. Before another generation had passed they came to see the advantage of federation. Again the homeland met the colonies halfway, and in 1867 by the passage of the British North America Act authorized the four contiguous colonies to form the Dominion of Canada. A governor-general sent from London continues to represent the Crown but his functions are largely ornamental. Full legislative power is exercised by the two houses of parliament, the senate and the house of Commons. In imitation of the system of the homeland the house of Commons is practically omnipotent since the executive power rests with the cabinet which represents the majority party of the lower house. The constitutive provinces have not disappeared. In the manner of the component states of the great neighbor to the south they continue to attend to strictly local interests. In measure as the territory to the west became settled, it was organized into provincial units and was on application taken into the Dominion. In this way first, Manitoba and British Columbia (1870–71), and finally, Alberta and Saskatchewan (1905) were joined up with the territory to the east until the Dominion of Canada at the present day represents an assembly of states stretching majestically from the Atlantic to the Pacific Ocean.

The Commonwealth of Australia. Very much as in the case of Canada an uninterrupted stream of immigration to Australia led to the formation of several distinct provinces. Immediately after the middle of the nineteenth century four of them, New South Wales, Victoria, Tasmania, and South Australia were already self-governing under their own constitutions. In the following decades Queensland

and West Australia were added to the list. On their indicating a desire to federate they met with nothing but encouragement from London with the result that on January 1, 1901, a new political entity, the Commonwealth of Australia came into being. Its constitution provides, as in the case of the Dominion of Canada, for parliamentary government with a ruling cabinet responsible to the lower house. It should not be overlooked that the island group of New Zealand, owing to its lying at a distance of 1200 miles from the mainland, refused to join Australia and was in 1907 raised to a parity with its neighbor under the title of a dominion.

The Union of South Africa. The development of Cape Colony proceeded much more deliberately than that of the regions just examined because of two points of difference. Instead of playing a lone hand, the British encountered in South Africa two hostile populations, the descendants of their Dutch predecessors, called Boers, and a numerous body of indigenous blacks. Not till the second half of the nineteenth century did Cape Colony and Natal to the northeast of it acquire self-government. By that time many of the Boers, finding British rule distasteful, had trekked into the wide veld to the north of the Cape and founded the two republics of the Orange River and the Transvaal. In 1884 the quiet existence of these communities of primitive farmers was suddenly threatened by the discovery of gold, for greed of the precious metal drew a horde of adventurers, chiefly British, into the land. Flocking thither in ever greater numbers, they demanded citizenship with the ultimate object of bringing the Boer states under the British flag. When the farmers resisted, a condition of friction resulted which finally led to war. In a prolonged struggle (1899–1902) the Boers defended themselves with the utmost valor though without avail in the face of the resources commanded by the greatest Empire in the world. When they at last acquiesced in the extinction of their republics, Great Britain conceded them honorable terms and, before long, even restored to them a measure of self-government. This enabled them to see that they now had identical interests with the neighbor regions of the Cape and Natal. The four provinces accordingly entered into conversations and in 1909, with the sanction of the London masters, agreed on the formation of the South African Union. The constitution guaranteed complete equality to the two white peoples and to their respective languages; but it refused citizen rights to the native blacks, who outnumber the whites in the ratio of four to one. Of many grave problems, this is the gravest problem of the Union. Because, in the face of their numerical inferiority, the whites felt the need of a strong government, they inordinately strengthened the central institutions at the expense of that of the original provinces. This centralization represents a significant departure from the course followed in the related cases of Canada and Australia.

Among the many British possessions of a dependent status India and Egypt easily overtop the rest. And each is in all respects so different from the other that it constitutes a special case.

India. The sub-tropical peninsula called India is so effectively cut off from the mass of Asia to the north by the high and difficult barrier of the Himalaya mountains that it may be regarded as in effect a separate continent. It boasts an immense population of 325,000,000 inhabitants, a number only slightly under that of all Europe. Far from constituting a unified body, the Indians fall into forty or fifty distinct races which employ more than one hundred different languages. The leading element of union among them is the Hindu religion which commands about 200,000,000 votaries. About 70,000,000 people profess Mohammedanism and exhibit an open or concealed animosity against the Hindu majority. Overpopulation, recurrent famine, the caste system with its insuperable social barriers, and the incurable spiritual rift between Mohammedans and Hindus made India a very anarchic area long before the British conquest. Having come for purposes of trade, the conquerors were primarily interested in imposing peace and, to their own advantage as well as that of their numerous subjects, have succeeded in this object. The other age-long troubles they have not reduced. As these ills were not of British making, the conquerors have not regarded them as their particular problem.

The administration of the country was originally entrusted to the merchants of the East India Company. Of course they were chiefly interested in drawing the greatest possible profits out of the natives. When scandals became frequent and cried to heaven, the home government interfered and in the days of the younger Pitt (1784) assumed the task of supervising the Company by means of a Board of Control. Meanwhile the territory ruled by the British was being steadily enlarged by ambitious governors on the ground. Either the native rulers were dispossessed and their lands annexed by force or they were brought by judicious threats into a relation of vassalage. This movement of domestic expansion continued far into the nineteenth century. At the same time military expeditions were sent across the boundary and a wide belt of territory secured which served as a protective wall around the peninsula. Then, in sign that all was not well with the expanding dominion, there occurred the Sepoy Mutiny of 1857. The sepoys were the native soldiers in the employ of the India Company. Becoming disaffected, they rose against their British masters and were only with the greatest difficulty and expense again reduced to obedience. Inevitably this grave event shook the confidence of Englishmen in the capacity of the Company and, in response to the general clamor, it was suppressed (1858) after a not inglorious existence of two and a half centuries. At the same time the British government completely took over the administration, vesting control in a secretary of state for India, who was a member of the British cabinet, and in a governor-general or viceroy, who represented the cabinet in the great dependency and served as the head of the local government.

Although the number of educated and westernized Indians grew considerably in the second half of the nineteenth century, and although this element began an agitation in favor of participation in the rule of the land, the masters met this criticism with discouragingly slight concessions. Then in 1914 came the World War, in which India rendered Great Britain notable services expressed in terms of both men and money. In reward the parliament passed an India Bill (1919) which provided a certain measure of self-government by giving the native population representation in an Indian legislature and on an executive council located at Calcutta. It was not enough in the eyes of young India infected by the nationalism imported from Europe and craving the self-determination proclaimed as a universal right by the victors in the war. The agitation for an enlarged home rule has continued unchecked in spite of the post-war concessions. At times it has reached such heat as to threaten explosion. Young India passionately contends that the country is ripe to take over its own affairs. For a time the nationalists were satisfied to demand the status of a self-governing dominion within the British Empire. Latterly they have gone beyond this program and in a great congress held at Lahore at the close of 1929 asked for complete independence. Under the influence of the most famous of their leaders, the saintly Mahatma Ghandi, the congress voted to attain its goal by measures of a non-violent character, such as civil disobedience and the nonpayment of taxes. Another, milder group of Indian nationalists is willing to accept the dominion status to which the Labor government of Ramsay MacDonald committed itself on November 1, 1929, in the hope of allaying Indian unrest. Because the promise fixed no date for inaugurating the dominion status, it produced little or no effect. By the spring of 1930 the civil disobedience movement had got under way, and taken over, as was to be expected, by violent elements, eventuated in frequent bloody clashes between scattered groups of rebels and the Indian government.

The question may fairly be raised whether India is at this time prepared to take over the responsibilities of either dominion status or complete independence. In view of the enormous problems presented by an illiterate and divided population a measure of doubt is unescapable. However, the national sentiment has been successfully mobilized and it is difficult to see how it can be resisted. India is one of the gravest of the many grave problems facing contemporary Britain.

Egypt. The lively interest of Britain in the fabulous land of the Nile dates from the Suez canal. It was in 1869 that the isthmus of Suez was pierced with a waterway dug by the French engineer, de Lesseps, on the strength of a concession granted to a private company by the khedive of Egypt. British commerce at once adopted the new route to India and the British government realized with chagrin that a nerve-center, enormously important to its security, was not subject to its control. However, the khedive proved a poor guardian of an invaluable portal. With such oriental lavishness did he squander his revenues and so deeply did he sink into debt to European usurers that in the year 1878 France and Great Britain stepped in to put him under their financial tutelage. When this indignity produced an uprising of the Egyptian people which brought a nationalist government to the helm, France accepted the situation. But Great Britain, more deeply committed to the Nile basin than France, neither would nor could accept it. In 1882 she sent a military expedition to Egypt which occupied the country by force of arms.

Therewith Egypt became to all intents a British colony, although the khedive was retained as the head of the local government and his continued (nominal) subjection to the Turkish sultan was not challenged. The British imposed an efficient administration and brought many material benefits to the people by sweeping economic reforms. Among other enterprises they constructed a great dam at Assuan, which made possible the reclaiming of thousands of acres from the desert by irrigation. But these advantages did not hinder the Egyptians from persistently agitating in favor of the independence they had lost. When the World War broke out in 1914, Egypt proved immensely valuable to Britain as a base of operations against the sultan of Turkey. Aware that one good turn deserves another, the nationalists at the close of the struggle demanded their liberty with a unanimity and, finally, a frenzy which could not be ignored. Prolonged negotiations led in 1922 to a treaty, whereby the British protectorate was declared at an end and the reigning khedive, Fuad I, in sign of his independent status, was hailed as king. However, the British reserved to themselves the right to occupy the Suez canal with troops and to exercise a veiled sort of paramountcy over the whole land. The partial concessions of 1922 did not satisfy the powerful party of independence and the situation remained clouded. It added to the confusion that the British intended to keep the upper Nile area, the Sudan, which the Egyptians looked upon as at least partially theirs. In an effort to solve the long crisis the Labor government of Ramsay MacDonald in 1929–30 offered somewhat better terms, without however surrendering the British contentions touching the canal zone and the Sudan. It would appear that Egypt, although now technically independent, will not be permitted to enjoy her sovereignty without sacrificing a notable fraction of it to the vital interests of the British Empire.

The British Commonwealth of Nations

The imperial story we have traced shows, on the one hand, the transformation of the colonies of white settlement into federated dominions enjoying all but complete independence, and, on the other hand, a nationalist movement among the dark-skinned peoples, more particularly the Indians and Egyptians, whereby they have considerably improved their political status. Since the federated dominions are no longer in any true sense colonies, an attempt has been made in recent decades to bring them into association with the homeland on a new and voluntary basis. As a result periodic meetings have been held in London attended by the premiers of the self-governing states which discussed the measures necessary to realize an imperial federation culminating in some sort of super-government. Although great good will was manifested, the economic interests of the widely separated dominions have proved too diverse as yet to make such a union feasible. Thus far at least the imperial federation movement has brought forth fruits less of a tangible than of an intangible, moral kind; in other words, the oversea dominions have been content steadily to strengthen the precious cultural bonds binding them to the mother-country. In the great crisis of the World War they came swiftly to her support and of their own free will laid their love and treasure at her feet. Their reward came when, through the intervention of the British delegates at Paris, they secured representation in the League of Nations, the new world parliament. Their membership in this body may be regarded as the declaration that their dominion status is tantamount to independence. Indeed, besides allegiance to the king, there is at present little of a legal, constitutional nature left which binds them to the mother-country. In compensation for her material losses Great Britain, seeing eye to eye with these, her children come of age, has the firm assurance of spirit-ties joining them to her more valuable than any bond created by compulsion. The new relationship is effectively indicated by the dropping, in respect to these dominions, of the old term, British Empire. Properly regarded, the British Empire has perished to be replaced by the British Commonwealth of Nations.

The outlook

In respect to the countless coaling stations and naval bases in all the waters of the earth and to the long roster of colonies of yellow, brown, and black peoples in Africa and Asia, the old Empire, seeking the profits of commerce and resting on irresistible naval and military power, continues essentially in its traditional form. A line of possible change has been indicated in our discussion of recent developments in India and Egypt. The non-European peoples are no longer so docile as they once were and give not only Great Britain but every other colonial power deep concern. Will they advance by orderly stages to full self-government? Will the mother-country stubbornly resist their emancipation or sympathetically promote it according to occasion and circumstances? If Great Britain has every reason to look with pride on the rise of her colonies of settlement to a flourishing manhood, she can not fail to be seriously disturbed by the ever increasing difficulties offered by her numerous dependencies of alien peoples.

FOREIGN POLICY

The foreign policy of Great Britain in the period under discussion was formulated with primary reference to the interests of her vast Empire. The immediate instrument of foreign policy is diplomacy, which attempts by means of negotiations and treaties to regulate the rivalries and conflicts arising from contact with other states. The last resort of diplomacy is war. Since Great Britain has pursued her great aim of imperial expansion by every means at her disposal, she has very naturally piled up a record of almost countless wars. In their vast preponderance they have been of a colonial order and were neither particularly dangerous nor costly. They were waged on the borders of India against Burmese and Afghans; or in Arabia against desert tribes who obstructed trade; or in Africa against dark-skinned Zulus and Sudanese. And usually every war of this sort added another territory to the ever waxing British realm. Even the war waged with China in 1840 may be classified as a colonial war, since China had no modern weapons and at the first discharge of artillery fell over like a house of cards. This war illustrates the most brutal and repulsive side in these ventures of a ruthless imperialism. It originated in the refusal of China to permit the importation of opium from India. As this was too lucrative a trade to surrender the British sent an expedition into Chinese waters which obliged the orientals to continue to consume the drug. Not content with again forcing the use of opium on their victims, the British, by way of additional punishment, appropriated the island of Hong Kong. Of a higher nature than this wanton invasion of Chinese rights was the war with Egypt in 1882, although it, too, was essentially a colonial event. Even the long and ferocious struggle with the Boers (1899–1902) may be defined as colonial because waged with a provincial people which blocked the movement of British expansion at a crucial point.

War as the instrument of empire

The European wars of Great Britain since 1815

A war is no longer a colonial war when the London cabinet clashes with an European rival commanding military equipment and financial resources on an approximate level with its own. Following the overthrow of Napoleon, the British managed to avoid an European war until 1854 when they entered into an alliance with France against Russia. The objective of the allies, which they completely attained, was to hinder Russia from getting control of the Ottoman Empire. In 1878 Russia and Great Britain came within an eye-lash of clashing once again over the same issue. In the last quarter of the nineteenth century the five continental powers, for reasons to be examined later, fell into two opposed groups, Germany, Austria, and Italy lining up on one side, and France and Russia on the other. At the same time an era of frenzied imperialism led to a general scramble for all the backward areas of the world which still remained unclaimed. In such a race among the European powers Great Britain quite naturally took her place at the head of the procession, and presently found her interest best served by attaching herself to the Franco-Russian group. There was thus created the Triple entente which faced the Triple alliance. All this constitutes an intricate story of international diplomacy and will be recounted in due course, especially as it proved to be the diplomatic curtain-raiser to that drama of an unfettered imperialism called the World War.

Sovereigns of Great Britain Since the Eighteenth Century

George III, 1760–1820
George IV (son of George III), 1820–1830
William IV (younger brother of George IV), 1830–1837
Victoria (niece of William IV; *m.* Albert of Saxe-Coburg) 1837–1901
Edward VII (son of Victoria and Albert), 1901–1910
George V (son of Edward VII), 1910–

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CHAPTER XXIX

ITALY, FRANCE, GERMANY, AND AUSTRIA-HUNGARY TO THE OUTBREAK OF THE WORLD WAR

ITALY

Italian divisions continue in spite of unification

The kingdom of Italy, whose history we have followed to the capture of Rome in 1870, was based on a constitution which established a parliamentary form of government. The upper house, the Senate, was a body of notables appointed by the king and possessed of little power, while the lower house, called the chamber of Deputies, controlled the cabinet or ministry, which effectively ruled the country. It was constitutionally the English system. In spite of the fact that the new state had been precipitately formed by joining together territories dissociated for centuries, it was thought wise to give it a centralized administration by means of agents, called prefects. The prefects were appointed by the cabinet and represented the government in the component provinces. Thus centralized, new Italy may be said administratively to have copied France. Such close outward unification did not, however, eradicate the inner cleavages inherited from the past. Lombardy continued to look with suspicion on Piedmont; Tuscany had little or no sympathy for the problems of Sicily; and so on through the whole list of the former political divisions. Consequently when the deputies came up to the capital, to Rome, they did not hesitate to use their best efforts to procure advantages for their immediate constituents without regard to the interest of the nation as a whole. In short, with political unity achieved, the no less important moral and cultural unity remained still to be effected. People had for so many centuries been Lombards, Neapolitans, and Romans that it was only natural that they could not at once divest themselves of their past and feel and act as Italians.

Of all the many inherited differences the worst was less of a provincial than a geographical nature and dug a veritable chasm right across the middle of the peninsula at about the latitude of Rome. Owing to conditions reaching far back into the past, the Italian north was socially and economically an entirely different world from the Italian south. During the Renaissance the north had developed numerous and prosperous cities with an appropriate urban culture, whereas the south had remained contentedly feudal and agrarian. This distinction still obtained when the new kingdom was founded; and in spite of every effort on the part of the new government to eliminate it, it rules the situation to the present hour with almost undiminished force. In the south the chief wealth is land. It is held in large estates by the descendants of old feudal barons, for whom it is cultivated not by peasants working each his own inherited holding but by gangs of laborers constituting an agricultural proletariat. In the north, on the other hand, the land is held to a very large extent by a free peasantry, which has perforce a very different outlook on life from the serf-like children of the soil to be found south of the capital. More important still, the dominant economic factor in the north is not the land or the countryside but the town. True, the once prosperous and vital towns of the valleys of the Po and Arno had in the post-Renaissance period fallen into considerable decline; but they had never ceased to cherish their great traditions, and with the nineteenth century expansion of commerce and industry they had girded their loins to renew the race with their urban competitors of France, Germany, and England.

Cleavage between north and south

In this notable resolution the towns were badly handicapped by the poverty of Italy in natural resources. The peninsula has no coal and little iron, that is, it is deficient in the raw materials which constitute the substantial basis of the modern machine industry. Italy was obliged to import these articles from England and Germany, thus making them unduly expensive. Fortunately a substitute for coal was gradually secured through the development of electricity from the ample streams flowing from the Alps. The Italians refer to the upland snows which feed their streams as "white coal"; and from its increasing transformation into motive power they confidently expect a more intensive industrialization. Everything considered, the Italians had up to 1914 made notable progress in appropriating for themselves the benefits of the Industrial Revolution; but for the reasons indicated the movement was strictly limited to the north. While this region exhibited the familiar phenomena of multiplying factories and banks, of organized workers leaning toward socialism, and of an influential popular press, the south showed little change except in so far as the crisis, which

Industrialization of the north

overtook European agriculture in general after the abundant American foodstuffs found their way across the Atlantic, spread a deplorable distress among the Italian farm-hands coupled with a savage revolutionary unrest.

Measures to improve the south

It would be unfair not to admit that the Italian government recognized from the start that the bridging of the chasm between north and south must needs be one of its main concerns. The two sections were to be assimilated by the raising of the backward medieval area first, to the moral and cultural, and finally, to the economic level of the more advanced region. We can do no more than indicate some of the measures adopted toward that end. Railroads and highways were built to facilitate communications in a country unfamiliar with the advantages of trade and travel. One of the worst heritages of the tyrannical and at the same time feeble Bourbon government was the curse of brigandage which rested on the former kingdom of Naples. It required veritable military expeditions before the organized robber bands were mopped up, but after some years the work had been accomplished. Secret criminal societies, the *camorra* in Naples and the *mafia* in Sicily, had for ages terrorized their helpless fellow-citizens. Cautiously the government declared war on them, cautiously because in the face of their great power the government itself was none too strong. While it forced these predatory elements somewhat to draw in their horns, such was the immense subterranean power they commanded that the twentieth century found them, discredited perhaps but still throwing their evil shadow across the southern scene.

Slow advance of education

The most effective tool, however, for breaking down the barriers of ignorance and evil custom was not the army or the police but without doubt the school. The educational situation even in the north was not encouraging at the time of the founding of the kingdom. Illiteracy was general, proceeding from bad to worse in measure as the enquirer penetrated deeper into the Italian boot. Owing to the great poverty of the population and the consequent lack of public funds, the establishment of a broad system of elementary education was delayed till 1877. A bill passed in that year making education free and compulsory for all children indicated good intentions but failed to become immediately effective because there was not enough money on hand to build schools overnight and to train and hire teachers. In the course of the following decades a slow improvement took place so that by the beginning of the twentieth century schools had greatly multiplied and illiteracy been much reduced. Finally, on the eve of the World War illiteracy in the northern provinces had been cut down to twenty-five per cent of the population, while in the south something more than fifty per cent of the people had not yet learned to read and write. But let us make no mistake. If the gap between north and south was being closed, Italy was not yet a united nation. Indeed so radically different is the social and economic structure of the two areas that it is doubtful whether they can ever be reduced to a common denominator.

Heavy taxes; a vast public debt

Another problem of the new state arose from the inadequate revenues and the heavy taxation which was made necessary in order to meet expenditures. Again let us take note that Italy, although one of the most beautiful countries in the world, is poor even in those agricultural resources which are its mainstay. On beginning its existence as a united kingdom, it was obliged not only to set up an expensive administration and build ports, railroads, and highways, but also, since it craved to be a great power, to create an army and a navy. In consequence there was an annual deficit which produced a steadily mounting national debt together with a ceaseless tightening of the tax-screw. It is doubtful if any people of Europe has been so severely and ingeniously taxed as the Italians. As a result the Italians achieved, in proportion to their population and national income, a dizzier height of national indebtedness than France or England. At the turn of the century, however, there was an improvement. The annual deficit was overcome; the budget was balanced; and the taxes, though remaining a cruel load, did not at least increase. In short, Italy was by way of overcoming its financial difficulties due to the economic progress it was making. Manufactures were increasing, especially in silk and cotton fabrics; and the foreign trade showed a consistent upward movement. In the urban north such industrial centers as Milan and Turin expanded rapidly. Their large bodies of workers formed trade unions, agitated for better hours and wages by means of strikes, and wrung concessions from the government which took the familiar form of labor legislation. Undeniably Italy was going the road already traveled by the countries which had led the way in modern development. Though continuing to lag behind its richer neighbors, it could take legitimate pride in having met and mastered many of the difficulties which confronted it.

One of the difficulties Italy has not mastered springs from overpopulation and its attendant evil, emigration. Having one of the highest birth-rates in the world, Italy has experienced a steady growth in numbers. But expanding industry was not able to absorb all of the human increase, especially as the south did not become industrialized. To make the situation worse, agriculture, the only important occupation of the region south of Rome, entered upon a grave crisis in the eighties. As already hinted, it was in part produced by the flood of cheap foodstuffs and citrous fruits from America; but another factor entered into the situation. Some of the landlords, turning to the newer capitalist methods of production, introduced machinery and consequently employed fewer men. What could the increasing army of the unemployed do but emigrate? Unskilled field-workers, they had nothing to offer but their hands, their common labor, which turned out to be the very article in eager demand in countries experiencing a rapid development. In the decade and a half before the World War a half million Italians were, on the average, annually abandoning their native land. They flowed in rivulets into every industrial country of Europe but in broad streams into such new regions as the United States of America and the Argentine. The vast preponderance came from the backward south, thus making it quite clear that the lack of industry in this region plus the agrarian crisis furnished the explanation of the exodus.

Overpopulation and emigration

Emigration proved to be a social safety-valve and has been welcomed as such by many intelligent Italians. But projecting our thought into the future, let us ask ourselves what will happen when the countries, which have hitherto received the Italian overflow, undertake to check it by restrictive legislation? Italy will be threatened with explosion! Against this disaster a wise government will have to make provision not by attacking emigration, which is no more than a symptom of economic disequilibrium, but by curbing overpopulation through inculcating birth-control. Whether an Italian government can be found prepared to advocate this both lauded and abused measure of relief remains to be seen.

Italy needs emigration to avoid explosion

Another grave issue has been the relation of the new kingdom to the pope. In consequence of the unification movement the Holy Father gradually lost his territories and in 1870 was obliged to surrender Rome itself to the victor. Although he appealed to Catholics throughout the world for help and received abundant material and spiritual evidences of their sympathy, no existing government was willing to come actively to his support. He was in his own eyes a prisoner and in order to live up to this theory refused ever to leave the Vatican palace in which he resided. To counteract papal propaganda and meet, if possible, justifiable Catholic expectations, the Italian parliament passed in 1871 the so-called Law of Papal Guarantees. Thereby the kingdom pledged itself to look upon the pope as a sovereign on a par with the Italian monarch; to permit him to use the Italian post, telegraph, and railways free of all interference from the state; to suffer him to send and receive ambassadors without the exercise of any supervision; in brief, to concede him all the rights traditionally associated with sovereignty. Two notable additional features of the arrangement were first, that the pope was to receive over half a million dollars annually from the national treasury as an indemnity for his losses; and second, that his two great palaces in Rome, the Vatican and the Lateran, were to be extra-territorial, that is, they were to be regarded as legally outside of Italy and hence not subject to Italian authority.

Law of Papal Guarantees, 1871

This law, because passed by the parliament, bound Italy but it did not bind the pope. Pius IX rejected it with every show of scorn on the ground that his acceptance would be construed as a blanket pardon issued to the Italian state for its many usurpations. His successors throughout the period under review have taken the same stand. Even before the seizure of Rome Pius IX had gone the length of forbidding faithful Catholics to vote in national elections or to hold office under the king. More than thirty years after its publication this prohibition, known as *non expedit*, was withdrawn by Pius X, who occupied the throne of St. Peter during the decade preceding the World War. The withdrawal was very generally interpreted as a first step toward the reconciliation of state and Church. That opinion turned out to be premature. Since king and pope dwelt side by side in the same community, they did, even in the days of the unbending Pius IX, work out by under-cover negotiations a sort of *modus vivendi*. To this the successors of Pius IX were willing to adhere. Occasionally, as the case of Pius X proves, they even went beyond it. But for a broad reconciliation on any basis the state might see fit to offer, the popes were not at that time prepared. Therefore the latent war between papal and royal Rome, between Church and state, continued unabated.

Latent war between Italy and the pope

Like all modern states which have committed themselves to machine production and popular education, Italy has become increasingly democratic. On the founding of the kingdom tax-paying and educational qualifications limited the franchise to a small number of well-to-do citizens. Then in 1882 a law was passed by parliament which first, reduced the property qualification and, next, in order to stimulate education, offered the vote to all males who could read and write. The masses refused to be satisfied with this reform and their continued agitation produced at length the measure of 1912 which practically established universal male suffrage. The question of admitting women to the vote did not arise till after the World War.

Democratization of the franchise

The foreign policy of Italy, like the foreign policy of all the European states after 1870, was inspired by the related forces of nationalism and imperialism. Nationalism concerned itself more particularly with winning for Italy the various near-by areas inhabited by Italians but belonging to other states. The most hotly coveted of these lay in Austria-Hungary and comprised the Trentino, that is, the area around the Alpine city of Trent, and the important Adriatic port of Trieste. The Trentino and Trieste were regarded as the enslaved children of a common mother, as unredeemed Italy (*Italia irredenta*); and nationalism itself in consequence assumed the name of irredentism. But in so far as Italians took a wider view of national expansion, they embraced within their survey the whole Mediterranean basin and its dependent regions. Capitalists, company promoters, and manufacturers largely made up this category of patriots, and desiring, like their kind throughout Europe, new markets and colonies, they may very properly be classified as imperialists. The government was urged by both irredentists and imperialists to take action in the foreign field in accordance with their particular wishes; but for a long time it maintained a hesitating attitude. If it yielded to the irredentists, it would have to reckon on a war with Austria; if it let itself be swayed by the imperialists there was the prospect of a clash with Great Britain and France, which between them ruled the Mediterranean.

Foreign policy swayed by national and imperialist considerations

No decisive step was taken till 1881. In that year France, already in possession of Algeria, suddenly pounced on the adjoining territory of Tunis. This carried her colonial empire to within a short sea passage of the island of Sicily; and Italy, which had long desired Tunis for itself but had been afraid to act, resented the encroachment. So general was the wrath against

Italy joins the Triple alliance

France that the government took the significant step of seeking the support of Germany, the rival and enemy of France. Negotiations with Berlin culminated in Italy's joining the existing partnership of Germany and Austria, thus constituting the league of the three central European states known as the Triple alliance (1882).

Italy's failure to conquer Abyssinia

The consequences of this commitment are easy to grasp: the irredentist (nationalist) movement was discouraged by the government as offensive to Italy's new ally, Austria, while the imperialist movement received official sanction. Fortified by the Triple alliance, the government plunged more boldly into the field of African politics without, however, achieving anything that could be described as an unbroken success. It was the misfortune of Italy that Great Britain and France had already picked up the desirable African areas, such as Egypt and Algeria, leaving for the younger power no more than poor crumbs from their full board. None the less the country was minded to go ahead and fixed its attention on the African region to the southwest of the Red sea. Having acquired a foothold on that sea and on the neighboring Indian ocean by means of the two colonies, called Eritrea and Somaliland, it was induced to regard these relatively worthless possessions as a convenient base to seize the economically valuable kingdom of Abyssinia, which lay between them. To this plan the Abyssinians, a hardy and warlike people, offered a valiant resistance and in 1896, at Adowa, practically annihilated the Italian army, which had been sent against them. Thus ended the first great imperialist enterprise of the young kingdom. The independence of Abyssinia had to be formally acknowledged by the defeated aggressor.

Italy acquires Tripoli (Libya)

Somewhat sobered, the country refused for a while to sanction further colonial ventures. Without abandoning the Triple alliance the government resolved to reëstablish good relations with France, and in 1902 signed a secret agreement pledging itself not to take part in a war of aggression against the republic. In return for this assurance France agreed to interpose no difficulties if Italy should at some future time see fit to occupy the north African territory of Tripoli. It goes without saying that the Franco-Italian understanding of 1902 enfeebled the structure of the Triple alliance. None the less Italy clung to this association to the very eve of the World War, thereby illustrating the shifty practices, which under the increasing imperialist competition of the period characterized not only her but, in varying measure, every other

European power. Although the Roman government was now assured that France would not interpose her veto in case Tripoli were seized, it did not act at once. The chief reason for the postponement was that Tripoli belonged to Turkey, which was certain to resent its seizure. But as delay did not remove this difficulty, Italy in 1911 at last brought her courage to the sticking-point, swooped down on her African quarry, and harvested, as she had feared would be the case, a war with the Ottoman Empire. However, the war was not seriously waged by this enfeebled state, which, before many months had passed, recognized that it must come to terms with the aggressor. In 1912 Tripoli, rebaptized Libya by its conquerors, became an Italian colony.

The victory of 1912 popularizes war

Unfortunately, except for a narrow strip along the shore, Libya is a trackless sand waste incapable of being made fruitful or of absorbing any considerable group of colonists. None the less the Tripoli venture was enthusiastically endorsed by the Italian people. Nor was it surprising that the delighted government should have argued that since the citizens applauded the acquisition of a useless desert, they would certainly not fail to support an effort to gain possession of the small but populous, unredeemed areas close at hand. This signified the revival of irredentism. It was systematically fanned into flame by its nationalist supporters and largely determined the attitude of both the government and the people of Italy at the outbreak of the World War.

Kings of Italy from 1861 to 1914

Victor Emmanuel II, 1861–78
Humbert I, 1878–1900
Victor Emmanuel III, 1900–

FRANCE

The National Assembly monarchist in sentiment

On the defeat of France by Germany in 1870–71 the government passed into the hands of the National Assembly. It was this body which made peace with the victor. At the same time it was obliged to put down the savage insurrection of the Paris radicals familiar under the name of the Commune. Thereafter it was free to give its attention to the business for which it was chiefly called together, that is, to give the country a definitive government. Perhaps because the elections to the Assembly had occurred during the distractions of the war, perhaps because the sentiment of the country was not yet friendly to republicanism, about 500 out of the 700 deputies elected were monarchists. Nothing therefore would have been easier than to abolish the republic, provisionally proclaimed on September 4, 1870, if only the monarchists could have agreed on a monarch. But it was here that a hitch occurred. A large body of Orleanists desired to restore the grandson of Louis Philip, deposed in 1848; a smaller body of legitimists held out for the grandson of Charles X, deposed in 1830; and a handful of deputies were even found audacious enough to champion the young son of Napoleon III, deposed in 1870.

Failure of the monarchist plot of 1873

Under the circumstances the monarchists so successfully frustrated themselves that they lost their cause. Only once, in 1873, did a ray of hope illumine their sky. In that year the Orleanists and legitimists, who between them commanded an easy majority, came to terms. They agreed that the legitimist chief, the count of Chambord, should be made king on the understanding, made possible by the fact that he had no children, that he would accept as his successor his Orleanist cousin, the count of Paris. So far so good. But the count of Chambord was a rock-ribbed Bourbon; and when he now declared that he would rule under no other flag than under the white lily banner of his ancestors, the restoration project immediately and irreparably collapsed. The Orleanists, who, as far back as 1830, had accepted the revolutionary tricolor (red, blue, and white), were fully convinced that the country would never renounce the newer symbol.

A republican constitution reluctantly drawn up

With the greatest reluctance the Assembly, balked of its hope to establish a monarchy, familiarized itself with the idea of a republic. The former Orleanist, Thiers, who had provisionally been made president, indicated the gradual swing away from a monarchy when he coined the phrase: "The republic divides us least." However, when he undertook to act on his conviction and leaned somewhat too openly toward a republic, the monarchical majority punished him by deposition (1873) and elevated a general and an avowed monarchist, Marshal MacMahon, to the presidency. However, as a king acceptable to the majority could not be found and as the Assembly, called to give France a permanent government, could not go on sitting forever, in the period 1873–75 a constitution was at last drawn up.

Although the new constitution avoided the use of the word republic, it none the less in effect established that form of government. The executive was vested in a president elected for a term of seven years by the two houses of the legislature meeting in common session.

The two houses were called the Senate and chamber of Deputies respectively. While the senators were elected by local departmental bodies, the deputies, since they were thought of as the immediate agents of the nation, were elected on the basis of universal manhood suffrage. As the ministry, which rules the country, must command a majority in the chamber of Deputies, this latter body is the kernel of the system. Its predominance so strikingly parallels that of the British house of Commons that the government of the French republic may be put in the same category as that of its neighbor across the channel. It may therefore be described as a parliamentary government with a purely decorative president charged, like the British king, with the exercise of largely representative functions.

The leading features of the constitution

When, on the disappearance of the National Assembly (1875), fresh elections were held, the republicans won a majority of the seats in the chamber of Deputies. The proof was thus given that the country was being converted to republican ideas. Of course the monarchists did not give up the fight, but their continued divisions proved their impotence and lost them the favor of the voters. In the elections of 1879 the upper house, too, was carried by the republicans. Thereupon the monarchist President MacMahon saw that the game was lost and resigned. He was replaced by Grévy, a thorough-going republican. Thus, after a decade of uncertainty, France had become endowed with a constitution, a legislature, and an executive that were all republican. More and more firmly with each succeeding decade the republic became established in the hearts and minds of the citizen body with the result that the monarchists gradually dwindled away to a negligible faction.

Republicanization of the government

In the light of its history since 1879 the republic may be described as democratic, nationalist, anti-clerical, capitalist, and bourgeois. That means that the candidates of the republican middle classes have consistently enjoyed the favor of the electors and have been able to pass the laws and impose the policies which accorded with their outlook and their interests. Of course they have encountered opposition, on the one hand, from the monarchists and their close allies, the clericals, on the other hand and in steadily increasing measure, from the workingmen represented by the socialists. The middle class republicans thus constitute a central moderate mass flanked by radical extremes. They have not failed, when hard pressed, to make concessions both to the

The republic controlled by the bourgeoisie

Right and to the Left, more particularly to the Left in the form of that Social or Labor Legislation with which every modern country has attempted to protect its industrial population against the extreme exploitation of the capitalists. The French labor code follows the same lines but does not go so far as the codes of Great Britain and Germany. Despite such legislative favors to opponents, the history of the Third Republic remains, as stated, the record of an unusually capable, energetic, and successful bourgeoisie.

The republic strongly centralized

An examination of the administrative system of the republic will bear out this contention. The centralization imposed on France by the first Napoleon and symbolized by the prefect, who is appointed by and remains responsible to the national government, so exactly suited the unitarian sympathies of the bourgeoisie that no attempt was made to alter it. It was the middle classes, let us always remember, who first raised the cry: France one and indivisible! A slight concession to local opinion may be seen in the fact that with the prefect, head of the administrative unit called department, was associated a general council of the department elected by manhood suffrage. However, as the central government reserved to itself the right to veto any act of the general council, the omnipotence of the ministry and of its agent, the prefect, was hardly impaired.

The republic develops a strong army and navy

Among the earliest measures of the republic was the complete reorganization of the army, as was only natural after the military chaos precipitated by the German victory. It was natural, too, to imitate the system of the victors by adopting the principle of universal, compulsory military service. This signified that every Frenchman, unless excused on account of some genuine infirmity, received the training of a soldier and was liable to service in time of war. Strongly and even excessively patriotic in accordance with French middle class tradition, the republican government has, since its establishment, spared no expenditures on either the army or navy and by tireless efforts has attempted to keep them on the same level of efficiency as the forces of the great rival nation to the east.

More than by any other group of measures has the internal history of the Third Republic been colored by its open anti-clericalism. There are many reasons why the Catholic Church drew the fire of the republicans. Ever since the eighteenth century the French middle class has been critical of the Church and been swayed more or less by a sceptical, Voltairean philosophy. This of itself might not have led to action if in the decade of 1870 to 1880, when the republic was obliged to fight for its life, the Church had not hotly supported the cause of monarchy. No sooner did the republicans come into secure possession of the government than they showed their hand by launching a campaign for a public school system to be maintained by the state. This was considered to be an open attack on the Church on two excellent grounds: first, because the Church had always insisted that the education of the young was its own proper function; second, because in so far as there already existed a general primary school system in France it was under ecclesiastical direction. To be sure, the relatively large number of French illiterates proved that the Church had not taken its educational task very seriously. Although the country's poor showing amply justified reform, it is undeniable that the republicans were moved to action chiefly by reason of their desire to weaken the alliance of monarchists and clericals. Beginning with 1881 they enacted a number of educational laws which gradually gave France a magnificent new system of public schools, wherein instruction was given free of charge by teachers who were not priests but laymen specially trained in normal schools maintained for this purpose by the state.

The country gets a system of lay schools

The inauguration of a rival, state-controlled system of education moved the Church to make a belated effort to extend and render proficient its own hitherto neglected system. Unless it began a competition with the state it was clear that it would lose its hold on the youth of the nation. Church schools therefore multiplied rapidly and in them, in sharp contrast with the state schools, instruction was given by special teaching orders of Catholic brothers and sisters. Thus France, which had always conspicuously lacked primary schools, suddenly had too many, that is, it had two rival systems competing with each other for the favor of the public! Not only did this competition frequently assume an exacerbated form, but the ecclesiastical schools were too often successful owing to the decisive moral influence exercised by the parish clergy over the minds of the peasants. Against the wishes of the priest these simple folk did not dare send their children to the state schools, even though there was no tuition to pay. At last the state resolved to end the conflict and set up an educational monopoly by closing the ecclesiastical schools. Instead, however, of striking a direct blow at them, it passed (1901) the Law of Associations which

Enforced closing of the Church schools

forbade a member of any unauthorized order (or association) to give instruction in a French school. As the ecclesiastical schools were staffed by orders (both brothers and sisters) which had never received formal authorization from the state, the teachers were automatically eliminated and most of the institutions obliged to close their doors. In this manner the issue was decided in favor of the national system of lay schools maintained by public taxation. Its merit is eloquently attested by the steady fall of the illiteracy figure. By 1912 only four per cent of the army recruits could no longer read and write.

The Law of Separation of Church and state

Warming to the combat, the anti-clerical majority in the chamber of Deputies now resolved to attack the Church in its last stronghold, the Concordat of 1801.[1] By this arrangement state and Church were closely tied up together, the most conspicuous single bond between them being the obligation assumed by the state to pay the salaries of the clergy. To put an end once and for all to the principle of mutual dependence and in order to set each of the former partners firmly on his own feet, the legislature enacted in 1905 the Law of Separation between Church and state. By its terms the Concordat was abrogated; the state ceased to pay the salaries of priests and bishops; and the famous seizure of ecclesiastical property of the year 1789 was duplicated by the appropriation of the very extensive property assembled by the Church since that time. However, the government did not want public worship to cease. It professed to be anti-clerical, not anti-Christian. The bill therefore provided that the seized churches were to be made over to associations of Catholic laymen, who, on pledging to the state submission to its laws, might hand them over to the clergy for religious services.

The crisis of 1905-7

From this feature of the law it is plain that its success depended on the willingness of the worshipers to form lay associations. In many cases they were disposed to do so, even though tradition was against the practice; for the rule in the Catholic Church had been for centuries that not the laity but the clergy must assume full administrative responsibility in ecclesiastical affairs. However, before any particular headway had been made the pope took a hand in the affair. This was Pius X, who in a public declaration condemned the Law of Separation *in toto* as an infringement of the rights of the Church and ordered French Catholics to reject it. A complete deadlock ensued. For a period it seemed likely that the police would close the churches and bring public worship to an end throughout the country. In order not to offer this extreme offense to Catholic sentiment the parliament at last wisely gave way and canceled the requirement touching the formation of lay associations. By a supplementary act of 1907 the priests were permitted to take over the churches on signing an agreement with the mayors of the towns acting in behalf of the government. On this basis public worship has continued without interruption ever since. But the last word has not yet been spoken in the matter. Church and state have been separated as the law lays down, but the Church regards itself as wronged and awaits a favorable opportunity to restore its fortunes.

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[1] See p. 446.

The Boulanger crisis

It was the ill luck of the republic that, established late and only after a fierce contest, it developed a fighting spirit and, as the struggle just examined indicates, was tempted to push its policies to the limit. If an excuse were needed for this attitude, it might be found in the bitter animosity and subterranean plotting of its main enemies, the royalists and clericals. On two occasions at least they precipitated a crisis which all but overthrew the republic. The one carries the label Boulanger, the other the label Dreyfus. Boulanger was a general, who toward the end of the eighties resolved to take advantage of the fact that the majority of the army officers were inspired with monarchical and clerical sentiments. He aroused their enthusiasm by promising to lead them in a war of revenge against Germany; and he brought over to his side the Parisian rabble by riding down the avenue on a black war-horse and offering, with a gesture in the direction of the parliament, to throw the rascals out. As there were some indubitable rascals in the seats of authority this was a popular rallying-cry. Luckily for the republic the brave general turned out to be a man of putty. When his plot had ripened to the point which required him to step out into the open, his courage failed him and he fled ignominiously to Belgium (1889). He had probably never been very dangerous in himself. The peril to the republic lay in the men who hid behind him.

The Dreyfus incident

In sharp contrast to General Boulanger, Dreyfus was not the agent of the clerico-royalist cabal but its victim. A republican and a Jew, he had entered the army and risen to the rank of captain. His religious faith and political connections made him distasteful to his Catholic and monarchical fellow-officers and induced a number of them to plot his ruin. They forged documents which pretended to prove that he had sold valuable military secrets to Germany. Arrested and convicted, he was deprived of his epaulets and sword in a colorful public ceremony and then committed to prison on a desolate island off the coast of South America. The sentence befell in 1894 and met with universal approval as bringing a traitor to the reward which was his due. But after a few years facts came to light which pointed to the innocence of Dreyfus; and a movement for a re-trial developed which became irresistible when the famous novelist, Zola, put himself at its head. Meanwhile the whole body of monarchists and clericals had foolishly identified themselves with the original, small group of plotters and moved heaven and earth to keep the case from being reopened. In the end, though only after a crisis lasting a decade, the revisionists won and experienced the satisfaction of having the wronged captain not only publicly cleared of the charges against him but even triumphantly restored to his proper rank in the army. Particularly revolting to Frenchmen was the revelation afforded by the long-drawn-out Dreyfus agitation that the army was honeycombed with anti-republican sentiments. Resolved that this condition should not continue, the government dismissed the worst reactionaries from the service and took measures to train an officer body devoted to the democratic régime. The Dreyfus case was a trial of strength between the republic and its reactionary enemies and the republic had won.

A new era of colonial expansion begun in 1830

A characteristic interest of the dominant French bourgeoisie was to promote material prosperity in every possible way. Attentive to the counsels of bankers and capitalists, the parliament strongly supported public works such as highways, railroads, canals, and harbors. Above all, it threw itself enthusiastically into colonial expansion. Colonialism, it is true, represented no new departure for France. As early as the eighteenth century the country had acquired a trans-oceanic empire, which, however, except for a few insignificant fragments, it had been obliged to surrender to Great Britain by the Peace of Paris of 1763. In 1830, under the restored Bourbons, France initiated a new era of expansion by directing an expedition against Algeria, opposite her own southern shore. King Louis Philip, who followed Charles X, continued the Algerian policy; and when Napoleon III took over the government, he in turn built upon the work of his predecessors until by uninterrupted fighting against the war-like Mohammedan natives he had brought the Algerian shore and a vast hinterland under his scepter. Before he could do much toward developing the economic potentialities of his conquest, his fate overtook him at

Sedan. Nor is this the whole story. Ambitious to improve his colonial position in every way, Napoleon III had strengthened the French hold on the Senegal river district in western Africa and raised the tricolor over Cochin-China in southeastern Asia.

Growth of an African empire

As soon as the Third Republic had become firmly established, it went in vigorously for expansion, using the existing colonies as a base of action. The successes achieved in the period here under review are nothing short of amazing. They endowed France with a colonial empire second only to those of Great Britain and Russia. The main effort of the republican empire-builders was directed upon northwestern Africa. In 1881 Tunis was seized from under the nose of Italy, as it were, with the result that Italy, cheated of its hopes, sought consolation by joining Germany and Austria and constituting the Triple alliance. Presently the French began a systematic penetration southward from Algeria and Tunis into the Sahara and by feeling their way inland at the same time from Senegal, the Ivory Coast, and the Congo river system, got into their possession practically the whole northwestern mass of the black continent. The different parts of this vast area are of very unequal value. Its core, the Sahara desert, is for the present a complete liability, while the colonies on the gulf of Guinea coast afford a limited opportunity for trade in such tropical products as cocoa, palm-oil, rubber, and mahogany. Algeria and Tunis, on the other hand, are in another category. They are not unsuited for settlement by whites and under stimulation from French capital have become increasingly productive in dates, figs, and citrous fruits. The immense potentiality of these two Mediterranean regions is proved by the fact that their trade with the homeland has risen by leaps and bounds.

Conquest of Morocco

Considered as a whole, the value of the French African empire must be regarded as very great. With a view to making its position impregnable, the government formed, in the first decade of the twentieth century, the project of acquiring the independent sultanate of Morocco to the west of Algeria. As Morocco was coveted also by all the other powers, a difficult and strained situation was created which more than once threatened to plunge Europe into war. We shall examine the Morocco incident when we review the pre-war diplomacy of Europe as a whole. It will suffice at this juncture if we record the success of the French Moroccan plans, for they culminated in 1912 in the incorporation of all but a northern belt — which went to Spain — in the African empire of the republic.

Expansion in Asia

Of less value than this African expansion but still important are the republic's acquisitions in Asia. From the foothold at Cochin-China the French have penetrated northward, seized Annam and Tonkin, and merged their various conquests into a dependency to which they have given the name of Indo-China. A number of island possessions, more particularly Madagascar, off the southeastern coast of Africa, give to France a number of way-stations to the east which contribute greatly to the security of her Asiatic dependency.

The forces which determined French foreign policy

The foreign policy of France between 1870 and 1914 was determined first, by her position in Europe, and second, by her colonial ambitions. As her traditional primacy on the continent had been overthrown by the victory over her of Germany, her wounded pride filled her with an unwavering antagonism toward her eastern neighbor. In 1890 she entered into friendly relations with Russia, which ripened into the famous Dual alliance and gave France an improved standing as against Germany, fortified since 1882 by the Triple alliance. In the pursuit of her colonial ambitions she followed the elastic policy of entering into negotiations with the other colonial powers, according to the necessities of the moment. This bargaining culminated in 1904 in a sweeping colonial agreement with Great Britain. The crux of this agreement was that, in return for surrendering her claims in Egypt, she received the British assent to her Moroccan program. Great Britain, thus brought close to France, undertook to cultivate closer ties with France's ally, Russia, and from the spinning of these various threads there sprang, around 1908, the so-called Triple entente. This diplomatic development, the story of which is reserved to a later chapter, is briefly mentioned here to bring out the fact that France, like all the other powers, was moved in her foreign policy by two master-influences, distinct and yet related. These were nationalism and imperialism. Nationalism prompted her more particularly to set about restoring her position in Europe as against Germany; imperialism with its search for markets and colonies moved her to enlarge her control of sparsely settled and backward areas with all the energy at her command.

Presidents of France from 1871 to 1914

Adolphe Thiers, 1871–73
Marshal MacMahon, 1873–79
Jules Grévy, 1879–87
F. Sadi Carnot, 1887–94
Casimir Périer, 1894–95
Félix Faure, 1895–99
Emile Loubet, 1899–1906
Armand Fallières, 1906–13
Raymond Poincaré, 1913–20

GERMANY

The German Empire, forged in the fire of three wars fought between 1864 and 1871, rested on the constitution of 1867 together with the modifications adopted on the occasion of the incorporation in the Empire of the four South German states (1871). The constitution, which, like the Empire, was the personal work of Bismarck, aimed at combining three factors: (1) the ascendancy of Prussia, (2) the self-government of the twenty-five component states, and (3) the national solidarity of the German people. This was natural and justified because these three factors actually ruled the domestic situation. Accordingly Bismarck made special provision for each. To Prussia he secured a dominant position within the federation and to the king of Prussia the headship of the new state with the title of German emperor; to the component states he guaranteed their semi-sovereignty by leaving them in control of local interests and by giving them representation in the upper house, the *Bundesrath;* to the German people he conceded the opportunity to voice their opinion by means of a lower house, the *Reichstag*, elected by universal manhood suffrage. We may agree that the architect of German unity desired to establish an equilibrium among the three historical forces with which he was obliged to deal. However, he was himself a Prussian and owed his notable achievement to the power of the Prussian state. We therefore need not be surprised that, perhaps as unconsciously as consciously, he tipped the balance in favor of Prussia by shaping the constitution in such a way as to make Prussia count for more than the other two factors.

The German constitution

It might be contended with good show of reason that no other outcome than this was possible, since Prussia was twice as large as all the other German states put together and boasted twice as many inhabitants. In simple truth what was the new German Empire but a somewhat enlarged Prussia? This much established, the social-political consequences must be carefully noted. Prussia had until 1848 been an absolute monarchy; and even under the constitution of 1849 the king continued to dominate the administration. Furthermore, Prussia was still, in spite of the advance of industry, an agrarian state, wherein the landholders, called Junkers, played the leading rôle. Hence the predominance of Prussia signified the predominance of conservative influences coupled with a resolute resistance to liberal and democratic currents.

Significance of Prussian predominance

The popular house, the Reichstag, had admittedly great powers since it voted the taxes and framed all legislation. But it did not control the chancellor and the other ministers, who were appointed and dismissed by the emperor at his pleasure. In other words, while Germany had a constitutional government, it did not, like Great Britain, France, and Italy, have a parliamentary one. Liberalism in its many varieties down to extreme radicalism could speak and agitate, but conservatism was in the saddle.

Industrialization and its political consequences

The outstanding event in the domestic history of the new Empire between 1871 and 1914 was its rapid and thorough-going industrialization. Already by the turn of the century Germany had, in the production of machinery and machine-made goods, overtaken the other countries of Europe with the exception of Great Britain; and in the twentieth century it pressed more and more closely on British heels. Socially and politically this signified a steady advance of the middle classes. Even though the government, itself conservative, favored the conservative landlords, it could not ignore the rising bourgeoisie, especially as it did not fail to see that this urban group produced the increasing wealth by reason of which Germany was engaged in winning a larger consideration in the councils of the nations. Bismarck himself, chancellor and head of the government under the emperor, favored the middle classes, although that does not mean that he was minded to resign the power into their hands. On the contrary, in his opinion the emperor and ministry were at all costs to retain the direction of affairs; but with an eye to the economic development of Germany the chancellor had no objection to giving the form of law to a large part of the liberal program of the middle classes.

Germany endowed with modern institutions

During the first decade of the new Empire the coöperation between Bismarck and the urban groups represented in the National Liberal party was very close. It was facilitated by the circumstance that the great statesman by unifying Germany had realized the old dream of the middle classes and thus become a patriotic idol, whom it was customary to regard with almost religious reverence. With such a leader the middle classes were proud to be associated in the legislation of the Reichstag. Accordingly they enacted under Bismarckian inspiration a body of laws which deserve to be sketched because they gave the new German state an efficient modern character. The divergent coinage systems of divided Germany were replaced by a single system of which the unit was the *mark* (worth about 24 cents). A central national bank, called the *Reichsbank*, was set up to give stability to the national finances. The many crazy systems of weights and measures were replaced by the metric system invented in France during the great Revolution and adopted, on account of its convenience, by numerous other countries. Owing to the prestige enjoyed by the Prussian army system after the victories of 1864, 1866, and 1870, it was extended to the south German states. Theoretically the middle classes, as liberals, were opposed to a powerful standing army. But like all the world they bowed to success and could, besides, salve their conscience by means of the central feature of the army system, which was universal compulsory service and which, as falling on all alike, had a democratic ring.

The reorganization of the courts and the law

One of the most constructive measures of this period of organization consisted in remodeling the whole system of national justice. The law courts were endowed with a simplified and uniform procedure and the whole edifice crowned with a Supreme Court of the Empire located at Leipzig. At the same time commissions of jurists were empowered to prepare new and modernized codes of both criminal and civil law. Of course such codifications, reminiscent of Justinian and Napoleon I, require careful and prolonged study. In due time the new codes were presented to the Reichstag and, after a searching revision, were made the basis of a uniform and improved justice.

The *Kulturkampf*

A quarrel with the Catholic Church belongs to this decade of harmonious coöperation between the Liberals and him whom they admiringly called the Iron Chancellor. Although the quarrel was not of bourgeois origin, burgherdom in Germany, exactly as in France, was unfriendly to ecclesiastical pretensions and ready and eager to reduce them. The struggle began over the new claims put forth by the papacy in connection with the declaration of infallibility in 1870. Believing firmly in the omnipotence of the state, Bismarck had long held that the Catholic Church exercised too much power in Prussia, an overwhelmingly Protestant community. Moreover, he suspected that the dogma of infallibility was the first gun fired in a new Catholic campaign for greater freedom of the Church from state interference. Sharp exchanges between the two rival authorities prompted Bismarck to action and in the period 1872–75 laws were passed which aimed to bring the Catholic clergy more completely under the control of the state than had been the case.

To this end civil marriage was made obligatory, the ecclesiastical ceremony becoming purely optional; priests were required to get their education no longer in ecclesiastical seminaries but in the schools of the state; and the Jesuits, as the uncompromising supporters of the pope, were driven from the soil of the Empire. The country was soon in an uproar, since the clergy resisted the new laws and invited its Catholic following, which constituted over one-third of the total population, to support its ecclesiastical superiors. The Catholics complained that they were the victims of religious persecution, while the Protestant middle classes, which stood behind Bismarck, declared somewhat grandiloquently that theirs was a *Kulturkampf,* that is, a struggle for civilization. The word Kulturkampf supplied the label under which the conflict passed into history.

The Catholic or Center party

After a few years the chancellor, who had the elastic mind of a creative statesman, recognized that he could not coerce the Church and that he must beat a retreat. The only way to placate his adversaries was to withdraw the obnoxious legislation. Act on act was therefore canceled in gradual stages until ten years after the Kulturkampf had begun practically nothing remained of the anti-Catholic laws save obligatory civil marriage. Indisputably the Catholic Church had emerged from the struggle with that added prestige which victory regularly confers. Nor was that all. The fighting clergy had for greater effectiveness organized the laity into a political party, ready and able to defend the Catholic cause in the Reichstag. This party took the name of the Center party and thenceforth contended for power with the older parties of the Conservatives and the Liberals. Among these three organizations, to which at this very time the Social-democratic party, drawing its strength from the workingmen, was added as a fourth group, the battle for political power in Germany has been fought down to our own day.

Bismarck adopts a protective policy

Toward the end of the seventies Bismarck, whose massive figure overshadowed every phase of German life, came out for two measures which only a section of his chief supporters, the National Liberals, would accept. They split into two separate liberal factions, one supporting Bismarck's new course, the other passing over to the opposition. Of course liberalism, thus divided, lost much of its earlier importance. The two measures which Bismarck was resolved to convert into laws represented incisive innovations. The first involved the issue of free trade versus protection; the second witnessed the chancellor's alarm over the spread of socialism. Touching its tariff policy, Germany had ever since the creation of the *Zollverein* been governed by a régime of low duties levied on foreign goods. It was a policy, if not of free trade, at least of trade encouragement. In the seventies the industrialization of Germany was under way but was not yet so effectively carried through as to enable Germany's young industries to compete successfully against its more advanced neighbors. A group of manufacturers demanded protection; and as the landlords, vexed by the importation of cheap foodstuffs, did the same, Bismarck resolved to give up the low schedules hitherto in force and to insure the home market to the German industrial and agricultural interests by increased duties. The new protective tariff was successfully put through the Reichstag in 1879 with the support of the Conservatives, the Center, and that section of the Liberals prepared to go with Bismarck through thick and thin.

Bismarck vexed by the rise of socialism

Before we consider the chancellor's socialist legislation let us agree that the Industrial Revolution, which increased the power and the numbers of the bourgeoisie, increased the numbers and at least the potential power of the workingmen in the same proportion. From the first appearance of machines socialist writers and thinkers had attempted to win the new class of wage-earners to their ideas. No considerable headway was made till the followers of the great socialist scholar, Karl Marx, founded almost contemporaneously with the German Empire the Social-democratic party. At once the proletarians began to give this party their allegiance with the result that the socialist representation in the Reichstag rapidly increased. This phenomenon greatly alarmed Bismarck, for socialism was a revolutionary doctrine which aimed to replace the existing state of the propertied classes with a democratic state governed by and in the interest of the masses. How meet the dangerous situation? Bismarck resolved to employ both repression and persuasion. On the one hand, he had the Reichstag pass an anti-socialist law which tried by drastic punishments to suppress all socialist agitation whether conducted by means of newspapers, books, or public meetings; on the other hand, he came forth as the champion of an elaborate labor code which would protect the workmen against some of the worst evils of their lot and would at the same time persuade them that the existing state, far from being ill-disposed to them, was deeply concerned for their welfare.

Failure of the anti-socialist law

The anti-socialist law, passed in 1878, may be said to have proved a complete failure. Socialist agitation, denied the right of public utterance, went underground and won the added attraction which results from martyrdom. It was the Kulturkampf over again with a different cast of characters. And since socialism flourished in spite of repression, the government, exactly as in the case of the Kulturkampf, came to see the futility of its measure. In 1890 the law was permitted to lapse. By that time, however, Bismarck, the father of the law, was no longer in office.

Bismarck's Insurance Legislation

Much more important was the other, the persuasive feature of Bismarck's socialist legislation. In its entirety it constitutes without question an immense ameliorative labor code. A part of it dealt with the work of women and children and provided more humane conditions in the factories, that is, it followed a line already taken by such older industrial countries as England. Another part, far more original, in fact representing one of the most important contributions ever made to Social Legislation, took up the issue of workingmen's insurance. Three types of insurance were put into effect by successive measures passed between 1883 and 1889: (1) insurance against accident; (2) insurance against sickness; (3) insurance against invalidism and old age. As the workingmen were required to make contributory payments to the funds established in connection with types two and three, they were invited to share the control of these funds with the employers. The responsibilities of the management of these considerable and growing funds, coupled with the coöperation in their disposal imposed on employers and employees, exercised a beneficent influence on the whole economic situation. In fact, according to almost universal opinion, the Bismarckian Insurance Legislation did much toward developing in Germany one of the most vigorous and efficient bodies of workingmen to be found in the world. But let us make no mistake about one thing: though the wage-earners gladly profited from the insurance enactments, they did not show the least inclination to give up their antagonism to the bourgeois state or to abandon the Social-democratic party.

In 1888 William I, the first ruler of reunited Germany, died at the more than patriarchal age of ninety-one years. As his son, Frederick, who was already dwelling in the shadow of death at the time of his accession, reigned only three months, the scepter passed to Fred-

The accession of William II

erick's oldest son, William. Emperor William II (1888–1918) was an intelligent, active, and nervously unbalanced individual cursed with an excessive self-esteem. The German system, which conceded an almost autocratic fullness of power to the sovereign, suited him exactly, except for the circumstance that under his modest, self-erasing grandfather the functions of the sovereign had in effect been taken over by his famous chancellor. The young and restive William chafed under this inherited tutelage and in 1890, two years after his accession, abruptly dismissed the too masterful Bismarck from office. Thenceforward he planned to be himself the director of German policy and by appointing more subservient and less authoritative men to the chancellorship actually maintained a but rarely challenged ascendancy. The period after 1890 is for Germany as distinctly the age of William as the period before 1890 is the age of Bismarck.

Material prosperity under William II

The extraordinary activity of William, which manifested itself, among other ways, in voyages over Europe coupled with theatrical displays and bursts of oratory, soon gave German foreign policy a hasty, hectic character which caused it to be looked upon with suspicion. This was regrettable since William was in reality devoted to peace and earnestly longed for good relations with all his neighbors. Moreover, he was firm in his devotion to the Triple alliance, which was the kernel of the diplomatic system taken over from his grandfather. We shall follow the German foreign policy within the whole frame of European relationships in a later chapter. At this point it is more important to define the imprint which William gave to domestic developments in Germany. It was characteristic of his mental vivacity that he interested himself in every forward movement within the whole complex of German life, in the great basic activities of agriculture, industry, and commerce as well as in religion, science, and art. And it was characteristic of his self-esteem that he considered himself a master in all these fields, capable of advancing their fortunes by word and deed. If much of his multitudinous activity was too superficial to produce any consequences of value, it is probable that his close attention to the material development of his country was more effective and somewhat accelerated its advance along the road it was already traveling. In any case industry developed during his reign at a constantly increasing speed; and commerce and agriculture — the latter only because of the protection it enjoyed through a high tariff on imports — did not lag far behind. It was an era of unique prosperity measured by the familiar method of statistics. The grand tonnage of the German merchant marine rose rapidly until it was exceeded only by that of Great Britain. The amount, variety, and value of manufactured articles increased each year. So also did the country's foreign trade, the outstanding feature of this trade being the steadily swelling mass of manufactures flowing beyond the German boundaries. The movement of population was in tune with these impressive figures. Between 1870 and 1914 the population grew from forty-one millions to close to seventy millions and most of this increase belongs to the period after 1890, that is, to the era of William.

Germany develops a navy

In order to put through his economic program William, or his chancellors acting for him, had to command a majority in the Reichstag. He sought support where he could find it, but on the whole leaned on the Conservatives, the Catholic Center, and that section of the Liberals which had adopted protection in Bismarck's time and was identified with "big business." Since his measures boosted the interests of all these groups, he was in a position to ask for a return favor and accordingly pressed for the enlargement of the already powerful army and the strengthening of a service which Germany had thus far neglected, the navy. This close attention to national defense was a feature of the contemporary policy of all the powers and need not be interpreted in the case of any of them as a will-to-war. It did however signify that they regarded one another with suspicion and nursed plans of colonial expansion for which they might conceivably require a formidable armament. Here is the key to William's agitation for a navy. For the reason that he planned to push Germany into the colonial race he resolved to provide the country with this arm. It had not been a part of the national equipment under Bismarck. By means of a tireless personal propaganda the emperor succeeded in interesting both people and Reichstag in his plans. A naval bill, triumphantly carried in the year 1898, laid the basis of an effective fleet. By supplementary bills in the following years new units were added till, before a decade had passed, the German navy had overtaken the navies of all the countries of Europe with the single exception of Great Britain. By an immense naval expansion of its own the island-kingdom maintained its traditional ascendancy, not however without displaying increasing signs of annoyance and wrath at its impertinent competitor.

For his economic as well as for his national defense policy William depended, as we have seen, on those Reichstag parties which drew their strength from the possessing classes. By caressing them he unescapably offended the workingmen organized in the Social-democratic party. Hence there was open war between him and the Social-democrats with the immediate advantage resting with the emperor, who from his loftier platform hurled the thunders of his wrath at their low-born heads. Not that he was ill-disposed to workingmen as such. He gave unstinted support to the labor legislation inaugurated by Bismarck; and it was apparently due to his personal intervention that the anti-socialist law was permitted to lapse after Bismarck's dismissal in 1890. However, by making it clear that the chasm between himself and his revolutionary antagonists was unbridgeable, he entered on a life-long struggle with them, in which he had the immediate satisfaction of maintaining his ascendancy by reason of upper and middle class support. And yet, in spite of all he could do, the Social-democratic party continued steadily and ominously to grow. In the elections of 1912 it came dangerously near to polling as many votes as Conservatives and Liberals combined and returned a membership which made it the largest single party in the Reichstag. This separation of Germany into two irreconcilable groups of monarchists and republicans was probably inevitable, but it augured ill for the future. The evil that the over-zealous William did was to make a compromise as good as impossible.

Steady growth of the Social-democratic opposition

A country which, like Germany after 1871, was politically powerful and economically dominated by the Industrial Revolution, was bound to embark on the colonial movement. The cautious Bismarck at first discouraged the merchants who looked beyond the seas for territory; but when, in the eighties, he saw an opportunity to go ahead without encountering too much opposition from the older countries already in the field, he assumed for Germany the protection of certain areas in the only still available continent, in Africa. The policy thus inaugurated William II, throwing Bismarck's caution to the winds, continued to pursue with characteristic liveliness and zeal until by 1914 his country had amassed a considerable colonial empire. To be sure, owing to Germany's late appearance on the scene, her extra-European possessions could not remotely compare either in extent or value with those of such older powers as Great Britain, France, and Russia.

Germany becomes a colonial power

However, they sufficed to make her a factor in the colonial race. The bulk of them lay in Africa in three groups: Togo and Kamerun on the coast of the gulf of Guinea, German Southwest Africa, and German East Africa. Smaller but not negligible were her Pacific holdings. They consisted chiefly of scattered island groups like the Marshall chain and the Carolines. In her own eyes the chief jewel of her eastern possessions was the flourishing colony of Kiao-chau in the Chinese province of Shantung.

William II commits Germany to *Weltpolitik*

In connection with her powerful army and navy and her expanding commerce and industry, her colonies had the effect of pushing Germany into the imperialist game. Although we shall study German imperialism in connection with all the other imperialisms at a later time, it may be pointed out here that it did not dominate German foreign policy till the reign of William II. Under Bismarck, a statesman rooted in the realities immediately surrounding him, foreign policy was determined almost exclusively with reference to the hereditary enmity with France. When the restless and ambitious William II persuaded himself to disregard the enmity with France and, pursuing imperialist designs, plunged into world politics, he blazed a path which became decisive for German destiny. By reaching beyond Europe William antagonized Russia and Great Britain and drove them into the arms of France. In the end the three arranged a Triple entente which hemmed Germany in by drawing an iron ring around her. This was the precarious situation in which Germany found herself at the outbreak of the World War and for which, in large measure at least, she had the Kaiser to thank.

German Emperors of the House of Hohenzollern

William I, 1871–88
Frederick III, 1888
William II, 1888–1918 (deposed)

AUSTRIA-HUNGARY

Centralization or federalism?

Between 1859 and 1866 the Austrian Empire suffered a series of defeats which drove it out of Italy and Germany and caused it to rock on its very foundations. The emperor, Francis Joseph I (1848–1916), was still a young man at the time of these misfortunes and flexible enough to reach the conviction that the traditional absolutism would have to be given up. But wherewith was it to be replaced? There were two main schools of thought among his advisers: the first held that the unity of the Empire should be maintained at all costs and be visibly symbolized by a central parliament at the capital, Vienna; the other school contended that Austria should be decentralized by being broken into its component provinces and nationalities. While both solutions accepted the idea of popular representation, the first aimed at centralization, the second at federalism.

Adoption of a third solution, called dualism

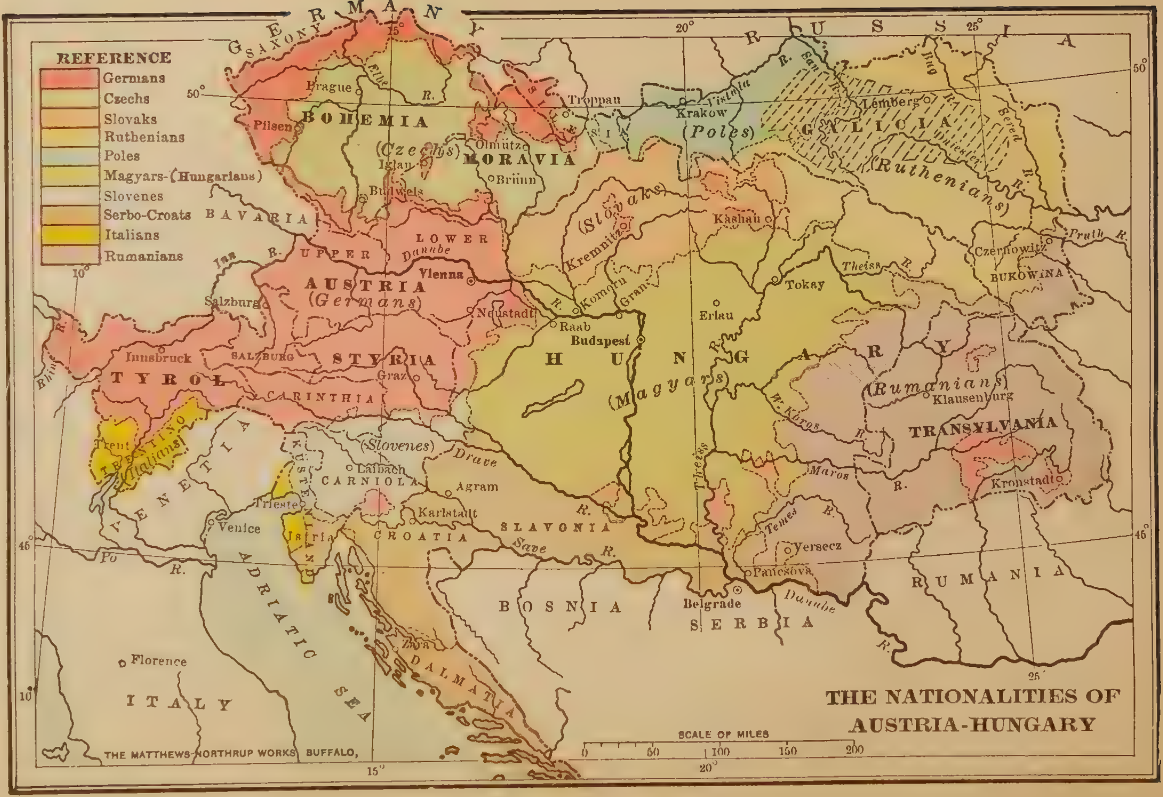
In the end neither of these proposals, neither centralization nor federalism, triumphed, but a third program proposed and championed by the Hungarian nation and conferring on it a privileged position. It is known as the Compromise (*Ausgleich*) of 1867 and created what is usually called the dual system, since it divided the Hapsburg territories into two sections, Austria and Hungary. As defined in this treaty Hungary embraced in the main the eastern half of the monarchy, that is, Hungary proper together with its historical dependencies, Croatia, Slavonia, and Transylvania; Austria embraced the remaining provinces, seventeen in number. It was agreed that each half of the Hapsburg dominion was to have its own constitution, parliament, and administration and become in effect a separate state. However, as they would continue to have the same executive, called emperor in Austria and king in Hungary, they would necessarily have an important common bond and might hope, though distinct administratively, to cast their weight as one into the rivalries existing among the European states. To this end it was provided that the departments of foreign affairs, war (including the army and navy), and the finances necessary to support these services, were to pertain to both sections together and that they were to be presided over not by Austrian or Hungarian but by Austro-Hungarian ministers. As such ministers could not be made responsible to either the Austrian or the Hungarian parliament, it was arranged that they should appear periodically before the so-called *Delegations*. These were made up of a body of one hundred and twenty delegates, sixty from each of the two parliaments, and these delegates had the function of approving the budget drawn up for the common services. Let us admit that the machinery of the Compromise of 1867 was far from simple. However, the central idea was clear enough. It was that, while the old Hapsburg monarchy, because it had fallen on evil days, was to be broken into two halves, it was still, in respect of certain specified interests, to remain one in order that it might continue to count with its traditional weight at the council-board of Europe. In spite of its bifurcation the monarchy thus remained a great power under the novel, hyphenated name of Austria-Hungary.

The ascendancy of the Germans and Hungarians opposed by the other nationalities

Turning now to examine the new creation, not from the constitutional but from the nationalist view-point, we immediately make a discovery of the greatest importance for our grasp of its stormy history. Since its birth the Hapsburg monarchy had presented itself to view as an accumulation of many nationalities. This fundamental truth was ignored in 1867 when the two strongest groups, the Germans and the Magyars (by which name the Hungarians called themselves), undertook to divide the government between them. To be sure, it was a hazardous game since, although each dominated historically in its particular section, it fell short of constituting a majority of the population. For the present this difficulty might be met by limiting the franchise in such a way that the rival groups, which were mostly a repressed and backward peasantry, were accorded an inadequate representation in the parliament. Naturally these injured nationalities, chiefly Czechs, Poles, South Slavs, and Rumanians, would protest; and as a matter of fact they did protest from the first. However, since both constitutions, the Austrian as well as the Hungarian, were improvements on what had gone before, and since the less favored nationalities received some representation, though not in proportion to their numbers, they ended by accepting the new arrangements and sent deputies to the two parliaments which met respectively at Vienna and Budapest. But these Slav and Rumanian deputies were given one over-shadowing instruction by their constituents: they were to work ceaselessly in order to replace the reigning dual system with a loose federal organization calculated to terminate the predominance of the Germans and the Magyars by giving each racial group parliamentary representation proportionate to its numbers as well as a wider control of its local affairs.

Intensification of the inter-racial strife

We have seen that ever since the awakening of its slumbering nationalities under the impact of the democratic tidal wave of 1848, the polyglot Hapsburg monarchy had been riven with racial strife. For the reasons just given that strife, far from being abated by the settlement of 1867, became more acrid than ever and may without exaggeration be declared to constitute the substance of Austro-Hungarian domestic history



THE NATIONALITIES OF AUSTRIA-HUNGARY

REFERENCE
Germans
Czechs
Slovaks
Ruthenians
Poles
Magyars-(Hungarians)
Slovenes
Serbo-Croats
Italians
Rumanians
GERMANY
SAXONY
RUSSIA
BAVARIA
BOHEMIA
(Czechs)
MORAVIA
SILESIA
GALICIA
(Poles)
(Ruthenians)
BUKOWINA
AUSTRIA
(Germans)
UPPER
LOWER
TYROL
SALZBURG
STYRIA
CARINTHIA
CARNIOLA
KÜSTENLAND
(Slovenes)
TRENTINO
(Italians)
VENETIA
HUNGARY
(Magyars)
(Slovaks)
(Rumanians)
TRANSYLVANIA
SLAVONIA
CROATIA
DALMATIA
Istria
BOSNIA
SERBIA
RUMANIA
ITALY
ADRIATIC SEA
Prague
Pilsen
Budweis
Iglau
Olmütz
Brünn
Troppau
Krakow
Lemberg
Czernowitz
Kashau
Kremnitz
Komorn
Gran
Raab
Budapest
Erlau
Tokay
Klausenburg
Kronstadt
Versecz
Pancsova
Belgrade
Vienna
Neustadt
Salzburg
Innsbruck
Graz
Laibach
Agram
Karlstadt
Trieste
Venice
Trent
Zara
Florence
Elbe R.
Danube
Inn R.
Rhine R.
Vistula
San R.
Bug R.
Sereth R.
Dniester R.
Pruth R.
Theiss R.
W. Koros R.
Maros R.
Temes R.
Drave
Save R.
Po R.
50°
45°
10°
15°
20°
25°
SCALE OF MILES
0
50
100
150
200
THE MATTHEWS-NORTHRUP WORKS, BUFFALO.

throughout the period under review down to the outbreak of the World War. Indeed the heat produced by the nationalist friction in the Danubian area was an important contributory cause to that catastrophe.

Constitutionally the struggle is over the franchise

We face the same issue in either half of the monarchy although of course it ran in each its own separate course. In Austria the dominant Germans were confronted by Czechs, Poles, Ruthenians, Slovenes, and Italians; in Hungary the centrally located Hungarians were completely surrounded by a hostile fringe of Slovaks on the north, Rumanians on the east, Serbs and Croatians on the south. Only a close study of the map can clarify the extraordinary confusion. Figures, too, will help in giving an idea of the distribution of strength among the warring groups. By the census of 1910 Austria-Hungary had 51,000,000 inhabitants distributed as follows (in round numbers): 12,000,000 Germans, 10,000,000 Magyars, 8,500,000 Czechs and Slovaks, 5,000,000 Poles, 5,000,000 Serbs and Croatians, 4,000,000 Ruthenians called also Ukrainians, 3,200,000 Rumanians, 1,200,000 Slovenes, 750,000 Italians. Let us admit that the nationalist conflict was carried over into the concerns of daily life and became the poisoned meat and bitter drink of these distracted people. Constitutionally, however, the struggle revolved around the issue of the privileged position of the Germans and Hungarians, which position the less favored nationalities attacked with the principle of equality. More specifically, the opposition nationalities demanded universal male suffrage in order to replace the existing limited franchise with a system which would automatically terminate the ascendancy of the Germans and Hungarians, since each was a minority in its own section. So ferocious were the words exchanged on the floors of the two parliaments as well as in the press and public meetings that foreign observers usually expressed surprise that the state did not collapse under their eyes. The reason why they deceived themselves is very human: as long as the leaders could talk and agitate they considered an accommodation to be not impossible and preferred to await that day rather than risk the awful hazards of a revolution.

Let us now follow first, the history of Austria and Hungary considered as separate entities; and second, the history of Austria-Hungary, under which name the ancient monarchy continued to do business as a great power.

Under the new constitution with which Austria was endowed after the Ausgleich, the parliament was made up of a house of Lords of partly hereditary and partly appointed members and a much more important house of Representatives elected, as already noted, on the basis of a limited franchise. During approximately the first decade of the new régime the German Liberals, who drew their strength from the middle classes, were in control. They passed laws expressive of their outlook and by means of them effectively modernized many of the institutions of the backward state. Complete religious toleration was decreed; a public school system was established with the feature of compulsory attendance for both boys and girls; justice was reformed by means of a new codification of the laws; and the courts themselves were brought closer to the people by the requirement in certain instances of trial by jury. Since the army after its defeat by Prussia needed to be reorganized, it was rebuilt on the principle of universal military service, on which feature the Prussian success was supposed to rest.

Austria transformed by liberal legislation

Encouraged by the many legislative evidences that their day had at last dawned, the middle classes developed a remarkable economic initiative and set about appropriating for Austria the advantages of the most characteristic movement of the age, the Industrial Revolution. In some of the Austrian provinces, chiefly in Bohemia and Moravia, there were rich deposits of those raw products, coal and iron, which form the necessary basis of an industrial transformation. Mined in ever increasing quantities, they served to operate great factories and gradually called to life all the familiar attendant phenomena of machine activity. The wealth of the middle classes grew; the population of the factory towns showed a rapid increase; the workingmen, at first helpless and exploited, undertook to improve their condition by means of strikes, on the one hand, and by the formation of unions, on the other. In short, renovated Austria somewhat belatedly followed in the footsteps of Great Britain, France, and Germany, and between 1867 and 1914 brought itself economically and socially fairly abreast of them.

The Industrial Revolution comes to Austria

But the consequences of the economic revolution were fatal to the very group which chiefly championed the movement. The Germans were the shopkeepers, traders, bankers, and capitalists who overwhelmingly constituted the Austrian middle classes. What they gained by the advent of industrialism in respect to wealth and social consideration, the various Slav groups, such as the Czechs, Poles, and Slovenes, gained in numbers by supplying the factory workers. An unexpected effect of the Industrial Revolution was therefore that it intensified the nationalist strife, since the concentrated and organized town workers could put an energy into their demand for equal treatment of which they were incapable so long as they had been a docile, widely scattered peasantry. Under the circumstances the agitation for an enlarged suffrage became irresistible. Already before the close of the seventies the German Liberals lost the control of parliament merely by reason of the more skilful tactics of their opponents; and when in the subsequent decades the franchise requirements were lowered by successive stages and new classes of voters admitted to the polls, the German Liberals became a steadily decreasing minority. Finally, in 1907 the opposition groups reached the goal which they had set themselves from the start, for in that year the Austrian parliament passed a measure establishing universal manhood suffrage. However, long before 1907 combinations of various Slav groups by forming a parliamentary majority had acquired control of the ministry and government and by appropriate legislative measures had obtained complete parity with the Germans in the matter of schools, courts, and public administration. Like all rising nationalities, the Slav peoples were particularly jealous touching their language and aimed at, and largely succeeded in winning, the same consideration for their various tongues as for the more universal German.

German predominance overthrown

But the decline of the German and advance of Slav influence hardly, if at all, alleviated the nationalist strife. This was in part due to the fact that the Slavs themselves were mutually antagonistic. The Czechs could not be counted on to coöperate with the Poles and the land-owning Poles were denounced and hated by the peasant Ruthenians of eastern Galicia as heartless feudal oppressors. With a dozen nationalist parties contending for mastery the Austrian parliament often resembled a madhouse and legislation came to a standstill. But not even extreme national zealots suggested dissolution — as yet. The economic ties which the industrialization had made more numerous and vital could not be cut without grave injury; and, more important still, there was the old tradition of a common life personified by the

The state gradually undermined by racial strife

emperor, Francis Joseph. Judicially minded Austrians of whatever nationality usually admitted that their crazy commonwealth was likely to hold together at least as long as he lived. To the reflective student the history of this state between 1867 and 1914 supplies ample evidence that the modern principle of nationalism will, when carried to its logical conclusion, undermine and destroy every multinational state.

The Hungarians maintain their ascendancy

Hungary too, like Austria, was after 1867 governed by a parliament of two houses, a house of Magnates and a chamber of Deputies. The lower house was elected on the basis of a franchise so narrow and so subject to government manipulation that the overwhelming majority of the deputies were regularly of Hungarian stock. If we compare the history of the two Hapsburg sections for the period in question, we are struck by both a resemblance and a difference. On the one hand, in Hungary as in Austria there was uninterrupted nationalist strife; on the other hand, in sharp contrast to what happened to the Germans, the Magyars successfully maintained their ascendancy in the political and administrative fields. There were excellent reasons for this. First, the Magyars formed a solid central block in the rich valley of the middle Danube. Around them in a circle lay the smaller bodies of the Slovaks, Ruthenians, Rumanians, and Serbo-Croatians. Not only were these groups in no physical contact with one another, but they were also spiritually divided since they spoke different languages and were ruled by antagonistic traditions. A second reason for continued Magyar ascendancy was that the Magyars were a landlord group, while the Slavs and Rumanians were backward and unorganized peasants. If the Industrial Revolution, which is the nursing mother of both nationalism and democracy, had come to Hungary, Magyar control would have been threatened. Some factories were built but not enough to affect the situation. Unattacked by the forces of change, Hungary remained predominantly an agricultural state, essentially feudal in structure and passionately Magyar in spirit and organization. The absent industrialization must not be interpreted as meaning that wealth did not increase. The soil of the Danubian basin is unusually fertile, indeed one of the richest in the world, and the Hungarian landlords, possessing capital and amenable to modern scientific methods, succeeded in doubling and trebling the value of their crops and herds.

Politically, and ultimately socially, the hegemony of the Magyars depended on their successful defense of the unequal franchise. Little as it conceded to the racial minorities in principle, it was in addition so manipulated, whenever elections occurred, by the ruling caste that non-Hungarians were hardly represented at all in the parliament at Budapest. That did not of course hinder the injured groups from finding leaders who carried on an agitation in their behalf. These leaders singled out for attack the evil election practices, and when they did not raise their voice for universal suffrage, they demanded at the very least a better franchise for the minorities. But every suggestion of reform was violently resisted by the beneficiaries of privilege with the result that, when the World War broke out in 1914, the Hungarian political situation was still essentially unchanged from what it had been in 1867. There was however this notable moral difference: the struggle for national rights and a better representation on the part of the subject peoples had become so embittered that it hardly seemed credible that Magyar ascendancy could be maintained much longer.

Growing bitterness of the subject peoples

If we turn now from Austria and Hungary to Austria-Hungary we are in effect confronted with the foreign department of the dual partners, for toward the outside world they had agreed to act as one under their common sovereign, the Emperor-king Francis Joseph. It must be self-evident that a state of such little inner coherence as the Danubian monarchy could not possibly play as decisive a rôle in Europe as the nationally compact powers round about it. The enormous national energy which prompted the governments of Great Britain, France, Italy, and Germany to seek markets and colonies beyond the seas and face the hazards of an imperialist policy was inoperative in the case of distracted Austria-Hungary. Need we wonder therefore that, compared with its neighbors, it took but a leisurely interest in the feverish race for the appropriation of backward areas? In fact so greatly was Austria-Hungary paralyzed by the domestic chaos that it perforce adopted the purely conservative policy of maintaining itself in its existing strength. As Francis Joseph and his advisers saw the situation after 1867 their state was threatened chiefly on its southeastern border in the direction of the Balkan peninsula. And the insecurity on this side did not come from the small Balkan states or the decaying Ottoman Empire but from powerful Russia, which for more than a hundred years had been engaged in extending its influence over this area. Should Russia gain a privileged position

Austria-Hungary concerned with the Balkan peninsula

in the capitals of the young and feeble Balkan states or should it succeed in appropriating the goods of the Sick Man of Europe, on which for some decades it had fixed an almost hypnotized gaze, the very existence of Austria-Hungary would be jeopardized. Not only would the state become intolerably exposed in a military sense, but with Russia giving orders in the Balkan area the welcome and even necessary avenues of Austro-Hungarian trade with the Near East could be blocked at a rival's pleasure. The element constantly present in Austro-Hungarian policy throughout the period from 1867 to 1914 is therefore fear of Russia.

Austria-Hungary acquires Bosnia in 1878

Naturally this fear became dormant whenever Russia for one reason or another turned away from Balkan affairs; and it became wakeful and intense as soon as Russia became active. Indeed a Russian forward movement in the Balkans regularly produced an Austro-Hungarian crisis. As we shall see in a later chapter, in the year 1877 Tsar Alexander II returned to the policy of his ancestors and levied war on his old enemy, the sultan. So overwhelming were his victories that it seemed not unlikely that he would bring the whole peninsula under his influence. The prospect caused such alarm at Vienna that the government prepared for war. Luckily Great Britain was equally excited over the Russian designs and by joining with Austria effected a diplomatic intervention which obliged Russia to forgo most of her gains. At a Congress of the powers held in 1878 at Berlin there was the usual trading between the two Balkan rivals with the result that Austria-Hungary was "compensated" for the advantages conceded to victorious Russia by means of a gift of the two Ottoman provinces, Bosnia and Herzegovina. These adjoined Hungary on the south and were regarded at Vienna as giving the monarchy the greater military security of which it stood in need. To be sure, the two provinces were not handed over to Francis Joseph outright. It was stated in the treaty that Austria-Hungary was to administer them and that meanwhile the titular sovereignty of the sultan of Turkey was to remain intact.

The Austro-Russian rivalry

From the fatal moment when the Hapsburg monarchy acquired Bosnia, the rivalry between it and Russia over southeastern Europe never slumbered. The competition explains why in the following year (1879) Austria-Hungary entered into a close alliance with Germany. This is the union which by the admission of Italy in 1882 became the Triple alliance.

As all these matters will be treated in our review of European diplomacy, it will suffice if we note at this point by way of general characterization of Austro-Hungarian foreign policy that down to the great catastrophe of 1914 it revolved around the three indicated factors: rivalry with Russia, the occupation of Bosnia, and the Triple alliance.

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CHAPTER XXX

THE LESSER STATES OF EUROPE IN THE NINETEENTH AND TWENTIETH CENTURIES

The lesser states of Europe are lesser merely in respect to area, population, and power. In their institutions and civilization they are as representative of Europe as the great states which adjoin and overshadow them. From medieval days each one of them has had its own life within the general European frame and has exhibited its own characteristics. Of course they were alike exposed in the nineteenth century to the fierce winds of the new age. That signifies that they were buffeted by all the influences and movements which we have seen at work in the rest of Europe, such as the Industrial Revolution, the liberation of the spirit through the discoveries of science, the rise of the middle classes, the domination of capitalism, the spread of democracy and education, and the revolutionary criticism of socialism. Our brief review can do no more than trace the incidence of the above forces on the several small states and to point out the special developments resulting therefrom.

The small states microcosms of western civilization

SPAIN

Having already dealt with the Spain of the Restoration Period, we have learned that the Bourbon monarch, Ferdinand VII, tried with the help of the Church and the nobility to reëstablish the absolute régime and that he met with opposition on the part of certain liberal elements which had come into existence during the struggle with Napoleon. Obliged (1820) to concede a constitution, he was with the aid of the Holy Alliance enabled to overthrow his opponents and reassert his power (1823). Perhaps the worst consequence for Spain of his reactionary attitude was the estrangement of the South American colonies and the successful assertion of their independence.

The reactionary Ferdinand VII

Plainly the question which emerged in Ferdinand's day was whether Spain would hold fast to its eighteenth century organization or whether it would succeed in accommodating itself to the newer demands of constitutional government. But this question, political in appearance, had profound social and economic implications; and the victory of the constitutionalists would depend on the quiet but effective transformation of Spain by education, science, and industrialism. Now it is a fact that this transformation was not carried through or rather that it made headway at so snail-like a pace that many decades passed before liberalism acquired sufficient momentum to push absolutism off the boards. The situation was further complicated by a disputed succession. When the deceitful and bigoted Ferdinand VII died in 1833, he left the crown to his infant daughter Isabella, thereby setting aside his brother Carlos, who considered himself to be the lawful heir. Civil war followed between Carlists and Christinists, the latter owing their name to the regent-mother, Christina; and when the domestic struggle had been decided in favor of the latter, the victors fell out among themselves. The fact that Isabella became of age in 1842 and thenceforward reigned in her own name effected no improvement: the dreary civil struggle dragged on because an equilibrium could not be established between the contending forces of absolutism and constitutionalism. Promises of reform were not kept, constitutions were issued only to be revoked. At length all parties alike lost patience with the dishonest game and Queen Isabella was obliged to flee abroad before a general rising (1868).

Absolutism versus liberalism

A period of agitated experimentation followed. In reality the power passed into the hands of successive dictators. During the ascendancy of Generals Serrano and Prim the crown was offered to Leopold of Hohenzollern-Sigmaringen, thereby producing the famous Spanish incident which precipitated the Franco-German war of 1870. On Leopold's refusal, an Italian prince, Amadeo of Savoy, was chosen king and actually reigned two years before he gave up in disgust. Thereupon a republic was staged which cut so unhappy a figure that the country at length declared itself ready and eager to return to the Bourbons in the person of the banished Isabella's son. In 1875 he mounted the throne under the title Alfonso XII. A young man of exceptional endowment, he issued a constitution which, at least so far as appearances went, established a parliamentary government of the British type. On Alfonso's death in 1885 the crown was transmitted to his posthumous son, Alfonso XIII. For seventeen years

Establishment of constitutional monarchy, 1875

the government was carried on very capably by the queen-mother, Maria Christina, who gave her sincere support to the new régime.

Persistent backwardness of Spain

When in 1902 King Alfonso XIII took over the reins in person, constitutionalism seemed to be seated firmly in the saddle. The youthful sovereign took his oath of office seriously and by virtue of his energy and amiability added much to the popularity of the crown. But the old difficulties connected with the administrative corruption and the recurrent army cabals persisted, while new difficulties sprang from the spread in the urban centers of a radical and anarchist opinion so extreme that it did not hesitate to advocate murder and revolt. In consequence the constitution had periodically to be suspended and the maintenance of public order entrusted to the army. Our judgment can hardly be other than that even in the twentieth century Spain was merely an apprentice among modern nations. She had assumed a modern political dress, but the changes necessary in her social structure and mental outlook, if the political reforms were to be effective, failed to put in an appearance. In many essential ways the country remained obdurately untouched by the currents of contemporary life. True, the Inquisition had been abandoned for good before the middle of the nineteenth century. But the fall of that hated institution hardly weakened the hold of the Catholic Church on the people. By means of the parish clergy as well as the numerous orders of brothers and sisters the Church continued to dominate thought and education. Moreover, the education which, with the financial support of the state, the Church extended to the people was so inadequate that in the second decade of the twentieth century illiteracy still stood at over fifty per cent, one of the highest rates to be found in Europe.

Reasons for Spanish backwardness

If to the unbroken domination of the Church we add a feeble bourgeoisie, due to a backward state of commerce and industry, and the impoverished peasant masses, sunk in local superstitions and congenitally prone to indolence, the failure of Spain to keep abreast of her neighbors becomes intelligible. Innumerable influences, besides the above, throw light on this stagnation. No one familiar with the forces of geography will fail to give due weight to the isolation from the rest of Europe to which Spain is condemned by the tall barrier of the Pyrenees. Again, there is the poverty of much of the soil, especially on the arid central plateau. This would seem to condemn a large section of the peasantry to an all but intolerable economic yoke. On the other hand, Spain is unusually rich in minerals, more particularly in iron, copper, and silver; and the reflection will not be denied that an energetic utilization of these resources would go far toward equalizing the poor returns from agriculture. As nothing is done or at least nothing adequate, we are driven to fall back on a defect of character. A satisfactory analysis of the backwardness of Spain would have to take account of the above and doubtless many other social-economic circumstances.

The anomaly of Catalonia

To the province of Catalonia with its busy capital, Barcelona, the above strictures can not with any fairness be applied. The Catalans of the Mediterranean coast speak a language closely related to that of the people of southern France. They have never been more than superficially assimilated to the Spaniards and a vigorous section among them has never ceased to ask for the home rule which they enjoyed up to the time of Philip II. By the development of commerce and industry and the introduction of modern scientific and educational methods they have tried to bring themselves into line with the rest of Europe and have chafed impatiently under the restraints put upon them by the slothful government at Madrid. Catalonia is undoubtedly a modern anomaly within Spain; but perhaps because it is a small area and needs Spain as the market for its manufactures, it has not yet succeeded in wresting from the central government that provincial autonomy which is its dream. No section of the Catalan population, at least as yet, demands complete independence.

Spain loses its colonial empire

A decadent country like Spain, set in the midst of vigorous and grasping neighbors, was not likely to retain the colonies it had assembled in other, happier days. We have already observed how the lusty South and Central American dependencies cast off the Spanish yoke in the time of the detestable Ferdinand VII. In the second half of the nineteenth century Cuba and the Philippine Islands represented the most valuable fragments remaining from what once had been the greatest colonial empire of the world. Here, too, incurable mismanagement created chronic discontent which presently led to serious uprisings. It took enfeebled Spain ten years to suppress the Cuban rebellion of 1868. But in 1894 Cuba rose again; and when a large Spanish army had committed frightful depredations without attaining its goal, the United States of America interfered by taking the side of Cuba. In 1898 there was fought a short war in which the powerful young republic signally defeated the decrepit kingdom. When Spain sued for peace, it was forced to acknowledge the independence of Cuba and, in addition, to cede to the victor Porto Rico and the Philippines. For the latter, it is true, the United States by way of compensation gave the sum of $20,000,000. The only colonial possessions remaining to Spain after 1898 were the Canary Islands, the Rio de Oro region in western Africa, and a few isolated points along the Moroccan coast.

Spain shares in the Morocco deal of 1904

In 1904 a hopeful prospect opened to Spain which she resolved to make the most of. In that year France and Great Britain arrived at their famous understanding by virtue of which France was accorded a free hand in Morocco. Her aim was to take over as much of Morocco as possible in order to round off her African empire; but she did not fail to see that it would be the part of wisdom to buy the consent of Spain by pressing a handsome bribe into her hand. Accordingly, the northern rim of Morocco, opposite the Spanish coast, was indicated as the reward of Spain whenever the Moroccan booty would be ready for appropriation. When in 1911 the French at length came out into the open and seized the capital city of Fez, they duly invited Spain to possess herself of her allotted portion. That proved an enormously difficult enterprise. The coastal segment, called the Rif, constitutes an area of rugged mountains held by war-like and fanatic Moslem tribes. It required a large army costing huge sums to reduce them to obedience, and even then there was never any telling when they would break out again.

Moroccan war followed by dictatorship

When the World War burst upon our amazed planet, Spain discreetly declared her neutrality. Though this saved her useless losses, she was before long involved in difficulties which she owed to herself alone. The Rif tribes, imperfectly subdued, rose against the oppressor and in 1921 almost annihilated the Spanish army of occupation. With the aid of France, which could not afford to let the Rif rising spread to French Morocco, the Spaniards recovered their position, though not without a painful repercussion at home. The heavy expenses in Morocco coupled with the manifest ineptitude of the government caused the whole country to smolder with rebellion. To hinder its outbreak General Primo de Rivera in 1923 suspended the constitution and with the consent, and possibly at the instigation of the king, established a military dictatorship. It was terminated in 1930 due to accumulated discontent. But as Rivera was succeeded as prime minister by another general, it is far from certain that the system of military oppression has been abandoned. If a group of Spanish nationalists take pride in their country's reëntry into the colonial field, the Spanish people have paid the price of this expansion by the renewed loss of their constitutional liberties.

PORTUGAL

Parallel movement of Portugal and Spain

The history of Portugal in the nineteenth century runs a course strikingly parallel to that of its peninsular neighbor, Spain. There is the same struggle between absolutism and constitutionalism; the same weakness of liberalism owing to the failure of the country to effect a thorough-going social-economic transformation; and when constitutional government is at last victorious, there is the same absence of that fresh national vigor which other happier countries drew from the plunge into the renovating waters of modern thought and enterprise.

Peaceful separation of Portugal and Brazil

We are aware that when Napoleon seized Portugal in 1807, King John VI and the royal family sought refuge in the great Portuguese dependency of Brazil, where they chose to remain even after Napoleon's rule had been overthrown. Great Britain, which in the course of its struggle with Napoleon had made Portugal a British military base, continued its control after 1815. The rising of 1820 brought the Liberals into power, who championed a constitutional régime. In order to save his throne John VI, on the urgent invitation of his subjects, returned to his native land, and with an intelligence and adaptability unusual in a legitimate sovereign agreed to accept a limitation of his absolutism. Then an unexpected difficulty appeared. When the Brazilians discovered that John had abandoned them for his tiny homeland, they declared themselves independent of Portugal and hailed John's son, Pedro, as their sovereign. In 1826 King John died and Pedro, as his heir, was proclaimed his successor at Lisbon. But as the Brazilians would have none of him on these terms, he was obliged to resign the Portuguese crown in favor of his infant daughter, Maria. In this peaceful way Brazil and Portugal were separated, never to be joined again.

Although King John agreed to be a constitutional sovereign and his youthful successor, Maria, did the same, powerful reactionary elements within the country resisted this development and plunged Portugal into domestic disturbances similar to those which troubled neighboring Spain. Gradually, however, the situation consolidated, and under the reign of Maria's sons and successors (Pedro V, 1853–1861; Luiz I, 1861–1889) the country seemed to have settled down to an orderly evolution in a constitutional sense. The quiet turned out to be deceptive. Under Carlos I (1889–1908) administrative corruption, financial crises, and electoral frauds promoted by the party leaders in their private interest gained the upper hand and involved the country in renewed tumult. In 1908 King Carlos paid the cruel price of failure by meeting death at an assassin's hand. His youthful and inexperienced son, Manoel II, succeeded to a quaking throne and two years later was driven into exile by a republican rising.

The monarchy replaced by a republic, 1910

Since 1910 Portugal has enjoyed the doubtful blessing of being a republic, doubtful because the people have experienced no essential change of heart or mind and are as little ready to turn the republic into an active, going concern as they were the constitutional monarchy. The corruption of officials and the brazen manipulation of elections continue exactly as before. Only one difference deserves to be noted. Republican Portugal, perhaps in imitation of republican France, has adopted a severely anti-clerical policy. In 1911 the religious orders were expelled and a law passed separating Church and state. To resist this movement the strong conservative elements are ready to go far, even to the length of revolution. The republic may live, but many years must pass before it can become secure, honest, and efficient.

The precarious republic

Perhaps Portuguese patriots take comfort in the thought that the real and greater Portugal is their former colony of Brazil. Become an independent empire in 1822, it has steadily grown in wealth and power by the exploitation of the resources of its immense tropical hinterland. Emperor Pedro I was followed by his son, Pedro II, a prince with a modern outlook who, when he discovered after a beneficent reign of over four decades that his subjects preferred a republic, resigned without a struggle. Since 1890 Brazil has been a prosperous federal republic.

Prosperous Brazil

Portugal's other colonies, however, have remained under its aegis. In area they are not inconsiderable, comprising as they do the extensive territories of Angola on the west coast of Africa and Mozambique on the east coast. Being undeveloped, they are rather a liability to the treasury than an asset, and may, especially if they should suddenly disclose any promising economic resources, be taken over, doubtless to an accompaniment of noble moral sentiments, by some strong power like Great Britain. Her near-by island possessions, the Azores and Madeira, are Portugal's surest as they were her earliest acquisitions. Populated with Portuguese, they are not governed as colonies but directly incorporated with the home country.

Remaining possessions of Portugal

Composed of a population, eighty per cent of which consists of a peasantry pushed to the margin of starvation, Portugal is socially not a well balanced country. The impression deepens when we observe that it has an illiteracy record worse than that of Spain, since seventy per cent of the population can not read or write. As its middle classes have remained feeble, its trade is dominated by an outside power, Great Britain. Naturally Britannia dominates the foreign policy also, and on the occasion of the World War obliged the government to take sides against Germany. It is not apparent that participation in the battle of the titans affected the Portuguese pigmy either favorably or unfavorably. The problems Portugal must solve to reach a healthier condition do not lie in the foreign, they lie in the domestic field.

Portugal dominated by Great Britain

SWITZERLAND

On dealing with the Swiss Confederation in the Period of the Reformation, we noted that it had grown steadily from small beginnings until it occupied an acknowledged position in the system of European states. In the Peace of Westphalia (1648) its independence of the Holy Roman Empire was made an article of international law. In spite of these promising beginnings the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries represent a period of stagnation through a convergence of extraordinary difficulties, which may be briefly enumerated. (1) The Confederation was a loose union, purely for defense, among thirteen sovereign cantons. (2) There existed a wide diversity of governing principles among the cantons; while some maintained a very democratic system, the majority were ruled by narrow oligarchies. (3) There were regions classified, some as allied, others as subjected districts; in either case they possessed a colonial status and did not enjoy equality with the thirteen constituent cantons. (4) The fierce religious animosities carried into Switzerland by the Reformation continued to smolder in spite of the

The long Swiss stagnation

settlement of Kappel (1531). From all these causes the Confederation fell, in the eighteenth century, into a complete state of coma, and such feeble public life as there was unfolded itself within the provincial limits of each canton.

Switzerland in 1815

When the storms of the French Revolution broke, this whole antiquated system went down in ruin. The French did not scruple to interfere in Switzerland and first, the Directory, and later, Napoleon imposed a better and more compact organization on the country, which lasted till the Corsican's downfall. Swept, owing to resentment against French tyranny, by an unreasoning reactionary sentiment, the Swiss returned in 1815 to the loose union of prerevolutionary days. That meant that narrow oligarchies of burghers once more dominated in most of the cantons. They did not however renew their grip on the so-called allied and subjected lands. Having won their independence during the French disturbances, these regions were happily left in possession of their new-won rights. Thus it was a group not of thirteen but of twenty-two free cantons which revamped the old constitution. The Congress of Vienna did Switzerland a good turn by presenting it with a guarantee of perpetual neutrality. By its neutral status the country was freed from the necessity of entering the perilous game of European politics.

The victory of democracy and federalism

A few years of the stuffy reaction which descended on Europe after 1815 sufficed for the revolutionary sentiments to revive and produce a general ferment. The narrow oligarchies of the cantons were attacked by opposition parties representing popular rights. At the same time the liberals proceeded to assault the impotent federal government by demanding a more centralized system. Political results followed in short order. Immediately after the revolutionary disturbances of 1830 had shaken the Metternichian system, the local Swiss oligarchies, as though stunned by the new spirit, gave way with such surprising swiftness that before long the cantonal governments had been generally democratized. It was now the turn of the feeble federal constitution. As the seven Catholic cantons, inhabited largely by conservative peasants, feared the consequences of a strong union, they resolved to resist federal reform by means of a league, which became known as the *Sonderbund*. As this was tantamount to secession, the other cantons declared war and in a brief campaign won the victory (1847). They crowned it by drawing up (1848) a new constitution, which established an effective union imbued with democratic principles. With slight changes it is still in operation.

The Swiss constitution

By the constitution of 1848 the supremacy of the federal over the cantonal powers was raised beyond a doubt, but the cantons were not deprived of their local rights. In its dovetailing of central and local powers Switzerland offers a strong resemblance to the political system of the United States. The national legislative power is vested in a *Federal Assembly* of two houses: the *Council of States*, much like the United States Senate, consists of two delegates from each canton, while the *National Council*, comparable to the house of Representatives, is elected by the people on the basis of universal manhood suffrage. In sharp distinction from the United States, however, the national executive is not a single person, but a committee of seven, called the *Federal Council* and elected by the Federal Assembly. Although one of the seven presides under the title of *President of the Council* his authority is hardly greater than that of his six colleagues.

Progressive democratization

Since the fundamental reforms effected between 1830 and 1848 the Swiss have not ceased to bring the democracy to which they are dedicated to an ever fuller expression. In some of the smaller agricultural cantons there had survived from past ages a kind of enlarged town meeting, called *Landesgemeinde*, which dispatched its business directly by electing magistrates and voting laws in an open session. This system appealed also to the larger cantons, even though convenience obliged them to legislate indirectly through elected representatives. In an effort to give every citizen the advantage of direct participation in the work of legislation the Swiss devised the measures known as *referendum* and *initiative*. By the referendum laws passed by the legislature, whether of the individual canton or of the federation, may be submitted for a final verdict to the vote of the people; by the initiative the right is conceded to a certain number of citizens to propose a measure which, should the people favor it in a special election, must then be converted into law by the legislators. It is probable that the theory of democracy has been more broadly applied and has achieved a more complete success in Switzerland than in any other country of the world.

Switzerland presents an anomaly in a nationalist age since, although composed of three nationalities, it is not threatened with disruption. If to the German, French, and Italian groups we add the small body in the valleys of the Grisons who speak a dialect derived from Latin called Romansch, we may even speak of four Swiss nationalities. That about 70 per cent of the population speak German, 21 per cent French, and 7 per cent Italian brings out the fact that the Confederation, which began among German peasants and mountaineers, is still preponderantly German. If the language groups do not quarrel, it is because German, French, and Italian enjoy equal recognition as official languages; and further, because each group, treating the others with respect, refrains from attempting to gain an unfair advantage at their expense. The fine spirit of toleration among the Swiss is the best guarantee of continued domestic harmony.

The four nationalities

The great political advance of Switzerland in the nineteenth century was brought about by the remarkable expansion of the economic and mental life of the whole Swiss community. The country has shared as fully as its resources permitted in the newest phase of western civilization. Its educational system from the obligatory public school at the bottom to the numerous professional institutions at the top enjoys a merited renown. Illiteracy has practically ceased to exist. A people so alert and disciplined was sure to draw notable advantages from the Industrial Revolution in spite of the lack of a sea-board and the absence of coal and iron. Switzerland is therefore by no means a negligible manufacturing area. At the same time there has been an impressive advance in dairying and cattle-raising, occupations in which the upland valleys have distinguished themselves from the earliest times. A Swiss specialty, the tourist industry, deserves mention since it rests upon the scenic beauties of the Alps and bears witness to an intelligence which neglects no opportunity to draw an honorable return from the resources of the country.

Education and prosperity

Into the World War Switzerland refused to be drawn. But it did not rely for safety exclusively on the neutrality guaranteed to it at the Congress of Vienna. Desiring to defend its independence in case of need, the country had, long before 1914, built up a small but highly efficient army, which was regarded as the nucleus of the national militia to be called out in time of war. Of this national militia every male citizen was required to be a member and to report periodically for service in order to gain the necessary training. A firm, self-reliant spirit is characteristic of the Swiss and helps explain their high status among modern nations.

Independence guaranteed by international law plus a national army

BELGIUM

Belgium a constitutional monarchy

A child of the Revolution of 1830, Belgium is one of the youngest states of Europe. When the great powers found themselves unable to stop the revolt of the Belgians against the Dutch, they made the best of a bad business and not only accepted Belgian independence but tried, as in the case of Switzerland, to protect the new state against attack by guaranteeing its neutrality. The constitution adopted in 1831 by the liberated Belgian people is still in use. It established a hereditary monarchy together with a bi-cameral parliament, of which the upper house was chosen by rather involved methods, while the lower house was elected directly by the eligible voters. Owing to a relatively high property qualification the eligible voters were for many decades limited to a small body of well-to-do citizens. Leopold, a German prince of the house of Saxe-Coburg, was elected king and proved an exceptionally intelligent sovereign (1831–1865). He was succeeded by his son, Leopold II (1865–1909), as intelligent as his father and a shrewd and grasping business man besides. Leopold's successor was his nephew, Albert I (1909–   ).

Economic development

On attaining independence Belgium embarked on a career which has brought it an amazing economic development. The country has taken full advantage of its fortunate geographical situation on the North sea and by means of one of the most elaborate networks of canals and railways in the world has tied up the great port of Antwerp with a hinterland including the populous Meuse and Rhine valleys. It has made its rich coal-beds the basis of an industrial development which is only surpassed by that of such great nations as Great Britain and Germany. Finally, it has witnessed, on the part of its numerous small landholders, the application of scientific methods to agriculture and kitchen gardening, whereby the wealth and comfort of the country people have been greatly increased. Just before the World War little Belgium had reached a population of 7,500,000 and was the most densely settled area of Europe.

The limited suffrage put the government of Belgium after 1831 in the hands of the middle classes, who divided their favor between a Catholic and a Liberal party. Belonging to the same social class and having identical economic interests, Liberals and Catholics differed chiefly as to the control of education. At one time the Liberals were sufficiently strong to eliminate clerical influence from the public schools. However, in the eighties the Catholics so decidedly gained the upper hand that they have held power almost uninterruptedly down to the present time. Of course they restored religious instruction in the public schools. What is more surprising, yielding to popular clamor, they cancelled the property qualification and established universal manhood suffrage (1893). However, they showed a lingering distrust of the common people by conceding one or two additional votes to citizens of wealth or education (plural voting). In 1899 a much discussed political device, proportional representation, was adopted in order to permit minority opinions to be heard in parliament. Though the Liberals had meanwhile almost completely disappeared as a political factor, their place as an opposition party was taken by the Socialists, who made a point of defending the interests of the growing body of workingmen. In conformity with the views of their brethren throughout Europe, the Socialists have persistently attacked both plural voting and the clerical control of the schools as undemocratic. In 1919 the Belgian parliament, yielding to popular, post-war pressure, extended the vote to women.

Enlargement of the suffrage

Belgium is troubled by a nationality issue due to the fact that the population is about evenly divided between a Celtic group, called Walloons, and a Teutonic people, closely related to the Dutch and called Flemings. The Flemings hold the northern part of the country and being, generally speaking, farmers and peasants are conservative-minded and devoutly Catholic. The Walloons employ the French tongue, are chiefly engaged in industry, and look on Paris as their mental capital. Owing to the prestige associated with the French language this speech has long enjoyed a privileged position in the Belgian administration, courts, and schools. In recent years the Flemings have protested against this ascendancy and have inaugurated a campaign for equal rights for their own neglected tongue. Partial concessions have been made by the government without satisfying the Flemish nationalists. It may be assumed that nothing short of the equal treatment observed in Switzerland will end their agitation.

Flemings and Walloons

In 1908 Belgium made a daring plunge into colonialism by taking over the huge African territory of the Congo after it had been developed by the personal enterprise of their king, Leopold II. It was in 1885 that Leopold obtained from a colonial conference held by the powers at Berlin recognition of himself as the sovereign in his own name of the vast tropical jungle called the Congo Free State. Devoting himself to its development like any other money-making capitalist, he soon succeeded in drawing truly princely revenues from its great resources of ivory and rubber. When it was discovered that the abnormal profits were ground out of the black natives by a cruel system of forced labor, a cry of indignation was raised through Europe which obliged Leopold to introduce reforms and, finally, to transfer the colony to the Belgian state. The Belgian administration has been energetic and enlightened to an unusual degree. The tropical wealth of this immense area is being systematically developed with a view to supplying the busy industry of Belgium with needed raw products.

Belgium a colonial power

When the great war broke out in 1914 Germany at once invaded Belgium, regardless of the neutrality treaty to which she, too, was a party. This flagrant breach of international law had the effect of converting Belgium into one of the main battle-grounds of Europe. The heroic rôle of the little country is reserved to a later chapter as well as the account of the compensations and rewards conceded to it in the general European settlement. At this point it is proper to set down that since her neutrality failed to give her security, Belgium surrendered it in 1919 and now enjoys the same international status as her immediate neighbors.

Belgium and the World War

HOLLAND

The kingdom of the Netherlands, established in 1815 by the Congress of Vienna, was dismembered in 1830 by the revolt of its Belgian provinces. Reduced to the area of the former Dutch Republic, it has continued to operate under the official name adopted in 1815, but is in English-speaking countries generally referred to as Holland. The powers at Vienna recognized William I of the historic house of Orange-Nassau as king of the Netherlands. A typical conservative of his age, he granted a constitution which left the power substantially in his own hands as autocrat. Not even the Belgian disaster broke his stubborn will, and it was not till the reign of his son, William II (1840–1849), that a new and more popular fundamental law was adopted. Doubtless the general ferment of 1848 rather than his own insight prompted this act of royal liberality.

Two conservative monarchs

By the constitution of 1848 the power of the king was held in check by a parliament of two houses. The upper house was composed of members elected by the legislatures of the eleven provinces which compose the kingdom. The lower house was chosen directly by the voters, a limited body determined on the basis of property. By conceding important rights of self-government to the eleven constituent provinces, the Dutch system took on a balanced federal character like that of Switzerland and the United States. The narrow suffrage invited attack on the part of the Liberals with the result that successive acts of parliament gradually widened the franchise until a sweeping measure of 1918 gave the vote to all adult men and women. William II was succeeded in 1849 by William III, on whose demise in 1890 his daughter Wilhelmina mounted the throne. A strictly constitutional sovereign, she enjoys to the full the traditional devotion of her countrymen to the house of Nassau.

The system of government

The inhabitants of the kingdom are a homogeneous group of Germanic origin speaking the Dutch language. Perhaps the domestic question which has agitated them more than any other is the place of religion in the educational system. Their Calvinistic faith has been such a factor in their history that large numbers of conservative Protestants feel an aversion for an education divorced from religious instruction. In this they are of one mind with the Catholics, who constitute an important and growing element of the community. However, in Holland as elsewhere, a Liberal party advocates strictly secular schools and in this position the Liberals are supported by a party of more recent origin, the Socialists. The solution of the educational problem arrived at among these rival groups was in the nature of a compromise. A public school system without religious instruction was created for those who desire the purely secular school. At its side operate the private school systems of the Calvinists and Catholics. All three systems alike are subsidized from the public purse. Since attendance at one or another of these schools is compulsory, illiteracy has been practically abolished.

The educational conflict and its solution

The economic development of Holland has steadily continued along the lines determined by its glorious past. It was the full utilization by the people of its sea-board position that won for the country its seventeenth century eminence. The startling decline since that epoch has, after all, been relative rather than absolute, for, considering its small size and its population of about 7,000,000, Holland still maintains

Flourishing state of commerce and agriculture

a very notable position in commerce and agriculture. Among its rich lowland meadows a dairy industry had developed which matches that of the upland pastures of the Swiss. On the other hand, a busy commerce, concentrated in the two sea-ports of Amsterdam and Rotterdam, throws a bridge from Holland to every country of the world.

The Dutch colonies

The still very considerable remnant of Holland's colonial empire contributes in no small degree to the nation's prosperity. The Dutch possessions consist of Guiana (South America) and a group of tropical East Indian islands, of which Java, Sumatra, and Borneo are the most important. From this eastern source the Dutch merchants supply the European markets with spices, coffee, sugar, rubber, and similar tropical products. Owing to the absence of mineral resources Holland did not turn to manufacturing like its neighbor Belgium. That, in the light of all the facts, the country has made the best possible use of its natural advantages admits of no dispute.

Holland prepared to defend itself

Like Belgium, Holland occupies an advantageous but also dangerous position in close proximity to such great powers as France, Germany, and Great Britain. Switzerland and Belgium, in spite of the neutrality guaranteed to them by the powers, did not fail to provide for their defense by the creation of considerable armies. Evidently they nursed a conviction that their independence rested in last resort not on international promises but on their own prowess. We need therefore feel no surprise that the kingdom of the Netherlands, which enjoys no similar international guarantee, has been at particular pains to provide against attack. Beginning with 1898 the militia was reorganized with a provision for the compulsory service of the individual citizen. This reform has enabled the Dutch to mobilize at need a large and serviceable force.

The Dutch-Belgian boundary dispute

It was, in large measure at least, because Holland was prepared to defend itself, with an army against Germany and a fleet against Great Britain, that the kingdom was able to sustain its decision to remain neutral in the World War. The crisis was successfully weathered but brought an unpleasant aftermath by troubling Holland's relations with Belgium. This neighbor to the south wished to improve its position by a rectification of boundaries. The demand was not wholly unreasonable, since the boundary had been originally drawn to meet Dutch, not

Belgian, interests and the mouth of the Scheldt, which is the river of Antwerp, was left in Dutch possession. However, neither the kingdom of the Netherlands nor any other state has as yet acquired the habit of voluntarily surrendering title to territory in its possession. In 1927 the Dutch parliament rejected a compromise with Belgium submitted by its own government, since which time negotiations have been at a standstill.

The grand-duchy of Luxemburg

As the grand-duchy of Luxemburg, wedged between France, Belgium, and Germany, was in 1815 attached as a personal possession to William I, king of the Netherlands, a word concerning it may be inserted at this point. Although William reigned as grand-duke in Luxemburg, the territory was for geographic and military reasons incorporated in the German Bund. When the Bund disappeared as a result of the Austro-Prussian war of 1866, Luxemburg, left high and dry, was coveted by Napoleon III and might have been surrendered to him for a consideration by its then sovereign, King William III of the Netherlands, if Prussia had not interfered. To adjust the uncertainties which enveloped the status of the grand-duchy, a conference of the powers, held (1867) in London, confirmed William III as grand-duke, and, renewing the declaration of the little territory's independence, put it under the collective guarantee of the powers. On William III's death in 1890 he was succeeded in the Netherlands by his daughter Wilhelmina but in Luxemburg, which rejected female succession, by his nearest male relative, Adolphus of Nassau. Thus the last tie was snapped between Holland and Luxemburg. Since then Adolphus and his descendants after him have ruled this Lilliputian state as constitutional princes.

Present status of Luxemburg

In 1914 Germany invaded and occupied Luxemburg simultaneously with Belgium. As Luxemburg enjoyed the same sort of international guarantee as Belgium, the German act was equally reprehensible. When the war was over, the peace-makers at Paris once more affirmed the independence of the tiny state, and at the same lifted it out of its customs union with Germany. But as it was too inconsiderable a territory for an independent economic existence, it was permitted to attach itself to either France or Belgium. A referendum (1919) showed that the people preferred France. As Belgium strongly resented this decision, France itself advised the Luxemburg government to negotiate a customs union with Belgium. This arrangement was effected by treaty in 1921.

THE SCANDINAVIAN STATES

Three branches of a single tree

The three Scandinavian states, Denmark, Sweden, and Norway, have so much in common that it is proper to group them together. Danes, Swedes, and Norwegians represent branches of the same North-Germanic stock; they speak three distinct, though closely related languages; they adhere alike to the Lutheran faith; they live by agriculture, commerce, sea-faring, and fishing, rather than by manufactures; they are intellectually alert and have provided themselves with advanced educational systems; and they have passed in recent years through a similar social and political evolution. They are not a numerous people, the population of Denmark being at the present time about 3,400,000, that of Sweden 6,000,000, and that of Norway 2,700,000. By their enterprise, intelligence, and sturdy qualities they have all three won an honorable position in the modern movement of civilization.

(*a*) DENMARK

Territorial losses of 1814 and 1864

To punish the king of Denmark for clinging to Napoleon, the victor powers transferred (1814) his dependency, Norway, to Sweden. In 1864 he lost Schleswig and Holstein, which two years later were incorporated in Prussia. By these successive liberations from foreign bodies Denmark was not injured but helped, and doubtless owes much of its recent rapid advance to its freedom from nationalist worries.

Farmer prosperity and democratization

Up to the middle of the nineteenth century the Danish political situation was marked by stagnation and the king's absolutism was hardly challenged. But the revolutionary fervor which seized on Europe in 1848 weakened the royal position. Frederick VII issued a constitution (1849), which, revised in 1866, is still in force. Christian IX, who ruled from 1863 to 1906, tried to oppose the democratic trend and, against the wishes of the lower house, insisted on carrying through a policy of military preparedness. He appointed ministers at his pleasure, and when he could not get a majority in the chamber for his budgets enacted them by royal decree. It was a serious situation, luckily solved without civil war by the irresistible advance of the small Danish farmers, who constitute the bulk of the nation. They have steadily improved their condition by intensive dairy-farming coupled with an amazingly effective chain of coöperative societies. By these coöperatives great quantities of butter, cheese, and eggs are sold to Great Britain and Germany. The small farmers gradually came to dominate so completely both the economic and political situation of their country that the king in 1901 wisely ended the domestic conflict by installing a cabinet representing the majority party in the lower house. Since this popular victory the democratization has proceeded at a steadily accelerating pace. It was championed by the Liberals and latterly, with even greater ardor, by a growing group of Socialists. The suffrage was enlarged by stages till the vote is now enjoyed by all adult men and women. At the same time the army was reduced to a strict militia basis. After the World War the Socialists even proposed to abolish the army and navy altogether on the ground that Denmark could not defend itself against one of the great powers in any event. It is not unlikely that this broadly pacifistic proposal will before long be enacted into law.

Denmark without colonial ambitions

In conformity with the politico-social outlook of a prosperous community of socialized farmers, Denmark has shown so little taste for colonialism that, instead of reaching out for new colonies, it has disposed of most of those that it had. In 1903 Iceland was granted a measure of home rule which was subsequently expanded to independence; and in 1917 the three Danish West Indian islands, St. Thomas, St. Croix, and St. John, were sold to the United States and renamed the Virgin Islands. True, Denmark still owns Greenland but the possession of this glacial land is not calculated to arouse rosy dreams of colonial grandeur.

Rectification of the Danish-German boundary, 1920

Although Denmark, like her two Scandinavian neighbors, refused to be drawn into the World War, in distinction from them who gained nothing at all, she derived a not unimportant benefit from the allied victory. By the Treaty of Versailles it was provided that the northern and middle zones of Schleswig were to determine by plebiscite whether they wished to remain with Germany or be transferred to Denmark. The northern zone opted for Denmark, the middle zone for Germany. Should the new boundary between the two Germanic neighbors succeed in burying the nationalist issue which has long caused reciprocal ill-will, it may fairly be hailed by both parties as a deliverance.

(*b*) SWEDEN

Marshal Bernadotte becomes king of Sweden

That Sweden had, in the seventeenth century, been a great European power has in more ways than one subtly affected its history down to our own time. It was the Russia of Peter the Great that had dragged Sweden from its eminence and absorbed most of the Swedish conquests along the east shore of the Baltic. A century later, in 1809, Tsar Alexander I crowned the work of Peter by capturing Finland from his Scandinavian neighbor. It was at this juncture that Sweden sought to strengthen its hand against Russia by elevating one of Napoleon's marshals, Bernadotte, to the Swedish throne. Once in Sweden Bernadotte, instead of playing Napoleon's game, joined his enemies, and on Napoleon's overthrow was rewarded for his help by the cession of Norway.

Sweden and Norway

Up to this time (1814) Norway had belonged to Denmark. Outraged by this treatment of them as a mere diplomatic pawn, the Norwegians rose in arms and forced Sweden to recognize their independence under their own separate constitution. Then they elected the king of Sweden as their own king, thus establishing the familiar form of connection between two separate states known as a personal union. Besides the monarch, the two kingdoms had no institution in common other than the diplomatic and consular services. Even this restricted association led to friction which culminated in 1905 in a complete rupture. We shall treat of it in the following section.

Traditional rule of the Swedish aristocracy

Marshal Bernadotte reigned as king under the title Charles XIV till 1844. He and his descendants have identified themselves so thoroughly with Swedish interests that, though of French origin, the family could not be more popular if it were a native house. Sweden, in distinction from democratic Norway and Denmark, was in the days of Bernadotte an aristocratic society of great landholders raised above a dependent peasantry. This upper order nursed dreams of Swedish greatness, favored military preparedness to resist further Russian encroachments, and set its face against the liberal movement. It was of one mind with its French ruler in standing by the old system of government inherited from feudal times.

However, the modern movement of science and industry gradually strengthened the middle classes, and in 1866 under their influence the medieval diet was replaced by a modern parliament of two chambers. A fairly high property qualification restricted the body of electors and proved the conservative character of the reform. Not till 1909 were constitutional amendments carried celebrating the full triumph of democracy by the establishment of universal manhood suffrage. This political transformation should, as usual, be interpreted in the light of the contemporary social-economic movement. The Swedish natural resources, consisting chiefly of iron, forests, and water-power, have served since 1850 as the basis of an industrial movement which has strengthened both the middle classes and the proletariat. While the land-holding aristocracy is still powerful, it can no longer stand up against a union of the newer orders represented in politics by the Liberal and Socialist parties. Many signs indicate that in the future the struggle for political control will be between these two latter groups as the really decisive factors in present-day Sweden. Conservatism, resting on the power of great landlords, is apparently a lost cause.

Gradual democratization

(c) NORWAY

We have seen that it was due solely to the firm resolution shown by Norway in 1814–1815 that the country gained its independence under its own constitution and was joined to Sweden in a purely personal union. Even this loose association proved irksome for a number of reasons. Norway is a coast and mountain land of small farmers, fishermen, sailors, merchants, and Protestant clergymen, in a word as democratic a society as can be found anywhere in Europe. Even the constitution of 1814, constructed in a period of general reaction, was for its time an unusually democratic document since it vested supreme authority in a parliament (*Storthing*) and gave the vote to all taxpayers.

The constitution of 1814

The plentiful energy of the Norwegians was in the nineteenth century poured chiefly into the shipping business. They developed the carrying trade to such a degree that by 1900 their merchant marine had reached a tonnage which ranked it above the merchant marines of even the great powers with the exception of Great Britain and Germany. That signified an increase of national self-esteem making the domination of Sweden in the consular service, the business of which is to look after shipping, decidedly irritating. Not unnaturally the

Separation from Sweden, 1905

people raised a clamor for Norwegian consuls. In addition, they made the highly emotional demand for their own Norwegian flag on Norwegian ships instead of the legal flag symbolic of the union with Sweden. When the king, who was Oscar II, refused to yield, the Storthing in 1905 dissolved the union by legislative act. The crisis ended by Oscar wisely bowing to necessity. Norway, free of the last Swedish bonds, thereupon elected to its throne a Danish prince, who took the title Haakon VII (1905–).

Democratization

A society which, like that of Norway, was founded on the vigorous self-respect of farmers and sailors, was sure to prove friendly to the democratic doctrines current in our age. From 1870 on they would have been incorporated in the Norwegian political system in short order, had not the conservative-minded Swedish king imposed a halt. Only slowly was his resistance overcome. In 1884 he was obliged to accept the parliamentary system, that is, he declared himself ready to concede the ministerial posts to representatives of the majority party in the Storthing. In 1898 the limited franchise was replaced by universal manhood suffrage. With the Swedish brakes removed (1905) the democratic chariot moved forward at an accelerated pace. In 1907 women received the vote, first with certain limitations, finally (1913) on the same broad basis as men. Norway claims the honor of being the first sovereign state of Europe to admit women not only to the vote in national elections but also to a seat in parliament.

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CHAPTER XXXI

PROGRESS AND RIVALRY OF THE RUSSIAN AND OTTOMAN EMPIRES IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

The westernization of Russia

From the very beginning of this book interest has been focussed on western civilization and the position has been taken that it originated in medieval times within the territories embraced by the Latin Christian Church. In the period of the Renaissance its slowly accumulated energy burst through these narrow geographic bounds, crossed the seas, and sought to bring America and Asia within the field of its activity. Though it gained at first no more than a foothold on these continents, it has ever since been engaged in the attempt to bring them thoroughly and entirely under its influence. In the vast eastern plain of Europe, on which the Russians, a Slav people, dwelt, the expanding civilization of the west celebrated toward the end of the seventeenth century a victory of a different kind. Under Tsar Peter the Great it encountered that sincerest form of flattery, imitation; and although Peter was no magician and could not in a twinkling give the primitive and superstitious mind of his people a new direction, he could and did perform a number of more superficial miracles, such as the reorganization of the Russian army and administration after a western, more specifically, a German pattern. On the whole he succeeded in imparting to the vast Russian mass a slow but irresistible momentum. In consequence it pushed, even in Peter's day, the weakening might of Sweden from the Baltic; and, in the days after Peter, it flowed into Poland and crowded the once irresistible Ottoman Empire from the northern shore of the Black sea.

Refusal of Turkey to become westernized

When with exceptional frankness the Tsarina Catherine II (1762–96) indicated that the goal of Russian political endeavor would for her and her descendants be Constantinople and the straits, it became clear that the Ottoman Empire was doomed unless it found means of bringing the Russian offensive to a halt. It will be admitted without debate that the only effective way of stopping the northern juggernaut would have been for the Ottoman Empire to follow the Russian example and to carry through a reform of the army and administration. In other words, it behooved the sultan to adopt a frank policy of westernization. But that was, at least without several generations of preparatory labors, wholly out of the question. The Turks, who had built up the racially mixed Ottoman Empire and on whom it continued to rest, were too instinctively hostile to Europe to befriend themselves easily with either its attitudes or institutions. That they were Mongoloid Asiatics was perhaps in itself enough to dig a hopeless chasm between themselves and their western neighbors, who were Caucasian whites. But as they were, besides, of the Moslem faith, they stubbornly locked and double-locked their minds against influences emanating from the hated Christians. In the days of their glory and as late as Solyman the Magnificent (d. 1566) the Turks had maintained a governing system which was in many respects superior to anything in contemporary Europe; but since the seventeenth century this system had fallen into open and undisguised decay. The army, the once famous Janissaries, had become a wretched, undisciplined militia; the administration maintained by the provincial governors or pashas had degenerated into a sink of corruption; and the once war-like sultans had been replaced by feeble voluptuaries content to pass their lives in the enervating atmosphere of the imperial harem.

The revolt of the Balkan peoples

But if the Turks, though threatened with destruction, sealed their ears to the siren voices of the west, such was not the case with the Christian peoples of the Balkan peninsula who had been brought under Ottoman subjection in the fifteenth century. Before the end of the eighteenth century the Greeks and Serbs began to exhibit signs of restlessness which furnished evidence that they were stirred with a new hope. At the same time intellectual leaders appeared among them, who, having traveled in the west, preached the necessity of spreading the knowledge of western ways by those characteristic western instrumentalities, the school and the printing press. The effect of this propaganda was first seen in the revolt (1804) of the Serbs of the Belgrad area. Though defeated, they rose again and by 1817 had obliged the sultan to grant them a not inconsiderable measure of autonomy. When in 1821 the Greeks in their turn felt encouraged to rise, they gained, as we have seen, not only autonomy but independence. In this way a notable breach was made in the Ottoman house by action from within. And what Serbs and Greeks had wrung from a decrepit master, could not Rumanians, Bulgars, and Albanians gain also? Sooner or later the nationalist awakening, based on a new self-reliance as well as on the absorption of the western outlook and methods, would reach all the Balkan groups, and the feeble sultan, the Sick Man of Europe as he was coming to be called, would be confronted with the more or less coördinated rebellion of his Christian subjects.

Turkey an object of imperialist greed

Advancing Russia, decadent Turkey, and the awakening Christian nationalities of the Balkan peninsula are three leading factors in the general nineteenth century situation of the Ottoman Empire. But there is a fourth. If the end of the Mohammedan state was at hand, it was not likely that the other European powers would leave the field to Russia as sole eventual heir. We are aware that Austria from the time of Prince Eugene of Savoy had taken a keen interest in the Balkan peninsula; and the Mediterranean powers, France and Great Britain, did not fail to see advantages beckoning them, more particularly in the Ottoman coastal areas. When somewhat past the middle of the nineteenth century Italy and Germany emerged into the light of day, they too turned a fascinated attention on the opportunities presented by the Near East. In this manner the decay of the Ottoman Empire became a general European concern, and the play of the imperialist appetites and enmities of the great powers must at all times be reckoned with as one of the directive forces in the movement of events.

Russia advances into the Balkan peninsula

If the initial Christian revolt, the revolt of the Serbs in 1804, had on the whole presented itself to view as a local, an Ottoman occurrence, that had not been the case with the Greek revolt of 1821. Its very significance lay in the fact that it produced an intervention of the powers and was followed by a war between the sultan and the tsar.[1] Concluded by the Peace of Adrianople (1829), this conflict greatly strengthened the position of the Muscovite by conceding to him what amounted substantially to a protectorate over the principality of Serbia and the two principalities of Moldavia and Wallachia, the nucleus of modern Rumania. By an irresistible, patient action Russia was acquiring a secure foothold in the Balkan peninsula.

At this promising juncture fate itself seemed to play into the Russian hands. The sultan's most powerful provincial agent was Mehemet Ali, pasha of Egypt. We have encountered him in the Greek war, wherein he took a part which might have proved decisive, had not the powers interfered and wrecked his fleet at Navarino. Mehemet's distinction was that he had copied the west and provided himself with an army and a navy on the European model. He was in consequence more powerful than his over-lord, the sultan; and when he demanded a reward for his sacrifices to the common cause in the form of southern Syria, he could enforce his request with threats. From this ticklish situation there developed in 1831 a war between master and man, in which the pasha was successful. In fact he was so extraordinarily successful that Mehemet's army, commanded by his son Ibrahim, might have taken Constantinople itself if Tsar Nicholas had not interposed his veto (1833). In consequence of a protection asked for and received the sultan, Mahmud by name, was reduced to the status of a Russian ward and burned with thoughts of vengeance on his disobedient vassal of Egypt, the cause of his humiliation. In 1839 Mahmud renewed the war with Mehemet only to be again disastrously defeated. As at the very height of the conflict Mahmud died, leaving the scepter to a youthful son, a general disintegration seized upon the Ottoman Empire. It seemed to prognosticate the end.

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[1] See p. 479.

The sultan twice defeated by the pasha of Egypt

If Tsar Nicholas could by his sole action in 1839 have "saved" the Ottoman Empire as he had done in 1833, he would beyond a doubt have completed its reduction to a Russian dependency. But this time the other powers were on the alert and insisted on having a hand in "saving" the Moslem state. The result was that, though only after a terrible crisis in which the specter of a general war loomed over Europe, the powers, acting together, undertook to regulate the affairs of the Near East. After a severe chastisement at the hands of European forces the too audacious Mehemet was swept back into Egypt, which he received as his hereditary possession, though subject to the sultan as suzerain. So much but not a jot or tittle more would the powers concede to the pasha in return for his two victories over his master. This done, Mahmud's young son was enthroned on the Bosporus. The new ruler owed his existence and security to all the powers, not to Russia alone — that is the great point to be noted. The tsar had acted along with the other powers and in apparent agreement with them had restored the Ottoman Empire. And yet at bottom he saw the Ottoman problem in a radically different light from them. For it is clear as day that the Muscovite ruler interpreted the informal

Europe "saves" the Ottoman Empire from Russia

European protectorate assumed in 1839 as a preliminary step to a partition. The other powers however, and particularly Great Britain, because a partition would inevitably carry Russia to the key-position of Constantinople, opposed this development with all their might. They wished to use the protectorate to the end of "reforming" the Ottoman Empire in order that it might become strong enough to resist all further Russian encroachment.

The Russo-British issue

Such are the elements that account for the Russo-British antagonism which ruled the Near East for the rest of the century. Great Britain was set on the policy of reform and because of its friendly interest in Ottoman independence completely gained the ear of the sultan and of a small enlightened group of Ottoman officials. In fairness it must be admitted that some reforms were effected, largely due to British pressure. Already in 1826 Sultan Mahmud had on his own initiative got rid of the worthless and ever mutinous Janissaries. On the foundations laid by him there was now built up a new Ottoman army equipped, disciplined, and organized in the manner of Europe. Undeniably this reformed army became the most important single factor in the renewed lease of life of the Ottoman state. There was also a hesitant reshaping of the administration in the spirit of a strong, centralized control. On the other hand, as the terrible corruption of officials persisted and as, in the main, the mass of the Turkish people fiercely opposed the spread of European ideas, the old evils proved ineradicable. The signs of domestic discontent multiplied, if anything, and repeated risings furnished Tsar Nicholas with all the ammunition he needed to sustain his favorite thesis that Ottoman reform was a delusion and that the only logical course for the powers was to arrange for an early amicable division of the sultan's lands. Aware that, to carry out this policy, he would have to gain the consent, first of all, of Great Britain, the tsar repeatedly approached the British cabinet with partition projects which London firmly rejected. The upshot was that, disappointed and enraged, he resolved to proceed alone. In 1853 his ambassador at Constantinople was ordered to present an ultimatum which called for the recognition of the tsar as the protector of all Greek Christians resident on Ottoman soil. This embraced the bulk of the sultan's Balkan subjects. To any one who could read between the lines the demand signified the substitution of a Russian for the informal European control of Turkey in practical operation since 1839.

It was this ultimatum which led to the Crimean War (1854–1856) which we have already treated.[1] As Russia was defeated, the victors, Great Britain and France, in dictating the Peace of Paris, deprived the great Slav power of all the special advantages within the Ottoman Empire accumulated by previous treaties. In other words they reduced Russia, in respect to the Turkish dominion, to an exact level with all the other European states. In order to give the sultan the greatest possible security against a renewed future aggression on the part of the tsar, the two western powers went the extraordinary length of forbidding Russia to maintain a navy on the Black sea. As a further punishment they required the return to Moldavia of southern Bessarabia, which Russia had seized in 1812. Finally, the informal protectorate exercised by all the powers at Constantinople since 1839 was abolished and the Ottoman Empire welcomed as a sovereign state into the comity of European nations.

The Peace of Paris reinvigorates the sultan

Carefully examined, the Treaty of Paris represented an attempt to secure the perpetuation of the Ottoman state by ingenious diplomatic devices. That it failed to accomplish this goes without saying. What was the use of elevating the status of the sultan's realm when it was as plain as a pike-staff that decay persisted and that oppressed groups never ceased to clamor for relief? In the face of the disturbed domestic situation it happened, before long, that one or the other power or several powers in combination interfered to put out a fire which had started in some part of the Ottoman house. They thus violated the sovereignty which they themselves had so sonorously proclaimed and indirectly endorsed the position of Russia that the Ottoman weakness was irremediable. Furthermore, Russia rapidly recovered from the Crimean disaster and earnestly revolved plans for undoing its effects. The war of 1870 between France and Germany furnished a golden opportunity. As soon as Europe was fully absorbed with that struggle, the tsar struck from his limbs the chief shackle imposed by the Treaty of Paris by issuing a declaration to the effect that he would no longer hold himself bound by the Black sea clause. To mark the complete resumption of his independence in the Black sea waters he undertook the construction of a navy and of a naval base. Fifteen years after the capture of Sebastopol Russia rebuilt that ruined port. It was an act tantamount to the declaration that the tsar had resumed the interrupted march on Constantinople.

Decay of Turkey; recovery of Russia

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[1] See p. 546.

The national self-assertion which announced itself in this nullification of solemn treaty obligations was no isolated act. The breath of a new life was upon Russia. Even before the Crimean defeat certain elements of the Russian people had convinced themselves that something was radically wrong with their state and that the time had come for a thorough reconstruction. A hundred and fifty years had now passed since Peter the Great initiated among his resisting and unwilling subjects a revolution from above. Among its by-products, hardly foreseen by the enterprising tsar, had been the creation of a small but active Russian middle class. This social stratum together with the more mobile elements of the land-holding nobility gradually formed an enlightened upper crust friendly to the program of reform and to western ideas in general. On the heel of the defeat of Russia in the Crimean war these groups energetically came forward, declaring by book, pamphlet, and newspaper that the hour had struck to resume and intensify the eighteenth century reform movement. They insisted that the tutelage and oppression of the Russian people must end and in no uncertain terms prophesied a revolution from below if the work of Europeanization was not carried forward to a new stage. The young tsar, Alexander II (1855–1881), a humane and sensitive man, proved to be agreeably responsive to the pressure put upon him. Partly because the inherited institutions were manifestly antiquated, partly in order to conciliate the hostile criticism of the intelligentsia, he inaugurated an important era of reform.

Alexander II inaugurates an era of reform

Three measures indicate that Alexander was willing to go far to bridge the wide gap between his country and western Europe. He introduced a new legal and judicial system inspired by western models; he endowed the constituent provinces of the Russian state with self-governing rights by means of assemblies called *zemstvos;* and he emancipated the serfs. This last measure carried Alexander's reputation around the world because it elevated the legal and moral status of millions of peasants, who in the primitive, agricultural society constituting Russia made up the bulk of the population. He began with an edict which liberated the serfs on the vast imperial estates; he ended with the decree of 1861 which was applicable to the whole Russian territory.

The emancipation of the serfs

Simultaneously with their liberation the attempt was made to convert the serfs into self-respecting peasant-proprietors. In return for a compensation paid out of state funds each landlord agreed to surrender a part of his estate with a view to its distribution among the villagers. As on this plan of apportionment the individual peasant-farm was so small as barely to suffice for subsistence, certain evils put in their appearance which rapidly assumed extraordinary proportions. For one thing, owing to the increase of population, there were presently far more peasants than the existing peasant land would support; and for another the surplus peasants constituted an impoverished agricultural proletariat animated by an unquenchable land-hunger. While some elements of this degraded mass were, it is true, gradually diverted toward the vast, unoccupied tracts of Siberia, others remained behind with rage and misery in their hearts and with a growing tendency to look for relief from their cramped conditions to the large and comfortable estates of the nobility. Decidedly emancipation, however laudable for having raised the peasants to the legal status of freemen, was far from solving all their economic problems.

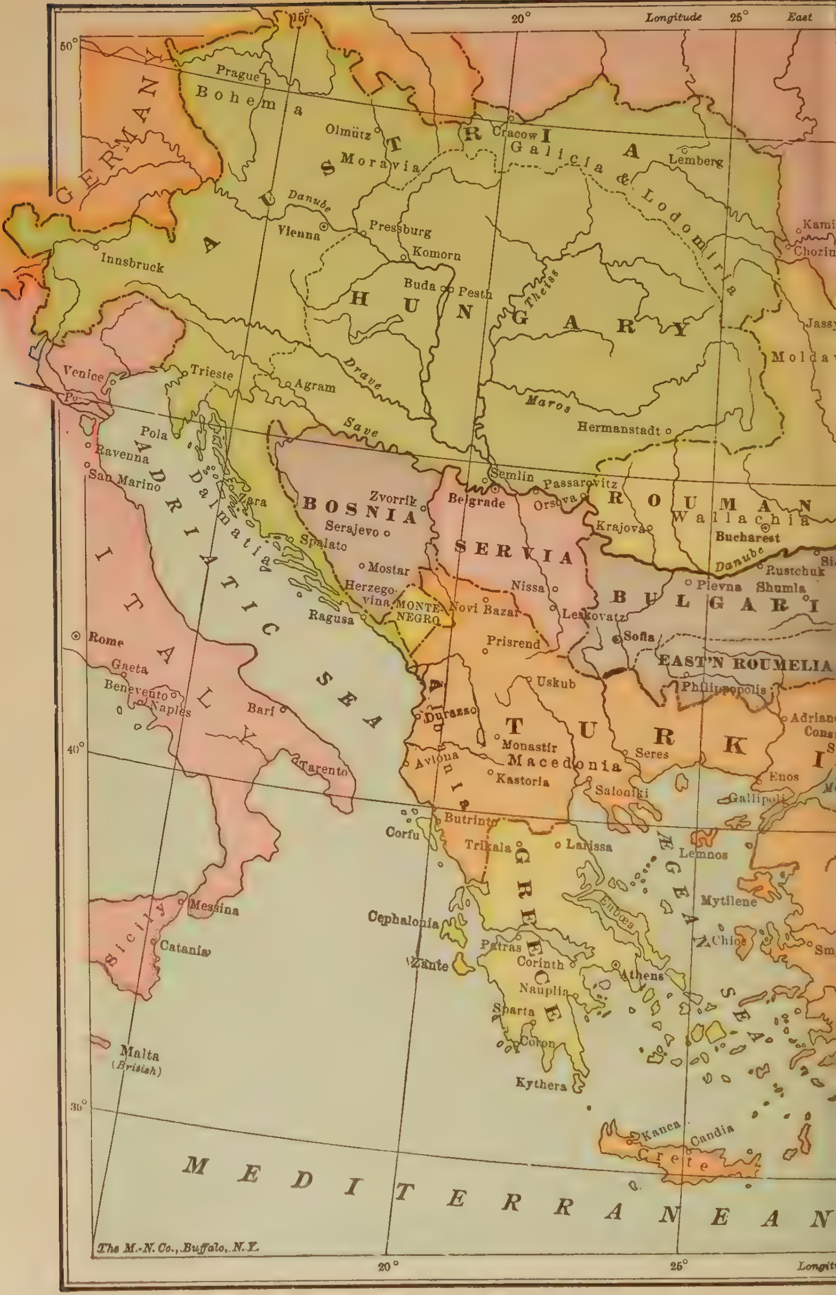
Freedom fails to solve the peasant problem

Successfully launched on a policy of reform and westernization, Alexander was, before the first decade of his reign had passed, seized with doubts and fears that brought him to a halt. Perhaps the decisive factor in his change of front was the Polish revolution. In 1863 the Poles rose against him as they had risen thirty years before against his father. Although his armies quickly stamped out the rebellious embers, he became convinced that he had himself nursed the serpent, revolution, by his support of modernizing measures. When, therefore, liberal sentiment raised its voice in behalf of an extension of the zemstvo, that is, of the self-governing idea to the whole realm in the form of a general Russian parliament, he abruptly broke with his former allies. Falling under the sway of reaction, he enacted every conceivable measure conducive to the suppression of free opinion. The culminating act was the reintroduction of Nicholas I's infamous secret police system. By means of it liberal-minded men and women were seized on the slightest pretext and sent to Siberia to work in the mines like common felons.

Alexander turns reactionary

With this change of Alexander from liberal to reactionary opinions war was declared between him and the Europeanizing intelligentsia. Like every thwarted group, it soon gave evidence of turning more and more to radical solutions. Some liberals took up a sardonic and disillusioned rationalism, akin to eighteenth century enlightenment and called nihilism. Others consoled themselves with socialist and anarchist views. Still others, filled

Terrorists assassinate Alexander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Chozin
Danube
Vienna
Pressburg
Komorn
Innsbruck
Buda
Pesth
HUNGARY
Theiss
Jassy
Molda
Venice
Po
Trieste
Agram
Drave
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Maros
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Belgrade
Passarovitz
Orsova
ROUMANIA
Wallachia
Krajova
Bucharest
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MONTE-NEGRO
Ragusa
Nissa
Novi Bazar
Leskovatz
Plevna
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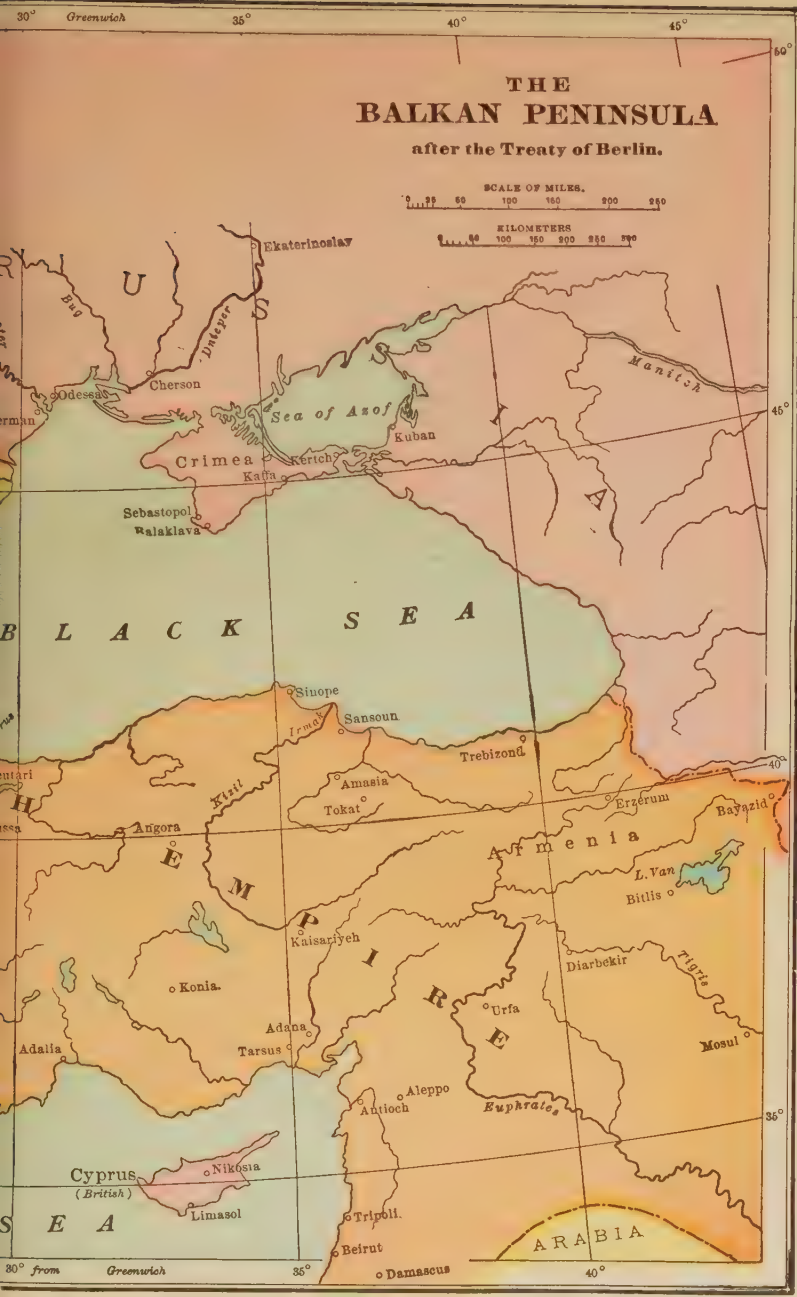

THE BALKAN PENINSULA

after the Treaty of Berlin.

SCALE OF MILES.
0 25 50 100 150 200 250
KILOMETERS
0 50 100 150 200 250 300
30° Greenwich
35°
40°
45°
50°
45°
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35°
30° from Greenwich
35°
40°
Ekaterinoslav
U
S
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I
A
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Dnieper
Cherson
Odessa
erman
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Kuban
Manitch
Crimea
Kertch
Kaffa
Sebastopol
Balaklava
BLACK SEA
Sinope
Sansoun
Irmak
Trebizond
Kizil
Amasia
Tokat
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Erzerum
Bayazid
Armenia
L. Van
Bitlis
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Kaisariyeh
Diarbekir
Tigris
Konia
Urfa
Mosul
Adana
Tarsus
Adalia
Aleppo
Antioch
Euphrates
Cyprus (British)
Nikosia
Limasol
SEA
Tripoli
Beirut
Damascus
ARABIA

with a fanatic need for action, formed societies of terrorists pledged to the idea of wringing concessions from the government by deeds of violence. The terrorists murdered unpopular officials and in effect levied private war upon the tsar. Of course the threatened government met the attack by doubling its repression. It seized its enemies by the thousands and sent them marching in endless chain-gangs into the ice-bound wildernesses of Siberia. In March, 1881, Alexander II himself fell a victim to the ferocious struggle. A bomb thrown by a terrorist assassin ended his life.

The revolt of Bosnia and Herzegovina, 1875

Before Alexander perished he had been enabled to resume the Ottoman policy of his predecessors and to strike another and measurably successful blow against the old enemy of Russia, the sultan. It was in 1875 that the Balkan question once again became pressing by the fresh rebellion of a subject people. The Christian Serbs of the provinces of Herzegovina and Bosnia rose against the sultan rather than bear any longer the oppression of his tax-collectors. They gained the sympathy and support of the two small Serb states of Serbia and Montenegro, which by declaring war on the sultan spread alarm and agitation throughout Europe.

The Russo-Turkish war of 1877–78

Of course the pigmy states, Serbia and Montenegro, could not long stand up against the Ottoman Empire. The powers interfered to save them from excessive punishment but at the same time ordered the sultan to undertake a general house-cleaning. When he resisted their pressure, Russia took the bit between its teeth and in April, 1877, declared war in its turn. Immediately a vast Muscovite army moved across the provinces of Moldavia and Wallachia, which, following the Peace of Paris, had been joined together under European auspices with the name of Rumania. Thus a new Balkan state had seen the light (1858), self-governing Rumania following in the footsteps of self-governing Serbia and independent Greece. The invaders drove the Ottoman forces, like sheep, before them toward the passes of the Balkan mountains. Had it not been for Osman Pasha, the war would have ended for the Turks with a swift, ignominious collapse. Osman alone saved the honor of the Turkish army. He gathered such forces as he could lay his hands on, threw himself into the fortress of Plevna, and there held the whole Russian army at bay for many months. However, when, in December, Plevna, owing to starvation, was obliged to yield, the Russians encountered no further obstacle. They poured in an irresistible stream across the Balkan mountains into the Thracian plain. In January, 1878, they camped on the shores of the sea of Marmora in full view of the slender minarets of Constantinople. Reduced to utter helplessness, Sultan Abdul Hamid II was obliged humbly to sue for peace.

Russia imposes the Treaty of San Stefano

At this turn an enormous excitement seized upon the chancelleries of Europe, more particularly of Austria and Great Britain. They saw Russia in complete possession of its prey and in order to bring home to the tsar that they did not intend to let him devour it by himself in total oblivion of his neighbors, they made frantic gestures, Austria by mobilizing an army on the Rumanian border, Great Britain by dispatching a fleet to the Dardanelles. It was a critical situation that became positively explosive when Russia in a treaty negotiated at San Stefano (a suburb of Constantinople) at last revealed the terms it was willing to concede to its beaten foe. The main feature of the treaty was the reduction of Turkey-in-Europe to such small dimensions that its Balkan rôle might be looked on as a closed book. Except for this Turkish remnant around Constantinople and except for the already liberated states of Greece, Serbia, Montenegro, and Rumania, the Balkan area was to be constituted as Bulgaria. This Big Bulgaria, manifestly under Russian tutelage, was the ominous novelty of the San Stefano pact. To the envious eyes of Austria and Great Britain it meant just one thing: the control of the Balkan peninsula by Russia, and therefore they protested clamorously against it. They insisted that the Treaty of San Stefano must be submitted for revision to a congress of the powers. And undoubtedly they would have gone to war, had not the tsar given way. His yielding caused both Alexander and his people deep chagrin. It was due to the fact that he was without a friend in Europe on whom he could count for help against the Anglo-Austrian combination.

The Congress of Berlin, 1878

In June, 1878, there took place the Congress of Berlin, which under the presidency of Prince Bismarck revised the Treaty of San Stefano according to the wishes of Austria and Great Britain. To be sure, Russia was not deprived of all the fruits of victory. She received back from Rumania southern Bessarabia surrendered in 1856. She thus carried her boundary to the northern mouth of the Danube delta. For this loss Rumania was compensated by the Dobrudja taken from Bulgaria. In addition, the tsar was permitted to strengthen his territorial position at the other, the eastern, end of the Black sea by the acquisition of a part of the Armenian borderland. Even for these relatively scanty rewards Austria and Great Britain insisted on a full equivalent for themselves. Bosnia and Herzegovina, the Serb provinces where the conflagration had started, were entrusted to Austria "to occupy and administer." Theoretically the sultan's sovereignty remained intact in the ceded lands. As for Great Britain, as her compensation she secured from the sultan by special treaty the island of Cyprus.

Big Bulgaria broken into three parts

However, the outstanding feature of the Treaty of Berlin was without question that the tsar was obliged to forgo his stranglehold on the Balkan peninsula secured by his plan of a Big Bulgaria. At the bidding of the Congress of Berlin Big Bulgaria was broken into three sections. Between the Danube and the Balkan mountains a self-governing *principality of Bulgaria* was set up with no obligation to the sultan save the payment of an annual tribute; south of the Balkans a province, to be called *Eastern Rumelia*, was conceded civil autonomy on the understanding that it was to be occupied by Turkish military forces; and finally, the important province of *Macedonia*, occupying the Vardar valley, was handed back to the sultan in order to enable him to continue to play an effective Balkan rôle. Though more hesitantly than at Paris twenty-two years before, the congress tried to blow the breath of life into the moribund Ottoman state. Now as then the powers felt they needed the Ottoman Empire as a means for thwarting the territorial ambition of Russia.

The Congress of Berlin favors the Balkan states

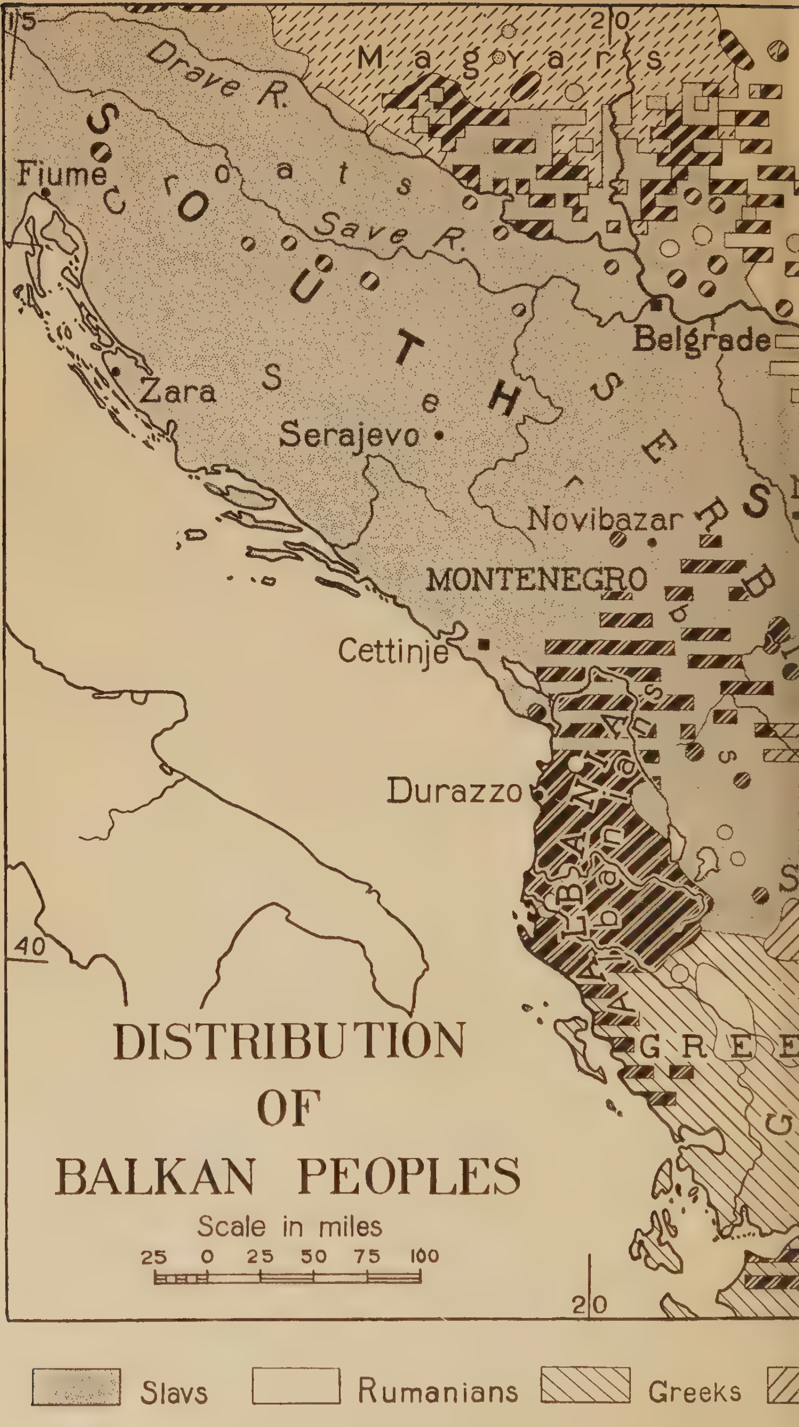
None the less it should not be overlooked that the Treaty of Berlin represents a signal advance in statesmanship over the Paris arrangements by the circumstance that for the first time the powers outlined a constructive plan for the Balkan peninsula. The Christian states, Serbia, Montenegro, and Rumania, which had, largely by their own heroic efforts, broken the Ottoman yoke in the course of the recent decades, were, albeit grudgingly, given small increases of territory. They were, besides, freed of the last vestige of their former bondage to the Ottoman Empire and declared free and independent. In the case of the tiny mountain eyrie of Montenegro this international guarantee of liberty was hardly necessary, for the brave mountaineers had as early as the eighteenth century renounced every trace of dependence on the sultan. Greece, too, acknowledged an independent kingdom since its war of liberation in the twenties, received a better boundary by the addition of the province of Thessaly. Thus the congress proved that it was attempting to dispense its favors among the small Christian states with an even hand. If to these acts we add the creation of the Bulgarian principality, by virtue of which another awakened people, the Bulgars, were set upon the path of freedom, we are justified in saying that although the congress resuscitated the Ottoman Empire, it at the same time envisaged a not too distant future in which the Balkan peninsula would be taken over wholly by the liberated Balkan peoples. And that was not only for the immediate beneficiaries but also for the great European states a far happier prospect than the thought which had hitherto been the nightmare of all the western foreign offices, to wit, that the Balkan peninsula was destined to fall like a ripe apple into the lap of Russia.

Notable progress made by the Balkan states

In the period following the Congress of Berlin the young Balkan states justified the confidence placed in them. The princes of Rumania and Serbia took the title king to mark their arrival at full sovereign status. And both these countries and the kingdom of Greece as well took up with eagerness the work of spreading though their backward communities the science and education of the west as well as the railroads, banks, and industries which were the basis of the modern economic system. However, more notable perhaps than the progress made by any other Balkan people after 1878 was that made by the Bulgars. True, as the most recent folk to rouse themselves from slumber, they had also the greatest distance to travel. The official status of their principality as defined at Berlin was still far from satisfactory. A Bulgarian assembly, elected to nominate a ruler, called to office a young German prince, Alexander of Battenberg, not in his character of a German but because he was a nephew of Tsar Alexander II. Unhappily Russia, which had liberated Bulgaria, could not divest itself of the idea of control and kept the young German in the strictest leading-strings.

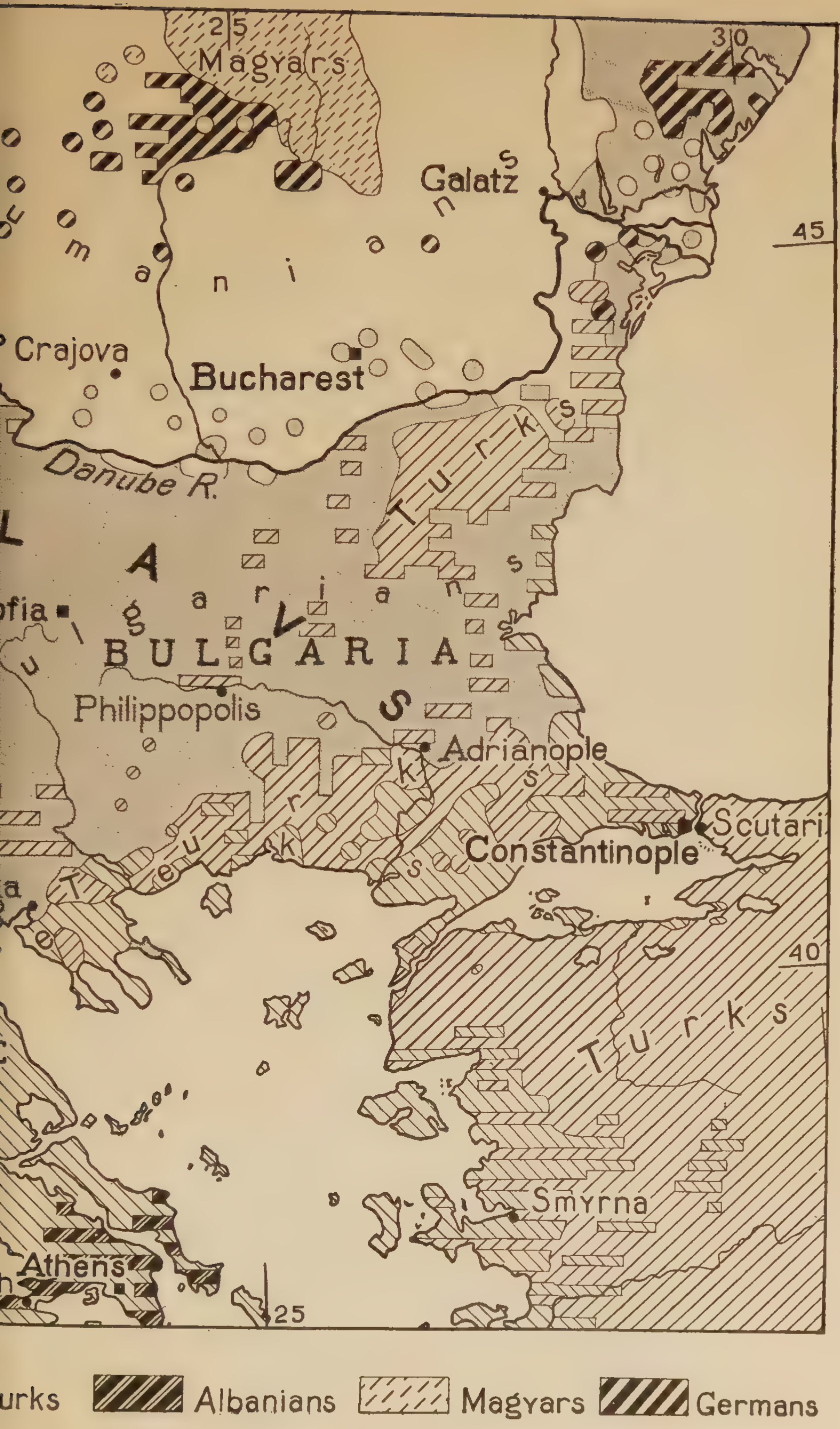
Bulgaria incorporates Eastern Rumelia

When Tsar Alexander III (1881–1894) succeeded his father, the situation in Bulgaria rapidly became difficult, for the new tsar was a gloomy despot who expected the Bulgars to show their eternal gratitude to him by obedience to his every wish. As a result the Bulgars swiftly developed a secret resentment against the tsar. They nursed a strong nationalist fervor and resolved no longer to take orders from their too exacting benefactor. Moreover, they persuaded their foreign prince to throw



DISTRIBUTION OF BALKAN PEOPLES

Scale in miles
25 0 25 50 75 100
15
20
40
Magyars
Drave R.
Croats
Fiume
Save R.
South Serbs
Zara
Serajevo
Belgrade
Novibazar
MONTENEGRO
Cettinje
Serbs
Albanians
Durazzo
ALBANIA
Albanians
GREE
Slavs
Rumanians
Greeks


25
Magyars
30
Galatz
45
Crajova
Bucharest
Danube R.
Turks
Bulgarians
BULGARIA
ofia
Philippopolis
Adrianople
Turks
Scutari
Constantinople
40
Turks
Smyrna
Athens
25
urks
Albanians
Magyars
Germans

in his lot with them. Accordingly, in 1885 he entered into a conspiracy with the political leaders of Eastern Rumelia and, before Europe knew what was happening, Eastern Rumelia had been incorporated with Bulgaria. As from the nationalist viewpoint Eastern Rumelia was Bulgar territory, the ultimate union of the two provinces may be considered to have been inevitable. None the less it ran contrary to the Treaty of Berlin and caused an immense disturbance in the foreign offices of all the powers.

The Serb-Bulgarian war of 1885

Tsar Alexander III was more deeply outraged than anybody else, for he regarded Prince Alexander of Bulgaria as his ward and scouted the idea of his taking any, even the least, step without previous consultation. Like an angered Jove he withdrew his countenance from Bulgaria and was openly delighted when Bulgaria's neighbor, Serbia, in a burst of jealousy over the territorial expansion of Bulgaria, declared war. This treacherous Serb attack Prince Alexander victoriously repulsed. Indeed the Bulgarians would have invaded and punished Serbia, had not Austria intervened in its behalf. Under Austrian mediation a peace was quickly patched up (1885). However, an ominous novelty had made its appearance in the Balkan world which has left an ugly trail down to our day. The five Christian states of recent origin — Greece, Serbia, Montenegro, Rumania, Bulgaria — had a common enemy in Turkey but they were not by any means overburdened with good will toward one another. In case any additional territory was to be taken from the sultan, each desired the prize for itself; or if an increase should be conceded to one state, the others would at the very least expect compensation for themselves.

Macedonia, prospective source of trouble

This was the sentiment behind Serbia's frivolous attack on Bulgaria. But now let us, map in hand, look about in the Balkan peninsula. The most considerable Balkan province still ruled by the sultan after 1878 was Macedonia. For geographical reasons, involving such matters as the tilt of the land and the flow of the rivers, it was the very heart of the peninsula. And because the Balkan nationalities had all drifted thither at one time or another in the course of the ages, each had some nationals residing there and could on nationalist grounds set up some sort of claim to ownership. Therefore they all peered over into Macedonia as into a Promised Land and, even while the sultan still ruled therein, staked off imaginary slices for themselves. And now if we suppose the sultan's grip on Macedonia relaxing, as in the light of experience it was bound to do, are we not justified in prophesying that an enormous storm will be loosed among the lusty Christian states, all of them alike eager for the booty?

Alexander of Bulgaria replaced by Ferdinand

Russia's disappointment over recalcitrant Bulgaria coming as a climax to her disappointment over the Treaty of Berlin provoked her government to adopt an extreme measure. It instigated or at least participated in a conspiracy to get rid of Alexander of Battenberg, who had made himself offensive because he had become a Bulgar nationalist when he should have remained a Muscovite butler. Alexander was kidnapped by the conspirators in the depth of night, forced to sign a letter of abdication at the point of a gun, and bundled out of the country. This was in 1886. He might have reoccupied the Bulgar throne because his people were enthusiastically devoted to him. But in the hope of winning back for Bulgaria the favor of the tsar by his personal disappearance, he voluntarily made his exile permanent. The gesture was wasted. The Bulgar nationalists did not care to truckle to the tsar and offered (1887) the vacant throne to a candidate of their own choosing, Ferdinand of Saxe-Coburg. Deeply angered, Alexander III turned his back, as it were, on Europe and fronted toward Asia. He had had enough of the Balkan peninsula for the present. His son and successor, Nicholas II (1894–1917), for the first decade of his reign followed the same course. From this shift of attention dates an important chapter in Russian as well as Asiatic history.

The Russian advance across Siberia

Of course Asia represented no new interest for Russia. Even long before the reign of Peter the Great Russian traders had begun to penetrate the vast stretches of Siberia. As Siberia is but an eastward extension of the Russian plain the movement presented no particular geographic obstacles. By the early nineteenth century Russia had appropriated the whole of northern Asia, although she did not at that time derive any considerable economic benefits from it. The country was sparsely populated and inordinately cold; it boasted little to lure the trader except the rich pelts of its fur-bearing animals. Then in the second half of the nineteenth century it slowly dawned on the governing circles of St. Petersburg that their Siberian colony possessed mineral and agricultural resources which under systematic development would prove of inestimable value. At that time the Russian claims already extended clear across Siberia to the sea of Okhotsk on the Pacific ocean. With the improved prospects in this area it became desirable to reach southward toward warmer waters not blocked with ice through the major part of the year. But a move in this direction necessarily meant a clash with China. And therewith began a new and aggressive phase of Russian expansion in Siberia.

Russia clashes with China

Centuries ago the ancient, highly civilized empire of China had resolved to shut itself off from the world, renounce the practice of war, and cultivate the arts of peace. It was not disturbed in the pursuit of this amazing plan till in the course of the nineteenth century the expanding powers of Europe presented themselves at its portals. France and Great Britain came by sea, Russia, as we have seen, overland *via* Siberia. As early as 1840 Great Britain had violated the seclusion of China in the Opium War and settled down in the secure possession of Hong Kong. In the subsequent decades the British and French repeatedly returned to the attack and forced China to open up her ports to European trade. Simultaneously Russia advanced on China by land, less prompted however by considerations of trade than by hunger of territory, more particularly of territory on the open sea. With an unarmed China making little or no resistance the Russians did not find it difficult to wrest from it as early as 1858 a vast district at the mouth of the Amur river. Two years later a strip of coast was added which fronted on the sea of Japan and was seven hundred miles in length. At the southernmost tip of this coastal stretch the triumphant Muscovites founded a great commercial city, to which they gave the name of Vladivostok.

Russia in central Asia

The Pacific coast does not indicate the only direction of Russian expansion in Asia. Simultaneously with the Pacific advance military expeditions undertook to push southward into central Asia and in the course of the reigns of the second and third Alexander took possession of the immense territory which goes under the name of Turkestan. By the time Nicholas II mounted the throne Russia-in-Asia had grown like a snow-ball and become twice as large as Russia-in-Europe.

Under these circumstances it is not surprising that when Russia in the eighties found itself effectively balked in Europe, it should have turned with a sigh of relief toward Asia, where its urge to expand encountered so few obstacles. But here, too, there was a fly in the ointment. Thousands of square miles had been added to the empire but even with the founding of Vladivostok the line of winter ice had not been passed. During the severest part of the cold season shipping in this newly acquired harbor had regularly to be suspended. What the ruling circles at St. Petersburg felt they needed was a port of trade open all the year round. And this they could get only from China by penetrating still farther southward. Another consideration entered into the problem. In 1891, in pursuit of its new purpose of Siberian development, Russia had begun the construction of a great trans-Siberian railway. For its eastern terminal the engineers necessarily had their eye on Vladivostok. But would not a terminal farther south, with waters open all the year, be more desirable? In this way the issue, which had long hung fire, became imperative, and the tsar was moved to search the map for a Chinese haven suitable to his purpose. He fixed his attention on Port Arthur. But he had not yet acted on his choice when in 1894 a war broke out between China and Japan.

Russia fixes on Port Arthur as the terminal of the Siberian railway

We have seen that three European powers, Great Britain, France, and Russia, had come to the Far East in pursuit of trade and territory. For many decades their course was relatively easy, for they had to deal with a pacifist China which gave way to every resolute pressure. But before long they had to deal also with Japan, which turned out to be a very different matter. Like its great neighbor on the mainland, the island-empire of Japan had shut itself off from the rest of the world and become a hermit state. But there was this important difference: Japan never exalted pacifism to the point of renouncing the manly and war-like virtues. When therefore in 1853 a fleet appeared before Yokohama and, clearing its decks for action, demanded the leveling of the trade barriers, the government yielded but deeply conned the meaning of the act. The fleet which coerced the Japanese sailed under the Stars and Stripes of the United States of America, which should go far to prove that trade expansion was not the exclusive characteristic of the European powers but an urge inherent in occidental civilization. Following Commodore Perry's visit, the Japanese agreed to trade with all the world but determined at the same time to meet the Europeans and Americans henceforth not as helpless victims but, as far as possible, as equals.

Japan opens her ports to trade

We must ascribe this notable decision to the self-respect and unbroken vigor of the Japanese nation. It signified that Japan was resolved to make herself over in the likeness of Europe and to appropriate to that end the science, machinery, education, and political institutions of the west. The rapidity and fullness of the Japanese transformation effected in the course of the second half of the nineteenth century is nothing short of marvelous. We are forced to the conclusion that much of it must have been too swift to be other than superficial. However that be, Japan provided herself with railroads, steamships, factories, public schools, and higher institutions of learning; and since Europe was the model constantly before her eyes, she developed also an efficient army and navy. In 1889 the new house of life erected in the course of little more than a generation was crowned with a constitution which created a legislature of two houses and a strong executive entrusted to an hereditary sovereign called mikado or emperor.

The rapid Europeanization of Japan

The westernization of Japan carried with it all the social-political consequences with which we are familiar. One of the most important was without doubt that passion for trade and markets, which, when it includes the acquisition of territory, is generally called imperialism. Before long the Japanese were looking around in the approved imperial manner for commercial possibilities as well as for available lines of territorial expansion and fixed their attention on Korea, just across the straits on the Asiatic mainland. Korea was a kingdom which China claimed as subject to its suzerainty. China therefore protested against the Japanese attempt to get control of Korea and over this conflict war broke out in 1894. It was settled in short order by a sweeping Japanese victory. China, an immense unwieldy bulk unflinchingly attached to ancient tradition, went down before the small island-kingdom of Japan for no other reason than that Japan with the aid of machinery and guns had become "efficient." In the peace which Japan dictated at Shimonoseki (1895), she acquired not only a veiled hold on Korea but also direct possession of the Liao-tung peninsula, on which lay Port Arthur, capable of being developed into the Gibraltar of the Pacific ocean.

The war between China and Japan, 1894–95

Immediately Russia was up in arms. Was not Port Arthur the very point she had secretly fixed on as the logical terminal of the trans-Siberian railway and the eventual base for her Pacific fleet? By persuading France and Germany to join her in protest, she obliged Japan to relinquish her claim to all territory on the Asiatic mainland and to content herself with the miserable reward of the Chinese island of Formosa. Then the three western powers, dominant for the moment, paid themselves for the trouble they had taken to "protect" China. In 1897 Germany seized, under the guise of a lease, the bay of Kiao-chau in the province of Shantung; in 1898 France followed suit by effecting a lodgment at Kwangchow Wan in southern China; and in the same year Russia forced the government at Pekin to give her a lease to Port Arthur and to permit her to extend the trans-Siberian railroad to this point all the way across the Chinese province of Manchuria. Therewith China was at the mercy of the northern power and the shadow of the Russian bear fell across Korea as far as Japan itself.

Russia, Germany, and France deprive Japan of the fruits of victory

If the island-kingdom had been grieved by the loss of the prize seized in successful war, the threatening appearance of Russia on its coasts filled it with consternation. Unless advancing Russia be effectively checked, the imperialist rôle on which Japan had set her heart would have to be abandoned. She looked about for an ally and found Great Britain. The great naval power was hardly less disturbed than Japan over the rapid growth of Russian influence in China and Chinese waters. Not to be outdone by Russia the British had already in 1898 matched the seizure of Port Arthur by occupying the Chinese harbor directly opposite, called Wei-hai-wei. Then, early in the twentieth century, they met the alarmed Japanese half-way and encouraged them to resist the Russians by an offer of support. It was a limited offer as an examination of the Anglo-Japanese alliance concluded in 1902 will show, for Great Britain pledged itself to come to Japan's assistance only if Russia, in the event of a war with Japan, should gain the support of an European power.

The Anglo-Japanese alliance of 1902

Under these circumstances the Japanese felt encouraged to challenge Russian imperialism. And when the insatiable Muscovites, established at Port Arthur, now proceeded to encroach on Korea, too, the islanders resolved on action, for Korea in Russian hands would threaten the very existence of Japan. Sharp notes of remonstrance dispatched by the Tokio government were answered by sharper notes from St. Petersburg. Then the inevitable happened. In February, 1904, the desperate Japanese threw themselves on the Russian fleet assembled in the waters of Port Arthur and on the Russian armies in Manchuria and in the ensuing war were steadily victorious. By the summer of 1905 the Russians were at the end of their tether; and when President

The war between Russia and Japan, 1904-5

Roosevelt offered to act as mediator between them and Japan, they gladly accepted the plan. Accordingly, in September of that year a peace was signed at Portsmouth, New Hampshire, by the terms of which Russia transferred her lease of Port Arthur to Japan and acknowledged that Korea belonged to the Japanese sphere of influence. The valuable and much contested Manchuria was to be returned to the civil administration of China. As a result of the war Russia still remained a great Pacific and Asiatic power, though with chastened ambitions. Japan, on the other hand, assumed the leading place in the Far East. She had administered a sound beating to her most pressing European rival and might claim to be admitted to the high company of the imperialist powers on a basis of equality.

The Industrial Revolution comes to Russia

Worse for Tsar Nicholas II even than his defeat at the hands of Japan was the domestic agitation launched against his government on account of its manifest mismanagement of the war. Since the terrorist activity, of which we have spoken and which culminated in the murder of Tsar Alexander II, the internal situation of Russia had experienced a notable change. Beginning with Alexander III and continuing under Nicholas II the government had made a sustained effort to introduce the Industrial Revolution in order to bring the backward country somewhat nearer the western level in the matter of military efficiency and general economic productivity. Western capital was invited into Russia on favorable terms; vast railway constructions were carried out under governmental direction; and factories sprang up like mushrooms in such great centers as St. Petersburg, Moscow, Kiev, and Odessa. True, the transforming impulse came chiefly from above while the necessary money was supplied from abroad; none the less the usual social and economic changes did not fail to put in an appearance. By 1900 Russia had acquired a strengthened middle class of bankers, business men, and engineers and a wholly novel group of factory workers. Furthermore, as might have been expected, the middle class aligned itself politically with western liberalism, while the workers, influenced by an effective propaganda, passed in a body over to the socialist camp.

In the face of these swift and profound changes a desire for a modification of the traditional absolutism made itself felt which was much more effective in producing results than the system of sporadic murder practiced by the terrorists. In fact for the first time in Russian history the necessary conditions had been created for a successful revolution of a popular character. And no sooner did the war with Japan break out in 1904 than the revolutionary movement began to show its face. To be sure, the terrorists, whom the government police hunted like wild beasts but could not exterminate, redoubled their activity and dispatched many a prominent official with pistol-shot or bomb. In the main, however, it was not the familiar terrorists but the novel phenomenon of a group pressure exercised by liberals and socialists which brought the tsar to terms. If in the summer of 1905 he offered to treat with Japan, it was partly at least because of this disquieting agitation at home. He wished to be rid of Japan in order to be free to deal with the domestic evils. However, as the inner disturbances continued to grow in spite of the Peace of Portsmouth, he suddenly lost heart and decided to placate the opposition. In October he issued an imperial manifesto in which he guaranteed to his subjects the western liberties of conscience, speech, and assembly. At the same time he called a *duma* into being, which is to say a Russian parliament.

The Russian revolution of 1905

To this striking surrender of absolutism another factor contributed which must not be overlooked. The immense area of the Russian Empire covering eastern Europe and northern Asia was settled not by one but by some scores of peoples who had all been brought under the Russian scepter by military might. The Russians were indeed the central nucleus of the state. But along the western border toward Germany, in the Caucasus mountains toward Turkey, and throughout Siberia other groups, great and small and representing every conceivable divergence of blood, speech, and customs, made their home, accommodating themselves as best they could to the fact of Russian domination. Closely scrutinized, Russia was not a consolidated national state but an agglomeration of discordant nationalities like Austria-Hungary. Along the western border alone there were more than half a dozen distinct peoples: Finns in Finland; Esths, Letts, and Germans in the Baltic provinces; and farther south, Lithuanians, Poles, and Ukrainians (Little Russians). In the nineteenth century these had all been sorely afflicted with the so-called "Russification" policy of the tsarist government. This was a systematic attempt to deprive them of their language, religion, and whatever other cultural inheritance they cherished with a view to transforming them into Russians obedient to the tsar and subject to the Orthodox

Unrest among the conquered nationalities of Russia

religion. As a result they nursed a deep, though secret, grudge against their master; and when the revolution of 1904–1905 broke out they promptly joined the movement of revolt. Especially the Finns and Poles, among whom the memories of their lost independence were a burning fire, exhibited ominous signs of unrest. These stirrings all along the border made a deep impression on the frightened tsar and government and undoubtedly were a considerable factor in the surrender signified by the October manifesto.

Victory of reaction

Great rejoicings were released among the oppressed nationalities as well as among the Russian people themselves by the fall of the system of absolutism. But the bonfires were, as is usual in these cases, premature. The first duma met in 1906. Elected on a broad suffrage, it was animated by a whole-hearted desire to complete the revolution. Meanwhile, as might be expected, the forces of reaction had begun to stir. Nicholas II was able to rally the strong conservative elements about him consisting of army officers, civil officials, landowners, and peasants. With their vigorous support, in the course of the next few years, he successfully broke the power of his adversaries. But though he disciplined the duma and reduced its authority, he did not abolish it. As a solely consultative body under an autocratic tsar it cut after 1907 rather a sorry figure. But undeniably its mere existence, apart from proving that the revolution had not been altogether in vain, inspired the hope that it might yet serve as the nucleus of a gradual transformation of Russia along western constitutional lines.

Russia again turns toward the Ottoman Empire

The quick recovery effected by the Russian autocracy enabled it to continue its expansionist policy practically without interruption. There was however this difference: checked in the Far East by Japan, it turned restlessly once again toward the older field of enterprise, the Ottoman Empire. During the approximately ten year period of its exclusive occupation with China and Japan, nothing had changed in the Balkan peninsula and the continued decay of the Turkish state had produced the usual crop of disturbances. But they occasioned little repercussion in Europe because Russia with her hands tied in the Far East had made an agreement with her Balkan rival, Austria, to respect the *status quo* or to alter it only in consultation with Vienna (the Mürzsteg Program, 1903). All this changed almost abruptly after the Manchurian disaster. Observing that Austria and, more particularly, Austria's potent ally, Germany, had gained the sultan's ear at Constantinople, the Petersburg foreign office manifested an increasing animosity against this development. A Germany too powerful at the Bosporus might successfully thwart the ancient and now resumed Russian designs which aimed at the control of the straits. This with other considerations to be examined in connection with our review of European diplomacy in the following chapter turned Russia angrily away from Austria and Germany and toward France and Great Britain. Only now came the definite division of Europe into the opposed camps of the Triple alliance and the Triple entente. The situation would seem to reduce itself to this: from the moment the restless Russian ambition swung back from east to west, the sultan and his tangled affairs became the center of a renewed and passionate debate among the great powers, on the one hand, and among the small Balkan states, on the other. For every member of either of these groups had mentally preëmpted for himself some section of the sultan's still vast dominion in case it was going to dissolve or be carved up.

The system of Sultan Abdul Hamid

Let us return to the Ottoman Empire where we left it at the Congress of Berlin (1878). We noted how on that occasion the powers, more particularly Austria and Great Britain, snatched it from the dismembering clutch of Russia and set it on its feet again as a badly shaken but independent state. Its ruler was Abdul Hamid II, who had come to the throne in 1876 in the very midst of the agitation that led to the war with Russia in the following year. Though not without intelligence, Abdul Hamid was a pitiless, deceitful tyrant resolved at every cost to maintain his unimpaired power. He stamped out every expression of free opinion among his subjects and by means of a secret police with ramifications reaching to the smallest village he arrested or drove into exile every champion of reform or critic of his system. But his reactionary cruelty did not check the spirit of revolt which had now for almost a century been manifesting itself among the alien peoples of the empire. There were risings in Armenia and on the island of Crete which, smothered by massacres, died down only to begin again. The Armenian unrest of 1895–96 culminated in a revolting butchery, which gained for its instigator the ominous name of "the red sultan."

More threatening even than the troubles of Crete and Armenia were the disturbances in Macedonia. Macedonia was the rather loose geographic expression for the territory at the head of the

The Macedonian disturbances

Aegean sea which Russia had incorporated in a projected Big Bulgaria and which the powers at the Congress of Berlin had returned to Turkey. As we have already noted, Macedonia was racially a very mixed area and boasted representatives of practically every nationality residing on the explosive Balkan soil. Accordingly, each instituted a propaganda service among the Macedonian inhabitants with an eye to strengthening its position. When the sultan, as legal lord of the land, interfered, the propagandists armed themselves both against him and against each other. They initiated a civil war which culminated in murder and arson and converted the torn province into a living hell. In 1903 the European powers attempted to end the scandal by putting Macedonia in the care of an international police. They had some success with this device in the open country but in the inaccessible mountains the rebellious fires could not be extinguished. Then suddenly a surprising event burst upon the world in the form of a general Turkish revolution.

The Turkish revolution of 1908

The Turkish revolution of July, 1908, suggests a comparison with the Russian revolution of 1905 and with the Japanese revolution following the appearance before Yokohama of Commodore Perry and his fleet, because they were alike in this that they were movements among backward states inaugurated with a view to westernization. Of the three the Japanese revolution was far and away the most thorough-going. By means of it a feeble oriental empire raised itself to a level with the great powers of the world. The Russian revolution proved that the immense Slav state of the east-European plain was bent on imitating the west but lacked the strength as yet to carry through its purpose. Weaker than both of these predecessors, the revolution in Turkey was solely the affair of a relatively small body of intellectuals. In recent decades a growing number of Turks had come into contact with western ideas and institutions and reached the conclusion that the conversion of their fellow-countrymen to these ideas was necessary if Turkey was to be saved from extinction. These westernizers called themselves Young Turks; and because the red sultan had them watched by his Argus-eyed police, they gathered in foreign cities and flooded their country with revolutionary literature smuggled across the border by underground channels. Their chief following was to be found among the officers of the army, doubtless the most enlightened body of Turks within the Ottoman state. It is this circumstance that explains the sudden and complete success of the movement. What happened in July, 1908, was substantially that the officers of certain leading army units informed the sultan that they would renounce their allegiance unless he at once declared in favor of a constitutional régime. The military force, which was the sole support of Abdul Hamid's throne, thus turned against him. Of course the frightened ruler signified his instant assent to a sweeping reform. A few months later he tried in his treacherous way to cancel his promise. This time — it was in April, 1909 — the army, instead of negotiating, marched on Constantinople and deposed him. By raising to the throne his imbecile brother, Mohammed V, the Young Turks acquired an unchallenged control of the state.

The Young Turks faced with the insurrection of the non-Turk peoples

What to do next? The Young Turks proclaimed a constitution and a parliament on the western pattern. They sketched a reform of the law, the administration, and the schools. We do not challenge their sincerity when we point out that such sweeping measures to be effective required many years of preparatory study and a still longer period of practical application. The Young Turks were very aptly described by an observer on the ground as "young men in a hurry." In literal truth they had to hurry because the Ottoman house was falling about their ears. For the effect of the revolution had been to fill the whole empire with thoughts of liberation, and that for the many non-Turk races meant not liberation in the abstract but liberation from the Turks. Over in Asia the Armenians, the Arabs, and the Syrians clamored for self-government, if not yet for independence. And nearer home, in Europe, the Albanians achieved the miracle of their awakening and demanded a broad autonomy.

The Albanians win autonomy, 1912

The Albanians occupied the mountain region, which, lying west of Macedonia, skirted the Adriatic sea. Of all the backward peoples of the peninsula they were the most backward. Indeed so primitive were they that they had not yet achieved that prerequisite of even the simplest culture, an alphabet and a written language. But just the same they were a hardy, vigorous race; and now that they had, though belatedly, resolved to follow in the footsteps of the Greeks, the Serbs, and the Bulgars, they would not be gainsaid. When the Young Turks levied war on the insurgent Albanians, they completely failed to subdue them. In 1912 they condescended, very much against their will, to recognize an autonomous Albania within boundaries so liberally drawn that they included, on the east, a generous segment of Macedonia. Therewith the last subject nationality of the Balkan peninsula to arouse itself from its Rip Van Winkle slumbers had stepped out on the stage of the world.

A new crop of Ottoman wars

But these domestic troubles of the Young Turks were only the beginning of a long tale of woe. The active ferment within the Ottoman realm once more served as a stimulus to the territorial appetite of both the great powers and the small Balkan states. They made ready for action and in 1911 Italy descended on Tripoli, thereby precipitating war. In the following year four of the Balkan states formed an alliance and marched into Macedonia to divide it among themselves. The chain of wars thus inaugurated can not be understood except within the general frame of world politics. We shall therefore turn next to the story of European diplomacy to show how it was upon that tree that there ripened the bitter fruit of the Young Turk wars and, finally, the bitterest of all fruits ever grown on earth, the World War of 1914.

The Tsars of Russia Since the Beginning of the Nineteenth Century
(House of Romanov)

Alexander I (son of Paul I), 1801–1825
Nicholas I (brother of Alexander I), 1825–1855
Alexander II (son of Nicholas I), 1855–1881
Alexander III (son of Alexander II), 1881–1894
Nicholas II (son of Alexander III), 1894–1917 (deposed)

The Ottoman Sultans Since the Beginning of the Nineteenth Century
(House of Osman)

Mahmud II, 1808–1839
Abdul Medjid I, 1839–1861
Abdul Aziz I, 1861–1876
Murad V, 1876
Abdul Hamid II, 1876–1909
Mohammed V, 1909–1918
Mohammed VI, 1918–1923 (deposed)

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CHAPTER XXXII

THE DIPLOMATIC PRELUDE TO THE WORLD WAR: THE TRIPLE ALLIANCE AND THE TRIPLE ENTENTE

The function of diplomacy and war

Much space has been given in this book to foreign policy, the instruments of which are diplomacy and war. How could it be otherwise in view of the fact that on the friendly or hostile relation of states to one another depend the weal and woe of their respective populations? To the historian who looks upon history as concerned with the whole field of civilization it would be pleasanter to occupy himself exclusively with the positive achievements of mankind and to leave to one side the wrangling of diplomats over material advantages. But so long as states behave toward one another as free and independent organisms responsible to no one under God, the historian will be obliged to scrutinize their policies with the greatest care. And therewith we have touched on the outstanding circumstance to keep in mind about the European states in all the centuries covered by this history. Each is a struggling organism concerned with the problem of development; that is, it desires, like everything that lives and grows, to add to its strength and become as powerful as possible. There is however a difference to be noted among the competitive political units. The lesser states, such as Switzerland and Denmark, are so completely overshadowed by a group of stronger neighbors that their scope for development is definitely circumscribed. The biological urge of growth, in its pure and unadulterated form, applies only to the large entities called the great powers. Of each of them it may be said that the only restraint on its expansion is the hunger for expansion manifested by the others. This competition does not hinder them from acting on the principle that peace is, on the whole, more desirable than war and consequently from treating with one another through the orderly and established channels of diplomacy. None the less they invariably hold war in reserve as a last resort, an *ultima ratio.* In sum, the conventional attitude of every foreign office may be described as consisting in lavish professions of a deep love of peace coupled with the significant hint that the state, as an unimpaired sovereign body, will defend its essential interests, if necessary, by war.

Foreign policy independent of the form of government

This being true, the form of government of a given state has, general opinion to the contrary notwithstanding, very little bearing on its foreign policy Undoubtedly many people incline to think of the absolute monarchy as prone to war largely because it is absolute. But an oligarchy or a republic may just as readily appeal to arms because, so far as its foreign affairs are concerned, it is no less absolute than the monarchy unlimited in all respects. European experience shows that monarchies, oligarchies, and republics alike have looked upon themselves as free to pursue what they regard as their selfish interest subject only to the necessities of the situation. It is for this reason that if a state, giving up monarchy, radically reshapes its administrative, economic, or any other domestic inheritance, it rarely, if ever, changes the essentials of its foreign policy. The case of France will serve as illustration. Between 1789 and 1914 France changed its constitutional form at least eight times, often to the accompaniment of radical institutional innovations. In that long period its foreign policy continued without essential deviation to follow the path blazed as far back as the seventeenth century by Richelieu and Louis XIV.

Unchanging in spirit, foreign policy may and does change its objective

But if the selfish central principle governing the action of every great power in the foreign field has remained the same throughout the Modern Age, its application has varied in response to the changing European situation. Though the end pursued by every foreign office has always been material power, when this history opened, in the period of the Renaissance and Reformation, material power was sought within the narrow bounds of Europe itself. Then came the colonial movement with which the Americas and Asia fell within the range of the competitive states. As a result the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries rang with colonial wars. Toward the middle of the nineteenth century the European chancelleries gave a hypnotized attention to the unification movement in Italy and Germany. This was based on the sentiment of nationalism which, gaining ground also in multi-national states like Austria-Hungary, Russia, and the Ottoman Empire, threatened to disrupt them and effect their reorganization on a strictly nationalist basis. Inevitably a movement with such disturbing implications held the gaze of all the foreign offices. But it did not hinder them from taking also all the other continents of the globe into consideration as soon as steam and electricity had annihilated distance and the system of machine production had increased beyond all expectation the prospect of profits to be derived from remote markets. To pursue the advantages which beckoned over the face of the earth was to engage in empire-building or imperialism.

The three phases of European foreign policy

To recapitulate: a review of European foreign policy during the last four hundred years discloses four or rather, in view of the contemporaneousness of nationalism and imperialism, three successive phases. During the first phase Europe, and more particularly western Europe, constituted the very limited field of vision of the rival statesmen. During the second phase the field of vision was enlarged to include all of Europe and to take in besides the new colonial areas in India and the Americas. During the third phase not only Europe, agitated by the new force of nationalism, but also the whole earth with all its lands and seas fell within the scrutiny of the imperialist foreign offices, fiercely stirred by hunger for markets and territory. This third phase extending from approximately 1871 to the present day may be called the nationalist-imperialist phase and will be treated in this chapter.

The danger lurking in nationalism

Of the two main ingredients of foreign policy in the last and contemporary period nationalism has been repeatedly dealt with. It manifested itself in the first place as the firm determination of those national groups which through some accident of history had been broken into fragments (Italy, Germany) or had been brought into subjection to some powerful neighbor (Greece, Serbia, Poland) to regain their unity and independence. After the achievement of Italian and German unity the chief field for the display of nationalism became eastern and southeastern Europe. However, we should not fail to note that no country escaped its action, not even those which, like France and England, had achieved national unity many centuries before. Wherever nationalism had already gained its immediate end of unification, it continued to exist under the name of patriotism; indeed so little differentiated are nationalism and patriotism that they may be considered as one and the same thing. And now observe: in the nineteenth century nationalism (or patriotism) became a universal energy and, like a wine too freely quaffed, mounted to the heads of all the European peoples. In every one of them may be encountered the phenomenon of the super-patriot (or super-nationalist). In Germany he is called a pan-German, in Russia a pan-Slav, in England a jingo, in France a chauvinist. Under all these labels he exhibits the same mind. Joining with countrymen of the same breed, he constituted a band, small perhaps but noisy, which caused extraordinary mischief by exciting to savage vociferation the corresponding bands in all the neighboring countries. They shook their fists and gritted their teeth at one another across the international boundaries and created a very dangerous condition of general nervous tension.

Imperialism a product of the Industrial Revolution

Here lay a peril for the peace of Europe which was indefinitely multiplied by the second element of foreign policy, imperialism. This was, closely considered, nothing else than the colonialism of the eighteenth century revived and intensified by the great nineteenth century movement called the Industrial Revolution. Let us by rapid tabulation visualize the more important novelties of the situation. The new means of communication — railroads, steamboats, telegraph — destroyed space and brought all countries practically to the doorstep of Europe. This annihilation of distance is basic to the movement, but no more so than the enormously increased machine production for which Europe required non-European consumers. But the non-Europeans could pay for the finished goods delivered to them only with native raw products such as wheat, cattle, fruits, minerals, rubber, and the hundreds of other items to which an intensified civilization had given value. As inventions multiplied and articles serving our human convenience were put forth which surpassed even the dreams of visionaries, it was revealed that there was no country or climate which did not desire these comforts and devices and which did not possess something of its own to offer in exchange for them. Under the operation of these influences a dense net of traffic was flung around the world from pole to pole.

Imperialism a scramble for backward areas

But Europe did not content itself with traffic. The traders who visited a backward people often ran grave risks in respect both of their persons and their goods and naturally appealed to their home government for protection. The easiest way to give protection was to raise the country's flag over the foreign land and by annexing it to replace insecurity with law and order. In this manner a wild scramble was inaugurated among the European powers for all those backward areas which had not been appropriated by the earlier colonial struggle. The movement may be compared to the famous gold-rush to California in 1849 or to Alaska in the nineties. At any rate in the course of little more than a generation following the Franco-German war of 1870 much of Asia, most of Africa, and all of the Pacific archipelago had been taken over by the jealous rivals. By the beginning of the twentieth century the backward areas which might be conceived as still available for seizure were reduced to Morocco at the northwestern corner of Africa, China and Persia in Asia, and the Ottoman Empire straddling Europe and Asia at the straits of the Bosporus and the Dardanelles. On approaching the partition of these still immense lands — think of China and the Ottoman Empire! — the powers became more and more exasperated with one another. And before an agreement was in sight, they lost all control of their passions and precipitated the vast conflict called the World War.

The case of Africa

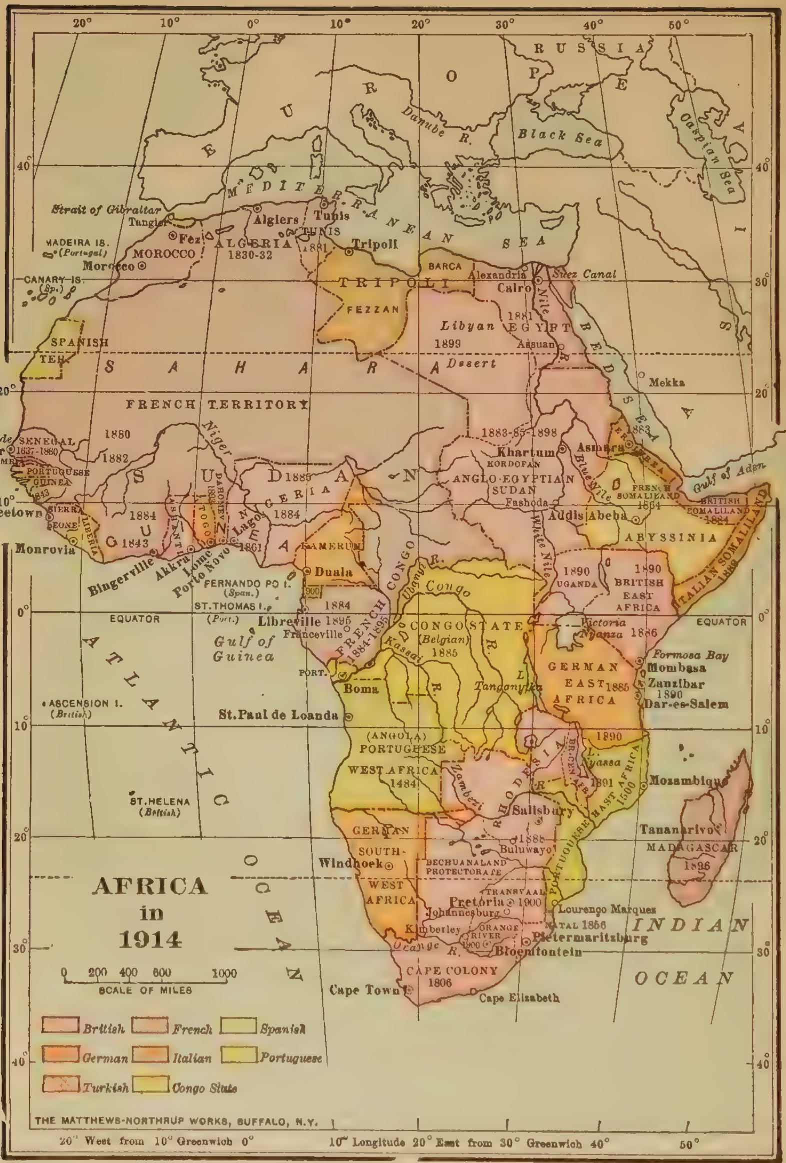
Our present purpose is to follow the successive diplomatic steps which led to the catastrophe of 1914. And by way of preliminary it will be profitable to see how the appropriation of a backward area was accomplished by the example of Africa. The older colonialism had not paid much attention to Africa except as a source for the black slaves sent to work the plantations of North and South America. In this nefarious business the Portuguese, as the first explorers of the African coast, soon had many rivals desirous of securing a share of the profits. The English, the French, and the Dutch established themselves alongside of the Portuguese on the Guinea coast and all of them together engaged in an ignoble competition for the trade in human chattels. Then in the first half of the nineteenth century, in response to a growing humanitarian sentiment, the slave trade was abolished by one after the other of the conscience-stricken nations. As a result Africa was again left to itself, indeed so completely that around 1850 it continued to engage the attention of only two powers: Great Britain, which had replaced the Dutch at the southern extremity of the continent, in Cape Colony, and France, which in 1830 had effected a lodgment on the Mediterranean coast opposite its shores, in Algeria. Portugal by reason of a series of ancient trading posts could set up a claim to large tracts of central Africa but the claims were almost dormant.

Shortly after the middle of the century the interest of Christian missionaries and scientific explorers was directed toward Africa; and the wonders which these adventurous souls reported touching the impenetrable jungle with its exotic vegetation and its fabulous animal life ranging from boa constrictors and elephants to hairy apes and an almost endless variety of ape-like human beings touched the imagination of the civilized world. Africa loomed before the Europeans dwelling in the light of knowledge as the Dark Continent; and rapidly multiplying expeditions undertook to inventory its rivers and mountains, its fauna and flora, and its primitive peoples following amazing customs and practicing unbelievable religious rites. And simultaneously with the missionaries and scientists came the traders with their beads, their trinkets, and their useful manufactured wares. We have agreed that from the start occidental civilization has combined restless mental curiosity with a keen sense of material values and that the two energies have always functioned in close association. But we have every reason to believe that in the long run the trader will always dominate the scene and shape it to his purposes. At the time of this new outburst of exploration Europe was, as we are aware, in the throes of increased trade competition brought about by the Industrial Revolution. All the commercial nations at once recognized enormous possibilities of exploitation in long neglected Africa and each made haste to pledge its support to its nationals, who were penetrating the continent in the spirit of adventure. There followed an unseemly scramble which presently led to conflicting claims. To solve them the powers resorted, in accordance with established custom, to diplomacy; and behind their negotiations appeared, also according to custom though decently veiled from view, the grim specter of war.

Trade opportunities induce territorial appropriation

In the winter of 1884–85 an international conference was held at Berlin to discuss the Africa question. It conferred the immense basin of the Congo on Leopold II of Belgium. Leopold, though born a king, was a typical business man and promoter. In the early eighties he had employed the famous explorer, Stanley, to stake out a claim for him along the course of the Congo river, a region known to be rich in ivory, palm-oil, and rubber. This, under the name of the Congo Free State, was at the Berlin conference given to Leopold as his personal estate. In addition the conferees agreed that they would not encroach on the preserves each had already staked out and that they would attempt to settle difficulties, as they arose, by amicable arrangement. Thus it came

The partition of Africa


AFRICA
in
1914
0 200 400 600 1000
SCALE OF MILES
British
French
Spanish
German
Italian
Portuguese
Turkish
Congo State
EUROPE
RUSSIA
ASIA
Danube R.
Black Sea
Caspian Sea
MEDITERRANEAN SEA
Strait of Gibraltar
Tangier
Fez
MOROCCO
Morocco
MADEIRA IS. (Portugal)
CANARY IS. (Sp.)
Algiers
ALGERIA 1830-32
Tunis
TUNIS 1881
Tripoli
TRIPOLI
FEZZAN
BARCA
Alexandria
Cairo
Suez Canal
Nile
1881
EGYPT
1899
Libyan Desert
Assuan
Red Sea
Mekka
Arabia
SPANISH TER.
SAHARA
FRENCH TERRITORY
C. Verde
Dakar
SENEGAL 1637-1860
GAMBIA
PORTUGUESE GUINEA
1880
1882
1843
Freetown
SIERRA LEONE
LIBERIA
Monrovia
Niger
SUDAN
1884
G 1843
ASHANTI
DAHOMEY 1893
TOGO
NIGERIA
Lagos
1861
Bingerville
Akkra
Lome
Porto Novo
KAMERUN
Duala
FERNANDO PO I. (Span.)
1900
ST. THOMAS I. (Port.)
1884
Libreville 1895
Franceville
FRENCH 1884-1895
CONGO
Ubangi R.
Congo
1883-85-1898
Khartum
KORDOFAN
ANGLO-EGYPTIAN SUDAN
Fashoda
Blue Nile
White Nile
Asmara
ERITREA
1883
FRENCH SOMALILAND 1864
Gulf of Aden
BRITISH SOMALILAND 1884
Addis Abeba
ABYSSINIA
ITALIAN SOMALILAND 1889
1890 UGANDA
1890 BRITISH EAST AFRICA
Victoria Nyanza
1886
Formosa Bay
Mombasa
Zanzibar 1890
Dar-es-Salem
GERMAN EAST AFRICA 1885
EQUATOR
Gulf of Guinea
PORT.
Boma
CONGO STATE (Belgian) 1885
Kassai R.
Tanganyika L.
ATLANTIC OCEAN
ASCENSION I. (British)
St. Paul de Loanda
(ANGOLA) PORTUGUESE WEST AFRICA 1484
ST. HELENA (British)
Zambezi
RHODESIA
BR. CEN. AF.
1890
L. Nyassa
1891
PORTUGUESE EAST AFRICA 1500
Mozambique
Salisbury
1888
Buluwayo
Tananarivo
MADAGASCAR 1896
GERMAN SOUTH-WEST AFRICA
Windhoek
BECHUANALAND PROTECTORATE
TRANSVAAL
Pretoria 1900
Johannesburg
Lourenço Marques
NATAL 1856
Kimberley
ORANGE RIVER 1900
Orange R.
Pietermaritzburg
Bloemfontein
CAPE COLONY 1806
Cape Town
Cape Elizabeth
INDIAN OCEAN
20° 10° 0° 10° 20° 30° 40° 50°
40° 30° 20° 10° 0° 10° 20° 30° 40°
THE MATTHEWS-NORTHRUP WORKS, BUFFALO, N.Y.
20° West from 10° Greenwich 0°
10° Longitude 20° East from 30° Greenwich 40°
50°

about that in the course of the following years numerous friendly settlements saw the light, of which we will name, for purposes of illustration, the Anglo-German and the Anglo-French treaties of the year 1890. By means of them Great Britain delimited her territorial claims, on the one hand, as against those of Germany; on the other, as against those of France. As Italy presented itself with claims of its own and the Portuguese revived numerous claims which had become quiescent, Great Britain saw fit to come to terms with these states too. And what Great Britain did was done also by all the others with the result that a long list of treaties, negotiated in the course of a few decades, regulated the partition of a vast continent.

African appropriations of Germany, France, and Great Britain

But though the partition proceeded rapidly and, on the whole, amicably, it was enlivened by a number of dangerous crises, some of which even led, as was always possible under the ruling system, to war. The two powers which led the way in land seizure were Great Britain and France, with Germany, the latecomer at the banquet, a poor third. Germany secured a foothold on the east coast (German East Africa), on the southwest coast (German Southwest Africa), and on the west coast (Togoland and Kamerun) — by no means a poor outfit of tropical prizes. France concentrated on northwestern Africa with a view to building up a colonial empire extending clear across the desert of Sahara from its starting-point in Algeria on the Mediterranean southward to the gulf of Guinea. Great Britain pushed northward from Cape Colony toward the equator; then, establishing herself at the mouth of the Nile, she engaged in a southward drive up that river in the hope that her two African movements might ultimately join hands. This was an even more magnificent project than that of the French and the attempt to realize it produced a succession of very serious convulsions, which we must briefly notice.

Clash of France and Britain in the Sudan, 1898

It was in the year 1882 that Great Britain landed an armed force at the mouth of the Nile in Egypt, in order to protect the sea-route across the isthmus of Suez. Her act involved two consequences: first, the beating down of the resistance of the native Egyptians, and, after some years, the conquest of the immense region of the upper Nile known as the Sudan. But the French desire to build up an empire around the Sahara envisaged an eventual foothold in this same upper Nile region; and in 1898 a French military expedition plunged across desert and jungle to raise the French flag over the strategical river town of Fashoda. Immediately the British marched southward from Khartum and demanded the departure of the French from a point which they considered to lie within their political sphere. The moment the hostile forces faced each other, France went tense and all Europe became anxious. In the end the Paris government drew in its horns and left Great Britain in possession. While war was happily avoided, the incident showed how fraught with danger the imperialist competition was.

The Boer War, 1899–1902

At the other end of Africa, in Cape Colony, the British advance produced a very serious war when it was resisted by the two Boer republics, the Transvaal and the Orange Free State. The conflict broke out in the year following Fashoda, in 1899, and might easily have drawn France and even Germany into its vortex if these powers had been able to give the Boers effective help. As Great Britain completely commanded the seaways with her superior fleet, France and Germany, as land-powers, had to acknowledge their impotence to interpose themselves between the British giant and the two Boer dwarfs. Great Britain annexed the conquered republics (1902) but magnanimously, after a few years, granted them self-governing rights. By 1909 the two ex-republics had agreed with the neighboring colonies of the Cape and Natal to consolidate their interests under the firm-name of the Union of South Africa.

Italy's Abyssinian war, 1895

Another chain of African crises arose around the plans of France and Italy. In 1881 France suddenly occupied Tunis in order to round off her Algerian holdings. The Italians, who had themselves been long casting a fond eye on Tunis, were outraged and would have gone to war if there had been any likelihood of their measuring swords with their Gallic rivals with some reasonable chance of success. Under the circumstances they swallowed their wrath and provided against a repetition of the Tunisian surprise by an alliance with Germany and Austria (the Triple alliance of 1882). They did another thing. Determined to extend their relatively worthless African possessions along the Red sea, they levied war in 1895 on the independent kingdom of Abyssinia, only to be badly beaten at Adowa. Here was the case of an European power successfully resisted by a native state, a unique instance of this kind in the history of African conquest. With bitterness in their hearts the Italians were obliged to acknowledge the independence of Abyssinia. The sovereign status, which Abyssinia successfully defended in 1895, has been maintained to the present day.

France acquires Morocco

At the northwestern corner of the continent lay another native state, the empire of Morocco, which at the time that Abyssinia beat off the Italian attack enjoyed, like Abyssinia, a formal independence. But France had already earmarked it for conquest and in the early years of the new century began a cautious diplomatic action intended to prepare the ground for a successful penetration. We shall presently hear of this Morocco plan in another connection, for it produced a radical shake-up of European diplomatic relations and left a bitterness among the rival power groups which augured ill for the continuance of the precarious peace among them. It will serve every present purpose if we note that France successfully stalked her Moroccan prey and in 1911 added Morocco to her colonial dominion.

Africa a creditable exhibit of diplomacy

In recapitulation of this story of the partition of Africa we can suggest nothing better than a close study of the accompanying map. It shows the exact location of the slices of Africa which every state received. On the whole the partition may be regarded as one of the more successful operations of European diplomacy since it was so largely effected by the method of negotiations. However, war regularly waited on diplomacy and was frequently threatened and more than once unleashed.

Starting-point of recent diplomatic history the Franco-German War of 1870

We may agree that the African episode was worth following because it affords an excellent picture of imperialism in action. But it can not be made to serve as the starting-point of a systematic account of European diplomacy in recent years. For such a starting-point we must turn to Europe itself and to the situation resulting from the Franco-German War of 1870–71. The decisive victory won by Prussia in alliance with the south German states induced them to make permanent their military union by the formation of the German Empire. It replaced France as the leading continental power and by reason of its strength and prestige caused all its neighbors to await with anxiety the unfolding of its foreign policy. The official ruler of the new Germany was Emperor William I. Such however was the authority enjoyed by his chancellor, Prince Bismarck, due to his having been the successful architect of German unity, that he exercised an undisputed sway over German foreign and, for that matter, over German domestic affairs as well. Bismarck was not long in disclosing his hand. He believed that his country, more than all else, needed time to recover from the upheaval connected with the unification process and that the necessary preliminary to a healthy consolidation of the German Empire was a long peace. Since the only probable immediate disturber of the peace was France, which, as much because of the bare fact of its defeat as because of its loss of Alsace-Lorraine, was animated with the hope of revenge, Bismarck applied all his skill to bring about the diplomatic isolation of his western neighbor. His thought was that France would prove dangerous only in case she succeeded in finding a helper, an ally.

Bismarck creates the League of the Three Emperors

With regard to Great Britain the circumspect chancellor was at ease because the island-power was at that time holding aloof from continental affairs on the ground that its interests lay wholly outside of Europe. It maintained what was currently called "a splendid isolation." Italy, too, Bismarck could dismiss from the reckoning because Italy was relatively weak and, besides, did not border on Germany. He fixed his attention on Russia and Austria-Hungary. Only in case France won the close friendship of either of them would she care to risk a war with her Rhenish neighbor. With this situation in mind Bismarck set to work to attach both Russia and Austria-Hungary to Germany. He succeeded so well that in 1872 the rulers of the three empires entered into an alliance with one another (the League of the Three Emperors).

Failure of the League of the Three Emperors

However, an agreement yoking together Austria and Russia was a precarious affair and almost certain to go by the boards the moment the Turkish question was mooted between them. Both states had for generations entertained with regard to the Ottoman Empire ambitious and conflicting projects which, though often adjourned because of the pressure of other interests, had an uncomfortable habit of making a periodical reappearance. In 1875 there was precipitated the grave Bosnian crisis, of which we have heard. At once it aligned Russia and Austria-Hungary on opposite sides. And when, in 1877, Russia went to war with the Ottoman Empire the Hapsburg government looked on with a disapproval, promptly converted to alarm, on Russia's winning a brilliant victory and imposing on the sultan the Peace of San Stefano. Since Great Britain took the Russian successes even more to heart than Austria, the two aggrieved governments by acting together were able to force the tsar to a revision of his San Stefano treaty at a congress held at Berlin (1878). Russia, getting less than she considered her just due, was outraged, blamed her mid-European friends, Germany as well as Austria, for her discomfiture, and grumblingly withdrew from coöperation with them. To be sure, three years later, in 1881, she became alarmed at her isolation and renewed the Three Emperors' League. It never achieved a genuine heartiness again and was permitted to expire in 1887. For three years more Bismarck tied Germany alone to Russia by a slender treaty thread, the much mooted Reinsurance treaty. On his dismissal from office in 1890 this, too, snapped abruptly. Germany and Russia as well as Austria and Russia had severed company.

The Austro-German alliance widened by the accession of Italy, 1882

In view of the fact that on the heels of the Congress of Berlin Russia and Austria seemed hopelessly estranged the Iron Chancellor took in 1879 a momentous step. He concluded a defensive alliance between Germany and Austria. Each was to aid the other in case of an attack by Russia. Two years later occurred an incident destined to bring an important accession to the Austro-German partnership: France and Italy engaged in a diplomatic clash over the Mediterranean. France, already in possession of Algeria, in 1881 seized Tunis, nominally an Ottoman province, though really an independent state. Having herself cast a covetous eye on Tunis, Italy resented the French action but was too weak to venture on an appeal to arms. However, so great was the indignation of Italy that her government turned to Germany for support. As Bismarck would not hear of a treaty which did not include Austria, there was concluded in 1882 the Triple alliance of the three central European powers.

Europe falls into the two camps of the Triple and Dual alliances

The Triple alliance was a defensive alliance subject to renewal at five year intervals. As defensive in character, it did not become effective till an attack had been launched on one of the three contracting parties. In reasonably plain language it indicated Russia and France as possible disturbers of the peace and therefore operated to draw these two malcontents together. Radically dissimilar in political organization, the absolute monarchy of the tsar and the democratic French republic hesitated a long time before joining hands and fortunes. Finally, in 1890, they effected a preliminary arrangement (*entente*), which by 1894 had ripened into a military convention with all the obligations of a formal alliance. Thus before the close of the century Europe fell into the two opposed camps of the Triple and Dual alliances, which maintained a delicate and perilous balance of power with Great Britain swinging between them in the rôle of a wandering comet attached to neither system.

The Anglo-Japanese alliance of 1902

The British governments of the time, Conservative and Liberal alike, held the view that the two alliances dividing Europe had crystallized over purely continental matters which interested Great Britain remotely, if at all, since she was a colonial power almost exclusively pursuing objects lying beyond the confines of Europe. Hence the "splendid isolation," which became a confirmed item of her policy. However, granting that the two alliances were immediately concerned with the problem of peace in Europe, the five member powers involved had alike embarked on a policy of expansion or imperialism. Consequently whenever any one of them launched a forward movement in Africa or Asia or the Balkan peninsula, it very naturally turned for support to its allies, since it was sure to meet with nothing but ill-will and resistance from its rivals. Thus imperceptibly the two systems extended their influence so as to take in the whole world. And presently Great Britain discovered that her isolation was injurious to the oversea interests which she had at heart. She was particularly disturbed by Russia, which in the nineties, following her discomfiture in the Balkan peninsula, had directed her surplus energies at Asia and more especially at China. Around 1900 it seemed that the tsar might eventually absorb Manchuria and acquire a dominating position at Pekin. Anxiously considering this danger, the London cabinet at last resolved to back Japan as the state more deeply concerned even than Great Britain in blocking the Russian game. In 1902 Great Britain and Japan signed an alliance. It did not promise Japan help in case the mikado came to blows with the tsar; but it did affirm that the moment an European power came to the aid of Russia Great Britain would mobilize in aid of Japan. We have noted elsewhere how under these circumstances Japan was encouraged to meet the Russian challenge and by defeating Russia in 1904–5 reduced her prospects in China to relatively harmless proportions.

Even before Great Britain was made more secure in the waters of the Pacific by the Japanese alliance, she had resolved to end her isolation on the continent of Europe and to this end keenly scanned the situation. Since she regarded Russia as her leading competitor she quite naturally turned, first of all, to Russia's European neighbor, to Germany. On more than one occasion she suggested to the German foreign office that they come to terms. Some ten years had passed since Bismarck had been dismissed from the chancellorship and the direction of German policy had become the jealously guarded prerogative of Emperor William II and his advisers. They proved themselves a blind and unskilled group and met the British proposal with the counter-demand that Great Britain become a party to the Triple alliance. As the British did not wish to assume the peculiarly continental responsibilities of this combination, the negotiations, though repeatedly renewed, finally came to naught.

Britain seeks to combine with Germany

Under the circumstances it is not surprising that Great Britain should have turned to France and in 1904 have signed a treaty with her nearest neighbor. It was not an alliance but an understanding of the kind diplomacy designates with the French word, entente. The purpose of the treaty was to remove all immediate grounds of misunderstanding between London and Paris and, accordingly, its articles regulated certain disputes of long standing touching Newfoundland, Madagascar, and Siam. But the core of the document referred to northern Africa. Ever since 1882 the British had occupied Egypt to the disappointment and disgust of the French, who coveted the Nile basin for themselves. The republic now promised to end its complaints, in fact to leave Egypt wholly in British hands, if the British in return acknowledged the special interests of France in Morocco, in other words, helped France acquire this territory. Morocco was from the point of view of international law an independent state of lawless and martial Mohammedan tribes, but that did not hinder the two contracting powers from disposing of it in this cavalier manner. More important to them than its independence was its "backwardness," which sufficed to qualify it as a proper dish for the imperialist appetite.

Britain concludes an entente with France, 1904

Let us repeat that the treaty of 1904 was not an alliance but an entente for the purpose of promoting better relations between Great Britain and France. But Germany inevitably looked upon it as a menace. We are aware that ever since 1890 the new sovereign, William II, directed the policy of Germany. Though he was at heart devoted to peace, his numerous impetuous and tactless public speeches created the very

William II goes in for a strong navy

opposite impression. Indubitably the Kaiser's excitable personality projected an intangible element of nervousness into the European situation. To this his signal departure from Bismarck's colonial policy contributed. It is certain that the Iron Chancellor himself cautiously launched Germany on an imperialist course; but William with characteristic extravagance threw caution to the winds and made the search for oversea territory the main concern of his reign. With his heart set on colonies it was logical enough for him to want a navy and in 1898 he persuaded the Reichstag to pass the first Navy Bill. Two years later it was followed by a second Navy Bill, which provided for an ambitious building program covering more than a ten year period. Thus Germany belatedly but vigorously made a bid for sea power.

Naval rivalry of Britain and Germany

Sea power was sought and possessed in varying degree by every imperialist state; but Great Britain had long specialized in this weapon and owed to it her unchallenged control of the waters of the earth. Though it was permissible in British eyes for Germany to have a navy, it was impermissible to have a strong navy, a navy which might eventually prove a danger to British ascendancy. In measure as the German navy grew, the British increased their own war fleet and so, it is true, at all times maintained an easy ascendancy. But the British and German governments and peoples became permanently irritated with each other over naval competition; and this atmosphere of suspicion and ill-feeling had around 1900 already done its evil work, for it played an important, though perhaps unconscious, rôle in the failure of the negotiations inaugurated by London looking toward a German understanding.

The Morocco incident

The announcement of the Anglo-French entente of 1904 made the situation worse as between Germany and both her western neighbors. Moreover, France had put herself technically in the wrong by failing to observe the usual courtesy of communicating the treaty to Berlin. A great colonial prize — Morocco — was attributed to France (with a northern section reserved to Spain) and Germany was expected to stand by and say amen. With the purpose of forcing France into the path of negotiations the Kaiser ostentatiously paid a visit to the sultan of Morocco in March, 1905, and assured that potentate of his interest in his continued independence. The theatrical demonstration produced a crisis which shook Europe to its depths. The upshot was that a conference of the powers held at Algeciras in Spain in January, 1906, indeed affirmed the sovereign status of the sultan but at the same time declared that France had special interests in his dominions. Precisely this was the French thesis and had been invented by the French diplomats because it sufficed for the gradual penetration which the republic planned. Germany was defeated at Algeciras because Great Britain had stood by France and, without adding a single word to the treaty of 1904, had given to the entente the character of an alliance. William II sulked and in 1911 reopened the question. Again the Franco-British front remained unbroken and the second Moroccan crisis passed when France reluctantly declared her readiness to offer Germany territorial compensation in the region of the French Congo. However — and this is the main point to be noted — the victory in this disturbing conflict fell to France. Casting to the winds all further hypocritical pretense touching the continued independence of Morocco, she now (1911) added it, except for a northern coastal strip consigned to Spain, to her African empire.

The Anglo-Russian treaty of 1907

As soon as France and Great Britain had begun to coöperate diplomatically, the French cabinet did its best to promote better relations between London and St. Petersburg. Why shouldn't an amicable arrangement dispose of the abundant inflammable matter heaped up between the two powers, both of them friends of France? Under a gentle pressure from Paris the Russian and British governments gradually drew together; and although there were some issues between them which resisted adjudication, they did in 1907 come to terms at least over their conflicting interests in central Asia. The most important articles of the Anglo-Russian treaty of that year referred to Persia, which both powers had in the past attempted to draw within their respective spheres of influence. Persia was a state like Morocco, formally independent but "backward." Also it was a Moslem community; indeed its Mohammedanism was the very essence of its backwardness. In substance Great Britain and Russia partitioned Persia, Russia being assigned the northern section, Great Britain the southern. A central area they graciously left, for the present at least, to its legal ruler, the shah.

We note again that the treaty of 1907 was merely an entente; but it had the effect of drawing France, Great Britain, and Russia into a diplomatic partnership. It became known as the Triple entente and operated as a counterweight to the Triple alliance of

Germany, Austria, and Italy. Thus, tragically, were the six European powers divided into two hostile, armed camps. Rarely after 1907 did they look upon a diplomatic incident which might arise as the occasion for a friendly exchange of views in frank and sincere terms. Rather did each of the opposed groups seize upon the novel incident as a welcome occasion for the display of temper and the assertion of prestige.

Triple entente versus Triple alliance

Germany's conspicuous failure to participate in the appropriation effected among Russia, France, and Great Britain of such valuable properties as Egypt, Morocco, and Persia did not lead her to abandon her imperialist passions as hopeless. On the contrary, for lack of food she grew more hungry and presently directed her appetite to the one backward territory which seemed reasonably accessible to her, the Ottoman Empire. Her impotence, revealed to the world at Algeciras, was fundamentally due to the circumstance that she could not make her influence felt across the seas against the pleasure of Great Britain. Britannia, who ruled the ocean, made her poignantly aware that she was a landlocked power. However, she was mighty on the European continent, in general opinion the leading military state. In view of this situation the Berlin government determined to concentrate its expansionist energies more narrowly on the Near East, the only backward area in all the world which, with the aid of its ally, Austria-Hungary, could be reached by the land-route. True, the Kaiser had begun his penetration of the Ottoman Empire many years before his discomfiture at the hands of the entente in the period 1904–07. With his advance in other directions paralyzed, he did however set his heart more desperately than before on the opportunity which seemed to beckon him in Turkey.

Germany turns her attention on the Ottoman Empire

But Turkey was a hazardous opportunity beset with numerous perils. Let us once more recall the circumstances and stages of Ottoman decay. When in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries the realm of the sultan first manifested its feebleness, it was its immediate neighbors, Austria and Russia, which took advantage of the situation. Each pushed forward along the line of least resistance, Austria by the course of the Danube and its tributaries, Russia by following the coast of the Black sea. Then in the nineteenth century France and Great Britain, both of them Mediterranean powers, showed an interest in the north-African provinces of Turkey, which, owing to the

Stages of the appropriation of Turkey by the powers

feeble grip of Constantinople, were fast slipping out of its hands. In 1830 France landed in Algeria and began the conquest of that province destined to serve as the nucleus of a vast African dominion. In 1881 she rounded off Algeria to the east by seizing Tunis. The very next year, in 1882, Great Britain occupied Egypt, still nominally a part of the Ottoman state although practically independent under a native ruler, the khedive. In this way four great powers were engaged in driving entering wedges into the Turkish mass until it looked as if its final division among the four expectant heirs would not be long delayed. Indeed Russia, the most impatient of the group, repeatedly broached the issue of partition. But as she invariably indicated that she regarded Constantinople and the straits as her proper share, the rest drew back, unwilling to see the mighty empire of the tsar establish itself at this highly strategical point. In consequence of this refusal Russia more than once (the Crimean War; the War of 1877–78) angrily took matters into her own hands, only to be cheated of her prize, not by the defensive strength of Turkey but by the action of the European states. On the two occasions noted it was Europe, that is, the envious rival powers, which saved the sultan from destruction and set him on his feet again. By the Treaty of Paris of 1856 as well as by the Treaty of Berlin of 1878 they reaffirmed the closing of the straits (the Bosporus and Dardanelles) to the warships of all the powers. In spite of its fair and equalitarian ring, the closure was decreed solely because it operated as the most efficacious means of checkmating the Russian designs. It worked out in this way because the moment the tsar should venture to force the sea passage at Constantinople, he would be breaking international law and drawing the fire of united Europe.

The quickened appetite of the Balkan states

We may agree that what chiefly retarded the carving up of the Ottoman Empire in the second half of the nineteenth century were the mutual jealousies of the guests assembled for the feast coupled with their resolution that the hungriest of their number, the tsar, was not to have the portion on which he had set his heart. Meanwhile another factor had arisen to complicate the situation. In the Balkan peninsula, which constituted Turkey-in-Europe in distinction from Turkey-in-Asia and Turkey-in-Africa, the subject nationalities had also become aware of the sultan's weakness and had rebelled against his degrading and tyrannical rule. We have taken account of the moving story of how by gradual stages they emancipated themselves from

Moslem tutelage and won the blessings of human freedom. Surveying the situation from the height of the Congress of Berlin (1878), we may once again note that Greece, Serbia, Montenegro, and Rumania had by that date acquired a free and independent status, while Bulgaria had been endowed with an autonomy only a step removed from sovereignty. In the period following the Congress of Berlin these young and lusty states undoubtedly made good progress; but it was reasonably clear that they would not rest content till they had driven the sultan from all the Balkan provinces which he still occupied.

The objectives of the Balkan states are Albania, Bosnia, and Macedonia

The Balkan provinces remaining in the sultan's hands and coveted by his neighbors were three, Albania, Bosnia, and Macedonia; and each offered a problem of its own. Albania was the land of the oldest of the Balkan peoples, a mountain group so backward that it was doubtful whether it would ever arouse itself to assert its statehood. But if the Albanians remained quiescent, would they not prove fair game for their active neighbors of Greece and Serbia? Bosnia, a solidly Serb region, had by a fatal decision of the Congress of Berlin been given to Austria-Hungary for "occupation and administration" only, it is true, but every one familiar with diplomatic language knew that Bosnia would henceforth have to be listed as a Hapsburg possession. None the less the sultan retained a technical sovereignty over Bosnia, while Serbia, cheated of its hopes, never ceased to look with invitation in its eyes across the boundary toward its lost Bosnian brothers. As for Macedonia the Berlin Congress dealt it a worse blow even than it did Bosnia. It tore it from the Big Bulgaria planned by Russia and reconsigned it to the cruel hands of the red sultan, Abdul Hamid II. Thus the Balkan peninsula after 1878 reproduced in miniature the disturbed picture afforded by the great powers in relation to the whole of the Turkish realm. The expectations of the great powers gathered around the vast Ottoman properties lying outside Europe; the small Balkan states with no less eagerness set themselves the more modest goal of appropriating the sultan's purely Balkan estate, i.e. Albania, Bosnia, and Macedonia.

The imperialist technique

It was into this welter of ambitious and contentious projects that Italy and Germany plunged as soon as their unification enabled them to take their place beside the older powers. Leaving Italy to one side for the moment, we shall concentrate on Germany which with its great economic and military mass was bound to produce a very noticeable displacement in the troubled waters of the Near East. Hardly had Emperor William II come to the throne when, in 1890, he paid a visit to Abdul Hamid II at Constantinople in order to make a personal examination of possible openings for Germany in the sultan's dominion. There had by that time been worked out a successful technique for gradually and inconspicuously bringing a backward area under imperialist sway. Long practiced by such older powers as France and Great Britain, it consisted in gaining a certain social influence at the court of a foreign ruler in order gently to extort from him valuable economic concessions. Among these would be the working of promising mines or the construction of public works such as bridges, harbors, and railways. If on the heel of these activities European bankers would put in an appearance with the offer of ready money to the spendthrift barbarian monarch, he was sure to awaken at some not too distant morning to find himself bound as effectively as ever Gulliver was by the swarming Lilliputians.

Germany concentrates on Anatolia

By this well-established procedure German diplomats and business men, following the Kaiser's visit, made a nest for themselves at Constantinople. They studied the situation till they finally concentrated on the province of Asia Minor, commonly called Anatolia, as their most promising field of action. Anatolia, almost incredibly backward because of Turk neglect and ignorance, had very alluring potentialities from a colonial standpoint. But before its mineral and other riches could be developed it would have to have a modern system of communications. With this in mind a group of German financiers obtained a concession to construct a railway from Constantinople eastward to Angora. When this was ready they acquired the right to build an extension to Konia, in central Asia Minor; and no sooner had they reached Konia than they recognized that it would be both logical and necessary to carry the line eastward all the way across the Euphrates to the city of Bagdad on the Tigris. From Bagdad it might ultimately be extended down the river to the Persian gulf and so open up a greatly shortened route to India and the Asiatic points beyond.

The Bagdad railway

It was in 1899 that a German company received the first charter from the sultan to build what came to be known as the Bagdad railway. Owing to difficulties of one sort or another connected with this first concession, the project hung fire for a number of years until, in 1903, a second charter removed all obstacles and the construction of the line began in earnest. Immediately the other

European powers, which had long taken jealous notice of the negotiations, were aroused to the pitch of protest. They had all acted similarly in dozens of instances, but that did not hinder them from registering heated moral indignation when one of their number scored a particularly brilliant point in the imperialist game. An enormous agitation centered around the German design which, starting modestly in Anatolia, grew in stature till it cast its shadow eastward over the ancient valley-land of Mesopotamia.

The Bagdad railway contributes to the fatal European rift

Among the great powers it was Great Britain and Russia more particularly which showed resentment toward the Bagdad railway project. Great Britain feared for the security of India, always a source of grave anxiety; Russia dreaded the traversing of the Bosporus with an east-west artery of communication which would, in the long run, almost inevitably lead to the establishment of a German political hegemony at Constantinople. Undoubtedly it was this common alarm over the Bagdad route which acted to draw the old-time obstinate foes together. In 1907 they signed, as we are aware, the Russo-British entente. It dealt with Persia and breathed no word about the unwelcome railway, which was only just getting started and which it would manifestly take many years to bring to completion. None the less the German advance into the Near East was a strong subconscious factor in the novel friendship between London and St. Petersburg. Added to the friendship already existing between London and Paris as well as between Paris and St. Petersburg it produced the Triple entente. We have been following in this chapter the fatal breaking of Europe into two hostile alliances and the waxing bitterness between them over rival imperialist plans. No one incident contributed more than the Bagdad railway toward transforming the world into the powder-barrel, which in 1914 went off by spontaneous combustion.

The Ottoman poison infects all Europe

Even so, Europe might not have exploded in 1914 as it did, if it had not been for the extraordinary succession of earthquakes which, beginning with 1908, rocked the crazy Ottoman Empire to its foundations and produced unescapable repercussions throughout the world. The imperialist game, as played by the powers, carried them, as we have seen, over all the seas to the ends of the earth; but it was the conflicts they developed over the Ottoman spoils which led by a direct road to the World War. These conflicts we must therefore follow with the closest attention.

The first of the Ottoman outbreaks, forerunner and cause of all the rest, was the domestic revolution of 1908, by virtue of which Turkey became a constitutional monarchy and passed into the hands of the Young Turks. This has already been treated together with some of its domestic consequences. It now becomes our task to trace the fatal effect of the revolution on the already poisoned relations of the Triple alliance and Triple entente.

The Bosnian annexation crisis of 1908

The Young Turk revolution was only a few months old when, on October 5, 1908, the Viennese cabinet startled the world with the announcement of the annexation of Bosnia and Herzegovina. The Austrian foreign minister at the time was Aehrenthal, and he was moved to take this step because he feared that the ambitious Young Turks would be inspired to make use of the sultan's merely theoretical sovereignty in order to bring the two Serb provinces once more under Ottoman rule. Aware of the advisability of a preliminary understanding with Russia, he had, in September, held an interview with the Russian foreign minister, Isvolski, at Buchlau in Moravia, as a result of which Isvolski agreed not to oppose the annexation if Austria would lend support, should Russia apply for a modification of the agreement shutting her war-ships from the straits (the Bosporus and Dardanelles). But Isvolski was balked by his own partners, France and Great Britain, who were unwilling to concede to Russia the particular advantage she sought. When a few weeks after Buchlau Aehrenthal went ahead just the same, Isvolski was indignant and joined France and Britain in a spirited protest. But the immediate danger to peace did not threaten from the entente. It arose from Serbia, which was so enraged by the Austrian act that she contemplated war as the only adequate response. In case the Triple entente went the length of backing Serbia, an Austro-Serb conflict was inevitable, which in its turn would almost certainly develop into a general upheaval.

The crisis ends with an Austro-German triumph

In the ensuing controversy the Austrian contention was that, since the Hapsburg monarchy had been in actual possession of Bosnia for thirty years, the annexation was a mere formality. To this argument the Serbs refused to concede any weight because they were in the grip of the strongest nationalist emotions. Looking on Bosnia as their own on racial grounds, they had never ceased to hope for the end of the Austrian occupation. And now instead of the end there loomed, because of the snapping of the tenuous thread of Turkish sovereignty, an unqualified incorporation in the Hapsburg monarchy which might last forever and ever. So open became the Serb preparations for war that the worst was feared until Britain and France, feeling that the Bosnian issue was, after all, too slight a stake on which to risk an appeal to arms, ceased to encourage the Serbs. Russia, more deeply concerned, proved more stubborn. At length in March, 1909, St. Petersburg, on receiving a sharp note from Austria's ally, Germany, also accepted the annexation and notified the kingdom of Serbia to expect no aid from it. Thereupon the little state, completely isolated, informed Vienna of its submission and solemnly promised to discontinue its agitation in behalf of Bosnia.

Uninterrupted succession of Ottoman crises

A tremendous crisis had gripped Europe — a crisis which was relieved but not terminated by the acceptance of the Austrian act. For, let us ask, had any substantial change been wrought in the situation? Would not Serbia, despite its pledges, continue to do whatever lay in its power to bring blood-related Bosnia under its wing? And was the chasm that yawned between Triple entente and Triple alliance bridged or the poison-laden political atmosphere of Europe cleared and purified? Hardly was the annexation incident closed when another and still another storm broke over the tormented dominion of the Young Turks. It was this absence of reprieve that made it as good as impossible for the harried European foreign offices to catch their breath and reflect upon the hazards of their course. In 1909 the Albanians rose to claim from the Young Turks that measure of autonomy to which they thought they were entitled. And while the Turk armies were still locked in battle with the vigorous Albanian mountaineers, Italy suddenly pounced on the remaining African province of the Ottoman Empire, Tripoli, in order to add it to its colonial domain.

Italy's colonial policy

The war of 1911 loosed by Italy against Turkey requires an exposition of Italian policy. We have repeatedly noted that when, in 1881, France appropriated Tunis, the Italians reacted so violently against this seizure that the government gravitated toward Berlin and Vienna and with their coöperation formed the Triple alliance. In the very next year (1882) Egypt was occupied by Great Britain. That left for eventual seizure along the north African coast only Morocco, an independent sultanate, and Tripoli, officially a province of Turkey but really in the full possession of its own lawless desert tribes. Around the year 1900 the government of France developed the ambitious project to acquire Morocco and did not fail to note that, as a necessary preliminary, it would have to negotiate with Great Britain as well as with its immediate Mediterranean neighbors, Italy and Spain. How it bought the consent of the leading sea-power is laid down in the famous Anglo-French entente of 1904. To Spain at the same time was conceded the Moroccan strip opposite its own shores. How about Italy? As there was nothing left of the Moroccan cake, Italy was referred to Tripoli, and with the utmost good will, first, since Tripoli was a sun-scorched waste of creeping sand; and second, because as a Turkish province, Tripoli could not be had except by war. Morocco for Tripoli could hardly be called an even exchange, but Italy was the weakest of the six European powers and had to be content with what came to hand.

The Franco-Italian treaty of 1902

It was in 1902 that the two Latin sisters struck their African bargain and, strange to relate, France gained even more by it than a great colonial prize. For the republic persuaded Rome to give an undertaking, which, in spite of the usual tortuous diplomatic reservations, could be stretched to mean that Italy would not fight with her allies, Germany and Austria, against France. As Italy at the same time remained in the Triple alliance, indeed solemnly renewed the alliance in this very year (1902), the question may be raised how Italy regarded her contradictory responsibilities. The only possible answer is that, in the event of war, she intended to do what her self-interest prompted. The bearing of the Italian attitude on the European diplomatic situation will escape no watchful eye. It signified that the Triple alliance, although continuing to make a brave show before the world, was after 1902 a leaky vessel. Italy had made a secret arrangement by which she could at her pleasure desert her allies.

The Italian-Turkish War of 1911–12

It was under these circumstances that Italy in September, 1911, fell upon the Ottoman Empire. She saw France at that moment finally devouring the Moroccan dish and at the same time the Young Turks so embarrassed by the fiery Albanian revolt that it seemed almost like flying in the face of Providence not to act. Besides, she had Tripoli, as it were, already in her pocket, for, in addition to the promise from France, she had at one time or another obtained the admission from every power of Europe that Tripoli should eventually be hers. Swooping down on the Tripolitan coast with her war-ships and transports, she engaged in a struggle with the native Arab tribes, who received only meager support from weak and distant Constantinople. By the autumn of 1912 the Young Turks recognized that they would have to yield. In a treaty signed at Lausanne in Switzerland they resigned their Tripolitan claims to the kingdom of Italy. As Tripoli, rebaptized Libya by its new masters, really belonged, not to Turkey but to its own desert people, their subjugation became the tedious undertaking of the following years. As for the harassed Turks they were deceived in their hope of peace. For no sooner had the Italian conflict been brought to a conclusion than they found themselves confronted with a struggle for their very life with the combined Christian states of the Balkan peninsula.

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CHAPTER XXXIII

THE BALKAN WARS OF 1912–13; THE MURDER OF THE AUSTRIAN ARCHDUKE; THE OUTBREAK OF THE WORLD WAR

The four Balkan allies attack Turkey

The Balkan War, begun in October, 1912, had as its immediate object the conquest of Macedonia. The young Christian states whose boundaries touched on Macedonia (or on Macedonia and Albania) were Greece, Bulgaria, Serbia, and Montenegro, both the latter of the same, that is, of Serb nationality. The four neighbors had long been revolving thoughts of seizing more Balkan territory and had in consequence given secret encouragement to the terrible civil war which had for years desolated the Macedonian area. In 1912 they made up their minds to appropriate the prize without more ado because they faced a changed situation. In the first place the Young Turks had fallen among thorns and were bleeding from a hundred wounds. It did not seem likely that they would put up much of a fight against a concerted attack. Second, in conceding near-independence to Albania in 1912, the Turks had included a large slice of Macedonia in the new state. To this the neighbors and rivals of Albania were resolved not to submit, for, accustomed to look upon Macedonia as their eventual property, they scoffed at the claim of an upstart Albania to any part of it. Thirdly, the ancient Russian exasperation with the Ottoman Empire had once again reached the point which inclined the tsar to appeal to war. On this occasion however he would hold himself in reserve and send his little Balkan brothers into the battle-line. It was with the heartening feeling that the eye of the great white tsar was upon them that in October, 1912, the four states of Montenegro, Serbia, Greece, and Bulgaria declared war on the sultan and advanced upon his territories.

Utter defeat of Turkey

Whether because Turkey was exhausted or because its armies were scattered over too wide a front to be effective, the allies immediately scored a succession of startling victories. The Bulgarians, moving southward, drove the defeated Ottoman forces before them and obliged them to take refuge in Constantinople. In November they laid siege to the famous city on the Golden

Horn. The triumphs of the allies of Bulgaria were hardly less brilliant; and by the time the Bulgarians had reached the outposts of Constantinople, the Serbs and the Greeks had occupied all Macedonia. Tiny Montenegro did its bit by slashing its way into northern Albania. In their surprise and distress the Turks appealed for help to the European powers, which agreed to assemble a conference at London to consider the case. As a preliminary measure they required the combatants to arrange a truce. When the peace terms, formulated after some weeks by the mediating states, failed to satisfy the Turks, the war was renewed in the spring of 1913. But not for long. In May the utterly exhausted Ottomans agreed to surrender all of the territory they still possessed in the Balkan peninsula with the exception of Constantinople and a narrow belt of protective hinterland. To all intents and purposes they had been expelled from Europe!

The powers create an independent Albania

Then, just as everybody expected the martial excitement to die down, the Balkan pot boiled up and over once again. The new outbreak was due to the fact that the four allies, because they had been more successful than they had hoped, could not agree on the division of their profits. Turkey had surrendered to them collectively by the peace not only the coveted Macedonia but the province of Thrace as well almost up to the gates of the Turk capital. For a moment it had even looked as if they might acquire Albania too; but with regard to Albania the powers assembled at London interposed an Olympian veto. To this decision they were persuaded, in part at least, by the fact that the Albanians had recently shown fine mettle by wresting autonomy from the Turks. Most opportunely the London conference extended its shield over the lowest and weakest of the struggling Balkan nationalities by means of a declaration reserving to itself the right to erect a free Albania with a boundary to be drawn at a later time.

The Second Balkan War, 1913

Thus it came about that the victors found the Albanian hills and their people withheld from the Ottoman spoils. Even so, the territory surrendered by Turkey was so much larger than had been expected that the allies could come to no agreement on their respective shares. After futile negotiations during some feverish weeks they came to blows among themselves. The new struggle is called the Second Balkan War. In it two of the allies, Greece and Serbia, combined against Bulgaria because Bulgaria could not make up its mind to be content with Thrace and leave Macedonia in Greek and Serb hands. Rumania, too, entered the struggle, although, because not contiguous with Macedonia, it had not taken part in the First Balkan War. Stirred to jealousy by the success of its neighbors, the government of Bucharest had demanded territorial compensation and, in order to make sure of receiving it, joined Serbia and Greece against their Bulgar enemy. This formidable combination ended the war before it was well under way. Caught between the fresh Rumanian army coming from the north and the Greco-Serb forces advancing from the west and south, the Bulgarians were quickly struck to their knees. They humbly sued for peace, which was concluded at Bucharest on August 10, 1913.

The division of the spoils

Of course Serbia and Greece divided the disputed Macedonia between them without paying the least attention to the excellent ethnic claims which Bulgaria was able to advance. Rumania had to be conciliated by Bulgaria with the surrender of a strip of land adjoining the Dobrudja. This is the name of the plateau between the lower bend of the Danube river and the Black sea, which since 1878 had been a part of Rumania. Since all her neighbors had gathered to plunder prostrate Bulgaria, even the beaten Turks experienced a sufficient revitalization to put in an appearance and peremptorily to ask for an extension of their Constantinopolitan hinterland as far as the city of Adrianople. In this way the Turks, too, emerged as victors from the new struggle. If the crisis precipitated by the two Balkan wars closed with a happy and elated Greece, Serbia, Montenegro, and Rumania, it left behind a deeply humiliated and embittered Bulgaria. The Balkan animosities had not in the least diminished. There were storms ahead.

The storm draws near

Nor were the indications that a storm was gathering limited to southeastern Europe. To be sure, the powers had during the two Balkan wars, successfully maintained their concert and on matters of common concern, as, for instance, the fate of Albania, had reached a decision to which all adhered. But the atmosphere was sultry; and fear and suspicion dominated not only the foreign offices but also, in constantly increasing measure, the European press and public. The best evidence of this perilous state of mind was the growing conviction that the general war, which ever since the Moroccan crisis of 1905 hung like the sword of Damocles over Europe, could not be long adjourned. In consequence the Balkan crisis was followed by almost convulsive efforts on the part of every great state to increase its military and naval forces. More particularly Russia, Germany, and France took significant steps to strengthen their hand. Nor was it a good omen that, even though the governments continued to avow peaceful intentions, the jingo press of every land already sniffed the scent of battle.

Serbia's propaganda activities

Certain counter-currents must not be overlooked, especially as they gave hope to the optimists. Thus it was encouraging that during the recent wars Germany and Britain had worked together on the conviction that it would be an inexcusable folly for them to come to blows over the antics of the small states of the Balkan peninsula. But this was not the attitude of Austria and Russia, both of whom took the antics of one of these states, of Serbia, most seriously. Ever since the annexation of Bosnia in 1908 Serbia had not ceased to occupy the European lime-light. Its self-importance, already great, was immeasurably increased by its victories in the Balkan wars and their territorial reward. But its exasperation with Austria, instead of declining with success, was fed by new grievances. For Austria had been foremost among the powers in saving Albania from the dismemberment with which it was threatened by the Balkan allies and, more particularly, by Belgrad. As Albania was now slated to become an independent state, it would henceforward be a barrier between Serbia and the Adriatic sea, which Serbia needed as an outlet for its trade. Quite openly the little kingdom fixed its hope on some future war which would topple Austria from its eminence. But as that event was necessarily indefinite, the country found immediate relief for its vast indignation in various societies charged with carrying nationalist propaganda among the Bosnian and other Serb subjects of the Hapsburg monarchy.

The murder of the Austrian heir apparent

Should this secret Serb propaganda be vigorously prosecuted for a period of years, it would with mathematical certainty undermine the foundations of the Austrian state. However, when Vienna protested to Belgrad against these activities, more or less under the guidance of the state, its complaints were treated dilatorily. Serbia dared take this course in the face of a great power for the good and sufficient reason that its propaganda policy enjoyed the backing of St. Petersburg. Nor did Russia omit to add the assurance that it would not desert a kindred Slav people in case of a renewal of the Bosnian crisis. On the surface it was the relations between Austria and Serbia which were being subjected to an unendurable strain; below the surface the strain involved the two great powers, Austria and Russia, and through them their respective partners of the Triple alliance and Triple entente. Into this tense situation there crashed, like a clap of thunder, the news that on June 28, 1914, a group of youthful Bosnian nationalists had murdered the heir to the Austrian throne, the archduke Francis Ferdinand, together with his wife, as they were driving through the streets of Sarajevo, the capital of Bosnia. This event, as everybody knows, unloosed the World War.

Remote and immediate causes of the World War

Confronted with the outbreak of the World War which, because it all but wrecked civilization, released a passionate discussion as to its origin continuing to this day, let us at the very outset make a distinction. There are remote causes of the war which go back for generations and are tied up with some of the most characteristic processes of civilization; and there are immediate causes which lie very much nearer the surface and are more easily traceable. Let us consider the remote causes first because they are for the student of history the real and effective causes and fall much more heavily into the scales than the immediate causes which, as we shall see, have largely a personal and accidental character.

The remote or real causes

To any one at all versed in life and history it must be indisputable that such an epochal event as the World War could not have sprung from other roots than from the spirit and forms assumed by changing civilization itself. It is a profound appreciation of this fact which defines the struggle as essentially a crisis of our civilization. And since this book has dealt with this civilization as its central theme, the forces and conditions which coöperated to produce the catastrophe of 1914 have already been indicated. However, they have nowhere as yet been gathered into a single picture. Let us attempt to do that now, remembering at the same time that it is useless to signalize one of these conditions as more important than any other. They all had to be contemporaneous and intermingle in an indistinguishable complex to bring about or, as we more commonly say, to "cause" the war.

1. *The Recurrent Anarchy of War.* We have learned that ever since the Reformation Europe has been a congeries of jealously sovereign states. True, they have acknowledged a certain measure of unity based on a body of international law and an ever growing mass of common practices. But, generally speaking, each state has always regarded its selfish interest as its highest end, to attain which it will, if need be, resort to war. Coupled with a system of civilized order

becoming more and more complicated with each generation, there was periodic disorder. It signified a recurrent anarchy considered to be perfectly legitimate and presided over by Mars, the god of battle.

2. *Nationalism.* The sovereign states had since the French Revolution come to rest more and more on the sentiment binding together all classes of a given population and called patriotism. When divided or oppressed peoples, who had not yet achieved their own political state, cultivated an identical sentiment it was commonly called nationalism. Patriotism and nationalism, admirable in themselves and even necessary if the states founded on this sentiment were to live and flourish, frequently led to an exaggerated form of self-worship. We may call this exaggeration ultra-nationalism. It manifested itself by an intolerant and offensive attitude toward every rival national group.

3. *Imperialism.* One of the purposes pursued by nationalism was to appropriate backward areas beyond the seas for the greater glory of the conquering nation. A national state embarking on this policy heartened itself with the theory of its civilizing mission. Minimizing its hope of material advantages, it proclaimed the need of carrying its particular brand of culture to the brown or black or yellow brothers of Africa and Asia in order to rescue them from their deplorable barbarism. Admitting that, in addition to the economic motif, there was also a missionary impulse in imperialism, we can not escape the conclusion that it largely was born of pride and love of power.

4. *Capitalism and the Industrial Revolution.* The imperialism, which, as just indicated, was tied up with nationalism, was in its turn vastly intensified by the search, on the part of the surplus capital of Europe, for profitable investments abroad, and by the need, on the part of the expanding machine industry, for wider markets for its mass products.

5. *Militarism and Navalism.* Since each power looked on war as a legitimate tool of policy, it desired to be as strong as possible on both land and sea. Hence constantly increasing armies and navies; and by the same token growing expenditures, involving in their turn heavy and ever heavier taxation and a national debt assuming fabulous proportions. From threatening armaments there issued a rivalry and tension which destroyed the confidence necessary for kindly, courteous intercourse among neighbors.

6. *Triple Alliance and Triple Entente.* The desire for security had led first, to alliances in the event of war, and, around 1907, to the

bifurcation of Europe into the two hostile camps of the Triple alliance and Triple entente. Ever since the rise of international law in the seventeenth century the agency best suited to promote the cause of peace had been what was currently called the concert of Europe. This was the name given to a method of formal and informal coöperation among the great powers to the end of bringing their differences to an accommodation. The maintenance of the concert — an expression much heard in the nineteenth century — signified an appreciation of the value of European harmony. The domination of Europe by two rival groups, both armed to the teeth, undermined the concert by prompting the rivals to convert every issue that arose into an occasion for manifesting prestige. Besides, under the two-group system it would suffice for a single power recklessly to resolve on war in order, through the ramifications of the treaties, automatically to involve all the rest.

7. *The Diseased European State of Mind.* All of the above factors taken together operated to undermine the good will preached by a thousand associative agencies of civilization, such as commerce, religion, science, and the arts, and to replace good will with its opposite, with suspicion, fear, and hatred. This psychological consequence of all the other forces at work in the world can hardly be over-stated. It explains why in July, 1914, the powers flew at each other's throat in a panic indistinguishable from emotional insanity.

The entente champions the thesis of Germany's sole guilt

As to the immediate causes of the war, they have to do with the murder of the Austrian heir apparent and the developments that sprang from this root. As soon as the Sarajevo tragedy had led to a general and unique cataclysm, each side clamorously asserted its own innocence while doing its best to fasten the exclusive blame on its opponents. Germany and Austria pointed to Russia as the originator of the war and presently found France and Great Britain equally culpable on the ground that they had secretly encouraged the Russian action. The members of the Triple entente, on the other hand, placed the blame on Germany so exclusively that they practically implicated Austria only in the rôle of willing tool. It was the entente thesis which, largely because of the control by the entente of the world's news agencies and cable lines, captured outside opinion and particularly the opinion of America. Germany's sole guilt or, what amounts to the same thing, the Kaiser's sole guilt, became an article of faith, which deepened with every year the war lasted and which was so firmly established with Germany's opponents that, when the war ended, it was written triumphantly and without opposition from any quarter into the treaty of peace, called the Treaty of Versailles. Incorporated in that document as Article 231, it forms, as it were, the moral foundation of the peace structure.

The flood of post-war documents

However, as soon as the war was over, it became possible to review the facts in a calmer mood emancipated from the propaganda activities of the combatants. For the first time, too, the actual facts became known due to the writings of diplomats and politicians eager to claim a share in the great events which had occurred or desirous of defending themselves against disparaging charges. More important still, the secret state archives were thrown open and innumerable official documents bearing on international relations were communicated to the public. While these frequently afforded an insight into the decisions of the chancelleries as they fluctuated from hour to hour during the July crisis of 1914, in some cases they went much farther and permitted a study of the foreign policy pursued by a given power for several decades previous to the great catastrophe. It was decidedly contrary to custom for such publications to be put forth by European governments. But owing to the circumstance that the monarchies of Russia, Austria-Hungary, and Germany were replaced in 1917–18 by revolutionary governments which wished to proclaim their complete breach with the past, the customary reserve was abandoned and the public admitted to a knowledge of the most secret dispatches and reports. With St. Petersburg, Vienna, and Berlin putting their diplomatic cards, as it were, on the table, London and Paris were in self-justification obliged to do the same with the total result that never since the formation of the European system of states has a similar opportunity been afforded for exact knowledge of the development, intensification, and violent resolution of a crisis of the immediate past.

Abandonment of the myth of a single guilty nation

From the existence of this immense body of authentic material touching the outbreak of the war, it might be concluded by the general reader that the special students of the subject have probably by now come to a complete agreement on the facts. That is not the case, in part owing to the persistence, even among scholars, of an unbalanced state of mind produced by the war, in part owing to the contradictory interpretations, which, in the case of anything so fallible as a human document, are unavoidable. It is therefore proper that the young generation should know that the distribution of blame in connection with the outbreak of the war is still a controversial subject. None the less an immense advance has been made. The declaratory statements of 1914 issued from both camps have been set aside as worthless and the theory discredited that any one power, be it Germany or another, exclusively brought the war about. Scholars of good standing are now unanimously of the opinion that all five powers immediately involved, Austria, Russia, Germany, France, and Great Britain, must assume some measure of responsibility. They differ, and differ vigorously, as to the relative share of each government in the catastrophe; but they stand together in favor of a guilt distributed among all the powers instead of being monopolized by one. With the decks thus cleared we may take up the July events in the light of the present state of our information.

The Austrian ultimatum of July 23

The Austrian heir apparent and his wife were murdered by Bosnian youths of Serb nationality who acted under the direction of a terrorist society in Serbia, commonly called the Black Hand. The society was to a large extent made up of Serbian army officers and its most influential member was no less a person than the head of the Intelligence Division of the Serbian General Staff. Although it is almost certain that the Serbian government had by some means or other acquired knowledge of the plot, the Black Hand alone planned and executed it. Immediately after the assassination the Austrians instituted an inquiry into its preliminaries. This put them in possession of some evidence incriminating the propagandist societies of Serbia as well as a number of government employees but it did not disclose all the ramifications of the conspiracy. None the less they resolved to publish their charges and at the same time signally to humiliate the little state. Accordingly, at 6 P.M. on July 23, Count Berchtold, the Austro-Hungarian foreign minister, had a drastic ultimatum delivered at Belgrad. It demanded that the Serbian government disavow and suppress all propaganda activities directed against Austria, that it take judicial proceedings against Serb subjects connected with the plot, and that it permit Austrian representatives to take part in the investigations concerned with arriving at the facts. To give the ultimatum a particularly severe character a reply was demanded within forty-eight hours.

When the Serb government presented its answer two days later (July 25), it accepted most of the Austrian demands but made some important reservations, more particularly as to Austrian collaboration in the investigations to be conducted on Serbian soil. The Austrians at once declared the answer unsatisfactory and broke off diplomatic relations. Even before handing over her note, Serbia, expecting the worst, ordered the mobilization of her army. After receiving the Serbian answer Austria took similar action and followed this move three days later with the irreparable step of a declaration of war (July 28). In the hope of keeping Russia from feeling alarm for her own safety, the Austrian mobilization was limited to a number of army corps on the southern, that is, on the Serbian border.

The Austrian declaration of war, July 28

Austria and Germany reckon with a localized war

There can not be the least question that the Austrian policy aimed from the start at war with Serbia and not primarily as a means of revenge for the Sarajevo murder. What spurred Count Berchtold on was the conviction which had for years been growing in Vienna that Serb nationalist propaganda was slowly undermining the foundations of the Hapsburg monarchy and that nothing would put an end to it short of a harsh lesson administered to the indeed small but lusty and expanding kingdom. Even before formulating the ultimatum Berchtold had communicated with his German ally and on July 5 had received a promise of diplomatic support for any action against Serbia which Austria might consider necessary for her safety. It is certain that in pledging this support the Kaiser and his chancellor, Bethmann, faced the possibility of a war between Austria and Serbia having the character of an Austrian punitive expedition into the Slav kingdom. They did not want, and Austria did not want, a general European war. Both Vienna and Berlin foresaw that such a war might follow depending on how the entente took the punishment of Serbia; but they hoped from the depth of their heart that it might be avoided by the recognition, even on the part of Russia, that Serbia had put herself in the wrong and would have to pay the penalty.

Russia supports Serbia and mobilizes her army

In calculating thus Austria and Germany made a grave mistake, for Russia from the first refused to entertain a humiliation of Serbia which went the length of war and invasion. St. Petersburg avowed an affection for the Serbs on racial grounds and had in recent years maintained the closest intimacy with Belgrad. Much more decisive, however, as an explanation of Russian policy is the fact that under the conditions obtaining in Europe in 1914 the safety and independence of Serbia were tied up with the imperial self-interest. The tsar had good reason to fear the Austro-German influence at Constantinople, which, with the straits, he looked on as one of the keys to the Russian house. In this region Austro-German prestige and power had in recent years been steadily advancing. Should they now become dominant at Belgrad too, they would make themselves felt without interruption from Berlin to Bagdad and shatter for good the ancient dream of the Russian colossus to straddle at some not too distant day the waters of the Bosporus. These fears may have been exaggerated but they were not groundless. At any rate Nicholas II and his foreign minister, Sazonov, acted on them without delay. As early as July 25, and before the expiration of the Austrian ultimatum, they ordered certain military measures of a preparatory nature. They hoped by this gesture to persuade Austria to adopt a milder attitude toward Serbia. Unfortunately they also encouraged their own military authorities to clamor for more sweeping measures. Sazonov stoutly withstood this militarist pressure till, on the evening of July 28, he was informed of the Austrian declaration of war against Serbia. Therewith his nervousness completely got the better of him and he offered no opposition when the Russian chief of staff told him he was about to visit the tsar to ask for an order of general mobilization. To this demand the pacific but feeble and vacillating Nicholas acceded on July 29, but before the order could be carried out took back his consent. On the next day Sazonov called in person on the tsar and wrested a renewed approval from the agitated ruler. Before Nicholas had time to change his mind a second time, the order was, at about 6 P.M. of July 30, put upon the wires at St. Petersburg. At the electric signal the army was mobilized for war throughout the vast Russian realm.

"Mobilization means war"

That in the eyes of military men everywhere general mobilization — but not partial mobilization — signified war admits of no doubt. When in 1892 the French and Russian chiefs of staff exchanged views on their alliance they set this opinion down in writing. And Nicholas II and his military advisers, including Sazonov himself, had no other view of the significance of their act. But it is not at all likely that the Russians would have moved so decisively and swiftly if they had not received assurance of support from their French ally. Owing to the fact that the French documents have not yet been fully published, the rôle played by France at St. Petersburg remains still to be cleared up. That the French ambassador, Paléologue, from the beginning of the crisis put his country unreservedly on Russia's side may be regarded as established; but there is still some doubt as to how far he was authorized in this action by his superiors at Paris. The French government, which was to a considerable extent directed by the president of the republic, Poincaré, may have considered war inevitable, but it was anxiously averse to having Russia appear as the aggressor. In the event of Russia's mobilizing Poincaré was emphatic in the expression of his desire that she keep her action as long as possible under cover in order to afford the opportunity of throwing the odium of the prior mobilization on Germany.

The policy of France

This was good policy not only from the point of view of public opinion throughout the world but more particularly with regard to Great Britain. Let us recall that since 1904 France had an entente with Britain which did not in itself obligate the two powers to give each other support in such a crisis as the one which was now agitating Europe. But becoming after 1904 steadily more intimate, the two governments had conducted naval and military conversations looking forward to possible concerted action. The climax of this association was reached on November 22, 1912, when Sir Edward Grey, the British foreign minister, put his name to a letter in which he took what can not be interpreted other than as a personal pledge to bring his country into a war at the side of France in case of an unprovoked attack upon that country. It must be clearly understood that the British parliament, which alone had the right to declare war, was not bound by this document and that both parliament and public opinion would have to be won over to the French side before Britain would enter an European struggle in aid of her neighbor across the channel. Furthermore, nothing short of the conviction of the complete innocence of France in connection with the outbreak of war would enlist the British parliament and people on the French side. Fully aware of this, the spokesmen of the French ministry seized every occasion during the July crisis to proclaim their love of peace; but whether the government acted on these professions at the crucial center of St. Petersburg is not so certain. It points to something quite other than a pacific policy that the French ambassador completely identified himself with Sazonov during the entire crisis.

On turning to Germany the starting-point for a consideration of her rôle in the July drama is her acceptance, given as early as July 5, of whatever the Austrians might resolve to do in order to abate the nuisance which Serbia had become. This has been called the German blank check handed to Vienna; and the Kaiser himself later called it a noose into which he had thoughtlessly thrust his head. William II and Bethmann, his chancellor, held to the theory of a localized Austro-Serbian war which need not become a general action. They clung hopefully to "localization" until they became reluctantly convinced that Russia's attitude made this policy impossible. Then, but not till July 28, they dropped "localization" and, filled with sudden alarm by Russia's preparatory military measures, on the one hand, warned Russia not to proceed to general mobilization and, on the other, brought strong pressure to bear on Vienna to placate St. Petersburg with a more conciliatory attitude. An adjustment of their conflicting views was to be brought about by "direct conversations" between the two foreign offices. Both German actions proved vain. Berchtold stubbornly ignored Berlin's representations till it was too late; and St. Petersburg, in view of Vienna's intransigence, went on with its policy of armament. With waxing suspicion driving calm and common sense from every foreign office events now moved with ungoverned precipitation to the fatal order of general mobilization issued by Russia in the late afternoon of July 30.

The policy of Germany

Considering the Russian mobilization to mean war, Germany met it in the precise way the Russian military authorities foresaw. Learning of the order at noon on July 31, the Kaiser informed the tsar that he would mobilize in his turn unless Russia rescinded her action within twelve hours. When Russia replied on the next day that the movement could not be stopped, at 5 P.M. on August 1 Germany decreed mobilization and followed it with a declaration of war. As she took this latter step before Russia did, it will always be possible to charge Germany with having issued the first formal declaration of war. On the other hand, there remains the meaning attaching to mobilization, to which the fact must be added that Russia began to move troops against both Austria and Germany two full days before Germany set her military machine in motion. It was in keeping with the consistent support which Paléologue, the French ambassador, gave Sazonov that he was able to assure the Russian foreign minister some hours before this official rejected Germany's last warning that the French government authorized the declaration that it would fully meet the obligations of its alliance. In accordance with this pledge France mobilized her army at 4:45 P.M. of August 1, one quarter of an hour before Germany. By this time Austria had already taken similar action: at

The successive mobilizations

noon of July 31, some eighteen hours after Russia, she called her army into the field. In sum, following the Russian initiative the mobilization orders of the other powers came with the swiftness of successive discharges from an automatic pistol. The dreaded war of the two hostile groups of powers had begun.

The policy of Great Britain

All eyes now turned to Great Britain. What would she do in the present circumstances? During the crisis precipitated by the Austrian ultimatum of July 23 Sir Edward Grey had maintained a vacillating attitude. Without doubt he was a friend of peace and desired sincerely to avoid war. On the other hand, in the terrible storm threatening Europe he did nothing to discourage Russian mobilization. He may even be considered to have encouraged Sazonov by refusing to put any pressure upon him. His viewpoint and that of his closest advisers in the foreign office was that the Triple entente must be maintained at all costs and that to desert Russia in the present action, which she had so greatly at heart, would produce a resentment fatal to the recent Anglo-Russian friendship. He undertook a number of actions in favor of peace, all of which for one reason or another came to nothing. His most hopeful proposal was "direct conversations" between Austria and Russia, which, though obstinately delayed by Berchtold, might have been effective if sufficient time had been afforded and Russia had not snapped the thread by her mobilization order. When this precipitated a continental war, in which Germany and Austria faced Russia and France, the British foreign minister found himself importuned by the entente, more particularly by France, to come in on their side. This threw him into a quandary, for he did not conceal from himself that he had become personally committed to Paris by the naval and military conversations of recent years and by his letter of November 22, 1912, with its cautious personal promises. On the other hand, he had never failed to make it clear to his French friends that his government had assumed no official obligations and that the last word belonged to parliament. Sir Edward was therefore obliged to take the issue to the people and their representatives, and these ultimate judges, bewildered by a conflict originating in a Balkan quarrel only remotely involving the interests of Great Britain, exhibited a strong disinclination to be pushed into the maelstrom.

At this juncture the German military machine entered the scene and by its action put an end to British indecision. Obliged to fight on two fronts, the German General Staff was very anxious to join issue with France in the west before Russia could release her vast man power against the German eastern frontier. The Germans calculated that their one chance of success in the face of the heavy numerical odds against them was to overcome France first and afterwards to make the effort to stem the Russian tide. They had therefore long before 1914 worked out a plan of campaign, in accordance with which they were to pour swiftly across the lowlands of Belgium instead of wasting precious months in forcing their way over the difficult hills and past the mighty fortresses of the French border. On August 2, as soon as mobilization was under way, the German government requested Belgium to grant an unmolested passage through that country. When Belgium indignantly rejected this demand, Germany on August 4 committed an act of war against Belgium by sending troops across the frontier. This was a move indefensible in itself and made doubly serious because it violated the neutrality of Belgium, of which Germany was one of the guaranteeing powers. It released a spontaneous indignation throughout the world and in Great Britain gave rise, in addition, to a lively alarm lest the Germans establish themselves on the Belgian coast, where the British had never been willing to see a great power gain a foothold. Almost magically every trace of hesitation to enter the conflict disappeared; and Sir Edward Grey found himself supported by an enthusiastic parliament and people when, on August 5, the government moved to declare war on Germany.

The invasion of Belgium and its effect on Britain

The feverish attention of the world now swung to Italy. As a member of the Triple alliance, she was in some quarters expected to be automatically sucked into the vortex on the Austro-German side. But such was not the case. As we are aware, as early as 1902 she had given a secret engagement to France by which she effectively disengaged herself from the ties binding her to Austria and Germany. In the agony which came over Europe in 1914 the Italian government resolved to act solely in accordance with the dictates of self-interest. And its first step in pursuit of this policy was to proclaim its neutrality.

Italy declares her neutrality

Japan followed a different course, though it was no less inspired by purely national considerations. The empire of the mikado had ever since 1902 been bound by a treaty to Great Britain. It provided for coöperation in the Pacific ocean but did not include an European war. Japan was therefore under

Japan declares war on Germany

no obligation to enter the struggle. However, Germany was established on the Chinese coast in the province of Shantung; and Germany with her hands full in Europe would not be able to defend her valuable concession at Kiao-chau. It would prove an easy conquest. On August 17 the mikado served an ultimatum on the Kaiser, which was promptly followed by a declaration of war.

Once more the deep-lying causes of the war

In this way the ultimatum presented to Serbia in connection with the assassination of the heir to the Austrian throne precipitated, in the course of ten hectic days, the ferocious struggle known as the World War. Once more let it be said it is a short view to explain its outbreak on the basis of the game played on the diplomatic chessboard of Europe between July 23 and August 2. At best these moves may be said to have caused the war *at that particular period.* That it was prepared decades and generations before in the womb of Time is the long view which alone is worthy of the historical investigator. Seen thus, it is less a momentary madness of diplomacy than a crisis of western civilization. Such is the interpretation which is recommended to the student together with a careful reconsideration of the factors and forces within our civilization which have been enumerated as the remote, and that means, the genuine antecedents of the cataclysm. Whoever wants to be insured against a repetition of the catastrophe may reasonably demand more intelligent and conscientious diplomats; but if he is wise, he will direct his main effort to the correction of the destructive tendencies and exaggerated strenuosities that, ever since the Renaissance, have developed in the western world in the relation of states and peoples to one another as well as among economic groups and classes.

The situation in August, 1914

Meanwhile a blaze had been started which spread until its fierce glare lighted Europe, the colonial areas of Asia and Africa, and all the highways of the ocean. In August, 1914, the actual situation was this: Germany and Austria stood shoulder to shoulder against Russia, France, Great Britain, and Japan, not to mention the small states of Serbia and Belgium. Italy declared herself neutral. So did the United States. So did the small powers of Europe and the numerous American republics. For the moment at least they were not scorched by the vast conflagration. But before each neutral state the anxious question loomed: would it be able to escape or would it in its turn be reached by the raging fire?

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CHAPTER XXXIV

THE WAR AND THE PEACE (1914–1919)

It is hardly necessary to say that it will be impossible in a book of this scope to do more than call attention to a few leading facts and aspects of the World War. Important matters of great and legitimate concern will have to be resolutely excluded from consideration. There will be no description either of the instruments which have revolutionized warfare on land and water, such as the giant gun, the scouting and bombing airplane, the trench-bomb, the tank, poison gas, and the submarine, or of the altered tactics and strategy imposed upon generals and admirals by the new tools of destruction. Attention will not be directed to the outstanding personalities of the various nations, the conspicuous and fast-shifting leaders in the field and council-chamber, nor to the heated domestic politics of each warring state, including such matters as its pro- and anti-war groups, the search for revenue to meet the vastly increased expenses, and the measures of economic reorganization for war production on a titanic scale. Our concern will be solely to set down a few salient features of the prolonged fighting, notably such as profoundly influenced the issue, and to define and interpret the peace which the victors dictated to the vanquished.

Limited purpose of this chapter

When Germany broke the neutrality of Belgium, in spite not only of the certainty of adding Great Britain to her enemies but also of the opprobrium which she knew beforehand would be visited upon her for her act, she disclosed the extreme importance she attached to the swift defeat of France. France once disposed of, Germany would turn upon Russia, which country, owing to its unwieldy bulk, the German General Staff supposed would get slowly under way and therefore not prove immediately threatening. There followed the rapid march of August, 1914, through Belgium and northern France. It was bravely resisted by the small Belgian army supported by the strong forts along the Meuse as well as by the English and French troops hurrying up to stem the tide. But, conducted with superior numbers and equipment, it broke for a while through every obstacle. Not till

The German plan in marching through Belgium

the Germans were almost within sight of Paris, their military objective, were they stopped by a direct frontal attack combined with a flanking movement which threatened to envelop their right wing. The battle, lasting several days (September 5–10), is famous as the battle of the Marne. The Germans, beaten, had to retreat to the Aisne, where they entrenched. Having failed to reach Paris, they had failed to eliminate France from the situation. Therefore they had lost the campaign; and though by way of compensation they succeeded in occupying and holding almost the whole of Belgium and certain very valuable coal- and iron-producing regions of northern and eastern France, they would thenceforth be in serious danger the moment their enemies became strong enough to attack in their turn.

The long deadlock on the western front

This theoretic peril of the Germans, enhanced by the great distance which separated them from their source of supplies in Germany, was in practice greatly reduced by their resort to trench warfare, the so-called war of positions. Adopted by one side, it had perforce to be adopted also by the other. Both sides dug themselves in, forming an immense zigzagging battle-line stretching for six hundred miles all the way from the sea at Nieuport (Belgium) to the Alps on the German-Swiss border. During the next few years first one side and then another undertook an offensive with the purpose of breaking through the powerful system of underground defenses. Some of these attacks were conducted with military resources which threw into the shade everything ever heard of up to this time. Among them, to select a few instances, were the offensive of the Germans, in the spring of 1916, against the fortress of Verdun, and that of the British and the French, in the summer of that same year, along the Somme river. Generally speaking, these vast and destructive actions proved futile and the battle-front remained substantially unchanged until March, 1918. For almost four years the military situation on the western and decisive front was deadlocked.

The Russian invasion of Germany and Austria

Exactly as the German supreme command had miscalculated the Franco-British resistance in the west with the result that the German advance was stopped at the Marne, so it indulged in a wrong assumption as to the mobilization of Russia. The German rush toward France was, as we have seen, predicated on the probable slow advance of the Russian army. The Russian army, however, conducted its mobilization not only with unexpected speed but with enormous masses as well and undertook, while the German army was sweeping on to Paris, to drive across the East European plain toward the capitals of the two central empires, toward Berlin and Vienna. So great was the Russian momentum that the Germans were obliged to retire before it from East Prussia and the Austrians from eastern Galicia. Not till they had drawn reinforcements from their army in France did the Germans succeed in stemming the rush. At Tannenberg (August 26–September 1) they turned the too precipitate Russian advance into East Prussia to a disastrous rout. Hindenburg, the German commander, followed up his victory by crossing the Russian boundary and invading Poland and Lithuania.

Russian defeat and exhaustion

The Austrians, however, in their sector had no such success as the Germans and continued to give way until the Russians threatened the forts of Cracow in western Galicia and extended an indirect menace to Vienna itself. Thus matters stood throughout the first winter of the war till May, 1915. Then the Austrians, combining with the Germans, engaged in a vast offensive which pushed back the Russians at every point along the extensive battle-front and ended in their complete defeat. Not only did the central powers now drive far into Russia but they succeeded in so severely crippling the Russian equipment by the destruction and capture of war material that the great Slav empire began to show signs of approaching exhaustion. True, it manifested fine daring by engaging, in the summer of 1916, in a partially successful offensive against Austria conducted by General Brusiloff. But thereafter the army showed little fight, partly through deepening discouragement and partly because of the civil break-up behind the battle-line which is the usual accompaniment of defeat in the field.

The Russian revolution of 1917

The war had in the first instance led to a great outburst of patriotism and unified Russia as it unified, through the same patriotic sentiment, every other fighting country. But the old social and political discontent continued to stir uneasily under the surface; and when the Russian defeats followed in rapid succession, the angered public laid the blame on the well-known incompetence and corruption of the tsarist régime. In March, 1917, an uprising took place in Petrograd which immediately gathered such momentum among both civilians and soldiers that the tsar, deserted by his people, was obliged to abdicate. What next? The absolute system had crashed to the ground: would a moderate middle class or a radical socialist government succeed it?

The first result was a compromise, certain middle class groups coöperating with a moderate wing of the socialists and conducting a government pledged to the allies and resolved to keep Russia in the war against Germany. Through the summer of 1917 the new government struggled on, becoming ever less bourgeois and ever more radical. At last, in November, it was overthrown by the extreme socialists, famous under the party label of Bolsheviki and ardently devoted to a program of sweeping communism.

The Bolshevists make peace with Germany

On becoming Bolshevik the Russian government fell under the direction of two fiery spirits of great organizing powers, Lenin and Trotzky. Interested preëminently in carrying through an uncompromising economic revolution, they resolved to take broken Russia out of the foreign war by making peace with Germany. Under the circumstances they were at the mercy of the enemy and had to accept the peace which Germany, a victorious, militarist power, ruthlessly imposed at Brest-Litovsk in March, 1918. By virtue of this treaty Russia renounced title to her vast western borderland, including Finland, the Baltic provinces (Esthonia, Livonia, Courland), Lithuania, Poland, and Ukraine. All these regions represented conquests effected by Russia since the days of Peter the Great. As they were inhabited by a great variety of nationalities but not by Russians, their separation from the former tsarist empire represented a political but not a national loss.

Interdependence of the fighting fronts

An obvious drawback of the method here adopted of treating each battle-front in turn is that it fails to bring out the intimate coherence of events in the east and west. The campaigns on these two fronts and on all fronts whatever should, especially if military enlightenment is sought, be studied as a unit. Fighting in the east constantly affected the situation in the west and vice versa, as will appear by glancing back once more, for the purpose of illustration, to 1914. The Franco-British forces won the decisive battle of the Marne, but their victory was largely due to the unexpected invasion by Russia of East Prussia and to the consequent diversion by Germany of troops, destined for the west front, to her eastern marches.

This intimate concatenation of occurrences in all quarters should be borne in mind as we turn next to trace the course of events on the Balkan front. The war, though beginning in the Balkans as a conflict between Austria and Serbia, assumed at once so overshadowing an importance on the west and east fronts that the Balkan front sank into relative insignificance. But a constant succession of new developments tended to draw the attention of the world back to the southeast. A vast extension of the struggle occurred when in November, 1914, Turkey sided with the central powers. Turkey's entrance into the war was due to the friendship existing between the Young Turks, the political masters of the Ottoman Empire, and Germany. In August, 1914, this friendship took the form of an alliance, which the Turks eagerly desired as a possible safeguard against Russia, the power they traditionally feared and hated; and three months later the Turks, who had been almost uninterruptedly at war since 1911, once more drew the sword.

The Ottoman Empire joins the central powers

The entrance of weak but far-ruling Turkey into the war profoundly affected the situation in the Balkans and, for that matter, in large areas of the Mediterranean sea and the whole Near East. Russia, in particular, was hard hit, for the Bosporus and Dardanelles were immediately closed to the ships of the entente. In consequence the empire of the tsar was unable to receive the military supplies of which it stood in need. As it was largely owing to this circumstance that it was overwhelmed in the campaign of 1915, we have another proof of the close interdependence of events on every fighting front. It was to break the intolerable barrier at the straits and establish the sorely needed contact with Russia that her allies, France and Great Britain, undertook their first Balkan campaign.

Russia cut off from supplies

In February, 1915, a Franco-British squadron suddenly attacked the Dardanelles with the purpose of silencing the Turkish forts and forcing a passage to Constantinople. On losing in this hazardous enterprise several large battleships, the allies radically changed their plans. They landed troops, colonials from Australia for the most part, on the western shore of the Gallipoli peninsula, with the object of taking the forts of the Dardanelles from the rear. All summer this campaign continued at ruinous cost, only to be acknowledged a failure and to be given up at the coming of winter.

The Gallipoli campaign of 1915

What gave the Gallipoli enterprise the finishing blow was a new and important development in Serbia. A recognized minor area of conflict, the little Slav kingdom was not seriously threatened by the Austrians till December, 1914, when an Austrian invasion was victoriously repulsed. Almost a year later, in October, 1915, Serbia was obliged to face a second and more ominous crisis. Strengthened by a German force and led by a German general, the Austrians concentrated on the Danube opposite Belgrad. This spectacle so encouraged Bulgaria, which since the loss of Macedonia in the Second Balkan War of 1913 burned with a consuming hatred of Serbia, that the Bulgars formally joined the central powers. There took place in consequence a double offensive against Serbia, the Austro-Germans pushing southward from the Danube, while the Bulgarians attacked Serbia from the east, that is, in the Vardar valley. Palpably the entrance of Bulgaria into the war was a commanding event, because it planted the central powers firmly in the heart of the Balkan peninsula. And when Serbia was now over-run, together with Montenegro and most of Macedonia and Albania, the longed-for, unimpeded connection between Berlin and Constantinople was at last made perfect.

The defeat and occupation of Serbia, 1915

Thus the year 1915 proved a very prosperous one for Germany, since it brought the realization of the dream of a compact Middle Europe under German direction extending from the North sea to the Dardanelles. The only offset for the Franco-British forces was the occupation of the Greek city of Salonica, at the head of the Aegean, and the successful establishment there of a military base strong enough to save southern Macedonia from the central allies. From Salonica it was possible, on the one hand, to bring political pressure to bear upon the kingdom of Greece and, on the other hand, to prepare a future offensive against Bulgaria. In spite, however, of a very heavy pressure, Greece refused at first to join the entente. She resented the unsolicited occupation of Salonica and resisted the dictation of the western powers for two years.

The allies establish a front at Salonica

The submission of Greece to the entente came about in 1917. By that time the remaining Balkan power, Rumania, had passed through a disastrous experience to be presently related. The whole history of the war goes to show that the small powers of the Balkans, so deeply involved in some of the main issues of the struggle, could not remain neutral. But to choose sides was a very delicate matter because it was far from clear which side would prove victorious. And yet life itself depended for them on picking the winner, for these small governments were but helpless pawns in the game of the great powers and

The Balkan states obliged to choose sides

were sure to be ruined if they crossed the path of an irresistible moving force. For their part, the two opposed European groups recognized the value of the accession to their respective sides of a Balkan combatant and hotly bid against each other for the favor of every Balkan court and capital. Under the play of these difficult countercurrents the Ottoman Empire and Bulgaria joined the central powers in 1914 and 1915 respectively, while Rumania ranged herself on the side of the entente allies in 1916. Greece, though only under military duress, did the same, as we have just seen, in 1917.

Defeat of Rumania, 1916

It was in August, 1916, that Rumania threw in her lot with the allies. As the Austro-Germans had for some time been expecting the event, they met the Rumanian attack with a counter-offensive, crushingly defeated their new foes, and all but completely occupied their territory. In the winter of 1916–1917 Germany was apparently more securely entrenched in the Balkans than ever. The only cloud on the horizon was the allied front firmly maintained at Salonica.

The Italian front

A last European front remains to be listed, the southern or Alpine front created when Italy terminated the neutrality proclaimed by her at the outbreak of the war. In April, 1915, she signed a treaty with the Triple entente (the Treaty of London), whereby she was promised enormous territorial advantages at the conclusion of peace; and in May of the same year she declared war on her former ally, Austria. The struggle between these two powers took the form of an Italian offensive along the whole of the Italo-Austrian mountain border. Slow Italian advances in this difficult terrain culminated in the capture of the city and fortress of Gorizia in the summer of 1916. In the autumn of 1917, however, the gains made were lost and, in addition, much Italian territory was surrendered when the Austrians, aided by German troops, broke through the Italian lines at Caporetto. They captured many men and much equipment and were not brought to a halt till they had reached the line of the Piave river, northeast of Venice. In the spring of 1918 Italy was a source of grave anxiety to the entente which, however, the events of the summer and autumn of that year scattered to the winds by revealing the recovered spirit and resistance of the Italian troops.

At this point, though chiefly concerned with Europe, we must at least indicate the leading conflict-areas outside the little continent. The diminished Ottoman Empire of the twentieth century was largely

Asiatic, embracing Asia Minor, Syria, Mesopotamia, and Arabia. In all these provinces the vast struggle raged with the main feature of an attack by Russia and Great Britain upon the shaking Ottoman house. Russia made her forward thrust from the Caucasus into Asia Minor and conducted it, on the whole, victoriously until her collapse at home in 1917. Great Britain followed two separate and converging lines of penetration: the first led from the Persian gulf to Bagdad in Mesopotamia; the second from the isthmus of Suez into Palestine and Syria. In spite of constant difficulties and occasional grave setbacks these two British offensives continued steadily for four years. At last in 1918 they were crowned by a succession of victories which resulted in the total collapse of the Ottoman state.

The three allied drives on Turkey

Inevitably, too, every German colony was at least a potential fighting area. But owing to the small German forces abroad and their inability to receive reinforcements on account of the British control of the seas, most of the colonies fell with little resistance into the lap of the allies. The German concession in China, Kiao-chau, was taken by the Japanese in 1914 after a campaign lasting a few weeks. Besides Kiao-chau, the Germans offered resistance only in German Southwest Africa and in German East Africa. But the forces they could mobilize in these colonies were small and were gradually worn to a shadow in prolonged guerrilla fighting. It is a notable circumstance that the work of winning these vast areas was done less by the British themselves than by the British colonial forces of South Africa.

The seizure of the German colonies

Having enumerated, however briefly, the main fighting areas on land, we must now turn to take account of the sea. Perhaps, when all is said, the sea-front was the greatest of all the fighting fronts; in any case, it was in all probability the most decisive. The dominating factor in the situation was Great Britain's control of the world's seaways by means of her overwhelming naval forces. Her fleet at once drove the German fleet and merchant shipping from the ocean; gradually captured all the German merchantmen which, surprised by the declaration of war, failed to reach a safe port; and pursued and finally destroyed such armed German raiders as undertook to prey upon the enemy commerce. At the same time the British established a long-distance blockade of the German coasts in order to cut off Germany from all trans-oceanic supplies. Moreover, to make the blockade thoroughly

The decisive influence of sea power

effective, the British undertook to regulate and control neutral commerce, above all, the commerce of Holland, Norway, and all regions immediately adjacent to Germany. And inevitably they turned a sharp eye on the neutral United States of America, the greatest producer of raw products in the world.

The British blockade induces the submarine campaign

To break this obstruction of the necessary channels for food and war materials Germany had a gambler's chance in the mysterious and as yet untried weapon of the submarine. She declared in her turn the British coast in a state of blockade and attempted to make good her threat against vessels seeking British ports by means of a fleet of undersea boats. But while the British blockade of Germany was wholly effective because no merchant vessel, neutral or otherwise, could pass into the North sea without being detected by the British guard-ships, the German blockade of the extensive British coasts was at best casual. Carried through by means of the submarine, it necessitated, in order to be even partially effective, the submarine's sinking its merchant prize since it was out of the question to bring it safely some hundreds of miles to a German port. However, to sink a ship with its cargo had the very evil feature of imperiling the lives of passengers and crew since the submarine, hardly more than a toy, though a toy with a sting, was unable, through lack of room, to take its captives on board. The commander of the submarine had nothing better to offer the enemy than the uncertain chance of getting to shore in life-boats.

Neutral rights overridden by both Great Britain and Germany

Over the blockade and submarine situation the United States was drawn into the struggle. When the war broke out the great American republic at once declared its neutrality. With this aloofness the citizen body was for a long time satisfied, although public sentiment from the first overwhelmingly favored the entente. Many factors contributed to this state of mind, most conspicuously perhaps the humanitarian indignation aroused by the outrage done by Germany to Belgium in seizing and holding the little land in an iron military vise. But once under way, the war was woven into the texture of daily American experience chiefly through the interests of American commerce. It was plain that Great Britain was determined by her measures of control to make the United States sell goods exclusively to her and to her allies; and it was just as plain that Germany was minded to have her share of American articles. Failing to receive her due, she was resolved to have revenge by interrupting the supply of Great Britain by means of her submarine weapon. Purposing with deadly intensity to injure each other, the two powers tried to regulate sea-borne trade according to their interest and instituted their respective blockades. Unquestionably the measures of both combatants were illegal from the point of view of international practice and signified a serious encroachment on the rights of neutrals. They therefore encroached also on the rights of the leading neutral power, the United States.

The *Lusitania* incident causes Washington to define its position

Protesting against the illegal ordinances of both belligerents, President Wilson began a lively exchange of diplomatic notes with London and Berlin. From the first, however, the notes exchanged with Germany had a special edge, absent in the case of Great Britain, because Germany's breaches of the sea law, involving the use of the novel weapon, the submarine, imperiled American lives and thereby deeply stirred the sentiment of humanity, already aroused over the invasion of Belgium. The diplomatic argument was still being conducted in rather general terms when there occurred an event which sharply defined the issue between the two countries. On May 7, 1915, a German submarine torpedoed and sank without warning the British liner *Lusitania*, pitilessly drowning over a thousand men, women, and children, more than a hundred of them of American nationality. The indignation in the United States was so intense that the American government passed immediately from discussion to command and insisted that the submarine conform to established humanitarian rules. As obedience to these rules could not be reconciled with the free use of the submarine, the United States demanded in substance that Germany end forthwith the unrestricted employment of its too indiscriminately destructive tool. To this pressure the German government yielded; and though there were occasional transgressions of the conditions laid down by the United States, a precarious peace was maintained till January 31, 1917.

The United States declares war, 1917

On that January day the German government published a declaration notifying the neutral world of its determination to resort once more to the unrestricted use of the submarine. Plainly the British octopus grip, continued for over two years, had begun to tell in the reduced production of Germany and in the progressive starvation of her people. The German leaders themselves admitted it and justified the ruthless employment of the submarine on the ground of its being the sole means in their power of striking back at Great Britain with her own program of hunger and commercial isolation. President Wilson promptly broke off diplomatic relations and on April 6, 1917, the Congress of the United States declared war on Germany. The die was cast.

American opinion swings to the side of the entente

At this juncture it becomes necessary to analyze the motives and program with which the United States entered the war two and a half years after the struggle had begun. Owing to the small attention paid in the United States to affairs in Europe, the bewilderment over the sudden conflagration of 1914 was extreme. Accordingly, the neutrality promptly proclaimed by President Wilson not only met the wishes of the American people but expressed the undeniable fact that the explosion resulting from the clashing interests of the Triple alliance and the Triple entente in the Balkan peninsula was no concern of the Washington government. But during the ensuing months and years the more alert section of the public took pains to inquire into the causes of the outbreak and slowly came to the conclusion that the war was due to something more than appeared upon the surface. It was due to a chain of rivalries and rancors reaching back for generations and involving every sort of bitter contention over markets, raw products, colonies, military and naval establishments; in sum, it involved all the issues of imperialism. At the same time this enlightened minority, as well as the more stolid mass, was plied by the propagandists of both sides in the hope of winning American sympathy and support as a step preliminary to drawing the United States into the struggle. And here the Franco-British propaganda enjoyed from the first an incalculable advantage over that of Germany. Because of their command of the sea, the French and British controlled also the cables; and by this monopoly of the sources of information they had no difficulty in popularizing their version of the conflict. In addition, Franco-British opinion sensed, as the Germans did not, that America could not be won except on the basis of an idealist program which sweepingly condemned the existing international order.

Growth of an idealist program

Let us here make a distinction. The governments of France and Great Britain concerned themselves, in the manner of all governments in time of war, exclusively with issues of power and territory. But in each country there was a liberal group which corresponded to the intelligent minority of the United States and which shared the latter's horror of the monstrous excrescences of the European system. It was but natural for these three national intelligentsias to coöperate and by means of newspapers, pamphlets, and books to pour the vials of a justified wrath on the evils most immediately in view, such as militarism, competitive armaments, secret diplomacy, autocratic government, and hostile balanced alliances. What the world needed, they argued, was to get rid of these hoary anachronisms in order to make room for a universal league pledged to preserve peace and expressive of the unity and brotherhood of the human race. And as they were able to exhibit Germany, on account of her rape of Belgium and her narrow militarist code of conduct, as particularly identified with the evils which afflicted the world, they persuaded themselves and, in increasing measure, the populations of their respective countries that the defeat of Germany was the necessary preliminary to the dawn of a new era. This is the European and American mental background which developed in the period 1914–17. In America in particular an idealist conviction took possession of a constantly increasing body of men and women. And when in February, 1917, the submarine issue reappeared and stung the whole people with a sense of invaded rights and violated dignity, hesitation ceased and the United States enthusiastically entered the war.

President Wilson spokesman of American and world idealism

In measure as American opinion about the war clarified it found a spokesman in the country's political head. This was President Woodrow Wilson. Among his many gifts the most outstanding was perhaps his ability to utter words so eloquent and moving that they raised the mass of men, at least for the time being, to the level of his own emotions. While signalizing the entrance of the United States into the war with a ringing indictment of the autocratic and militarist government of Germany, he voiced at the same time his continued good-will toward the German people and pledged his country to the pursuit of unselfish ends. From time to time, in further illustration of his position, he made additional declarations culminating, on January 8, 1918, in a peace program of Fourteen Points. This demanded, among other things, the abolition of secret diplomacy, the freedom of the seas, the reduction of armaments, the redrawing of the map of Europe along national lines, and the creation of a League of Nations as a guarantee against a repetition of the existing calamity. President Wilson's clarion pronouncements appealed to European as well as to American idealism and unified liberal opinion the world over as it had not been unified before.

Slowly a Wilsonian peace began to outline itself, very different from the kind with which the world was only too familiar. While it aimed at curbing Germany, it was not primarily concerned with revenge and punishment. Its main purpose was to go to the bottom of things by bringing the greedy imperialism of the great powers and the ruinous nationalist rivalries of great and small alike under the control of a world conscience and a world law.

The decisive campaign of 1918

With refreshed spirits the allies resumed the war on the entrance into it of the United States. In 1917 the American participation hardly caused a ripple for the reason that unprepared America had first to get ready. Besides, the defection of Russia from the allied ranks in this same year broke the iron ring around Germany and greatly relaxed the pressure exercised upon her. The next campaign, however, the campaign of 1918, proved decisive. It began in March with a supreme effort by the German command to break down French and British resistance on the west front before American reinforcements in overwhelming numbers swelled the entente ranks. For three months the Germans battered the allied lines, achieving considerable success but failing in the main purpose of breaking through. In their hour of greatest need the allies unified their command more completely than ever before; put the French leader, Marshal Foch, in supreme control; and presently, in July, assumed the offensive in their turn. The next months brought the most ferocious fighting which the war, from first to last unexampled in ferocity, had witnessed. Irresistibly the French and British, reinforced by ever increasing masses of Americans, drove forward against the enemy lines. Foot by foot and mile by mile they pushed the Germans back until it was clear that they would have to abandon the invaded districts of Belgium and France.

Defeat of Turkey and Bulgaria

The outlook for Germany was becoming very somber when, through occurrences on the other fronts, it settled into the blackness of night. In the late summer of 1918, the British began to apply their final pressure upon the Turks in Syria. This resulted in the complete rout of the Turks and the utter breakdown of Turk resistance. Simultaneously the allies found themselves at last strong enough to move against Bulgaria from their Salonica base. In September, 1918, they crushed the Bulgarian forces with a few well directed blows and obliged Bulgaria, unable to get support from Austria and Germany to steady its panicky cohorts, abjectly to sue for peace. Thus Turkey and Bulgaria were broken to bits and eliminated from the struggle.

Defeat and dissolution of Austria

Inevitably the Austrian morale was badly shaken by these disasters in the immediate Austrian rear. A loosely knit state, the polyglot Hapsburg monarchy was, after four devastating years of storm, beginning to go to pieces. The soldiers at the front refused to obey their officers and, abandoning their positions, started for home. As soon as the Italians became aware of this spontaneous retreat, they fell upon the moving host, captured the divisions they encountered, and broke every remaining vestige of resistance. Thereupon the whole Austro-Hungarian political fabric precipitately collapsed. The house of Hapsburg was deposed; the various nationalities merged in the composite state declared their independence; and the war ended on this front with an armistice, signed November 4, 1918, that left the Italian army in complete control of the situation.

The German government sues for peace

These events, taken in connection with their own losing struggle on the west front, positively obliged the Germans to treat for peace. In those autumn weeks of 1918, while blow after blow was being delivered by the allies on every war-front, the shaken government of the Kaiser slowly crumbled to destruction. The first measure revealing a changed situation at Berlin was that the opposition groups of the Reichstag took over the government in order to open negotiations with President Wilson. They could not maintain themselves, however, against the aroused and angered masses. In a revolutionary uprising on November 9 the common people drove both Reichstag and Kaiser from the seat of authority and set up a republic. It was the Social Democrats who led the masses and who now took over the government with the solemn pledge of restoring peace to the land. William II offered no resistance to the storm. On November 10 he abandoned his defeated army and fled to neutral Holland.

The armistice of November 11, 1918

After a prolonged exchange of notes between the new German government and President Wilson, who acted as the spokesman of the victorious allies, the president's peace program as developed in numerous addresses but, more particularly, in the Fourteen Points was, with a reservation by Great Britain touching the freedom of the seas, accepted as the basis for the general peace. Over and above the president's program, the Germans assumed the obligation to compensate the entente for all losses suffered by civilians through Germany's action on land, sea, and in the air. With these preliminaries settled, Marshal Foch, on November 11, 1918, dictated the armistice which brought the colossal struggle to a close. By its terms the Germans were obliged to fall back from Belgium and France to the east bank of the Rhine. They were, besides, required to surrender such quantities of war material that they would be unable under any conceivable circumstances to renew the fighting. By an enormous coördinated effort the resistance of the central powers had been broken and the victory won. What would the peace bring?

The peace congress dominated by five powers

The peace! Plainly it was as important as the war. In fact the war would have proved a mere orgy of destruction if the peace did not undertake vigorously to grapple with the evils which had afflicted the world before the war began and which were the real causes of the war. And first let us note that, owing to the completeness of the victory the arrangements for peace would rest exclusively with the winning group. The four enemy states had become negligible: Austria-Hungary had disappeared from the map; the Ottoman Empire and Bulgaria were crushed and all but annihilated; and Germany, disarmed on November 11 and passing through the throes of a revolution, might plead the protection of the Fourteen Points, but was absolutely impotent to enforce consideration of her views. At the time when the long and terrible struggle came to an end, over a score of states, great and small, were joined together as allies or associates against Germany. They had at one time or another, due to a particular circumstance, declared war on Germany or at the very least they had broken off diplomatic relations with her. Therefore, as soon as Paris had been agreed on as the place of meeting, representatives of all these states wended their way to the French capital to take part in the great congress which was to settle the disturbed affairs of the world. All these agents would be permitted to present the viewpoint of their respective governments and would be politely listened to. The decisions, however, would be taken by the great powers, five in number, Great Britain, France, Italy, Japan, and the United States. They would be the Big Five, and, in accordance with immemorial usage, their representatives would always reserve the last word to themselves.

When on January 18, 1919, the peace conference was called to order, it was at once dominated by the five Olympian figures of

Clemenceau (France), Lloyd George (Great Britain), Orlando (Italy), Saionji (Japan), and Woodrow Wilson (United States). Much of what they might do would depend on their personal temper and outlook. But let us not for one moment forget that they were far from being free agents. They represented, in each instance, an established government program and would have to give ear to the opinions and sentiments of the respective publics which they served. This latter consideration is particularly important, for the masses of the victor countries, in distinction from the enlightened minorities, were possessed by a war psychosis which filled them with a lively spirit of revenge. When an unexampled triumph suddenly ended the long agony of four years, all the remaining barriers of self-control were swept away by a savage exultation. This is the atmosphere in which the Big Five worked at Paris. It was the unhappy but inevitable by-product of the protracted war. In no case can the Big Five be held responsible for it.

The Big Five are not free agents

No sooner had the Paris conference opened its doors than it became apparent that the peace, which President Wilson had outlined in the Fourteen Points and which had been conceded to Germany as a basis of discussion, would meet with resistance. Its most formidable opponent was the general war psychosis already mentioned and encountered at its frenzied peak in the very city of the conference. Something akin to a hunger for raw meat came over the victors and prompted them to discard the Fourteen Points as idealistic and premature. At best the plenipotentiaries of the triumphant states, under the influence of the Paris atmosphere, gave them a hollow lip-service. Almost unanimously they declared themselves in favor of the political realism which had always ruled the relations of European states and, consequently, in favor of the imperialist designs which were the very root of the war. During the long struggle these designs had been much discussed by the respective foreign offices and had finally led to secret agreements. In these were carefully specified the territories and economic advantages each power expected to receive as its particular reward in the event of victory. All the powers, with the single exception of the United States, had become involved in these dark deals. Under the unchecked influences obtaining after the victory they were deposited on the conference table at Paris to serve as a set of counter-proposals to the Wilsonian program. Could the

The new idealism opposed by the old diplomacy

two tendencies, the American and the European, be harmonized? Could the new idealism, represented by Wilson, be mated with the stark, old-fashioned realism championed by Clemenceau, Lloyd George, and Orlando?

The secret treaties

For the better understanding of the nature and gravity of this overshadowing issue it is necessary to take a closer view of the secret treaties. Signed, sometimes between two, sometimes among three and more powers, these very numerous documents had been buried in the darkest recesses of the respective national archives. They ceased to be secret, however, when in 1917 the Russian Bolshevists gave the copies they discovered in Petrograd to the world. They were moved to this action by sheer malice. Having abandoned the war, they had sacrificed the benefits promised to tsarist Russia for its part in the struggle. At the same time it pleased these radicals, who were resolved to found a new society resting on communism, to disclose the base plotting in which the capitalist societies engaged behind a mist of idealist professions. And indeed the rapacity revealed by these documents of state is startling. One of the chief bones of contention among all European states had long been the Ottoman Empire. In the secret treaties Turkey was completely parceled out among the four European allies, Great Britain, France, Russia, and Italy. If any portion was overlooked, it was for the single reason that it was considered worthless. Japan, not admitted to the Ottoman feast, was by another treaty rewarded first, with the German leases in China, and second, with the island possessions of Germany in the Pacific north of the equator. The remaining German colonies were by still other treaties divided among France, Great Britain, and the three British dominions of South Africa, Australia, and New Zealand. Of Germany proper France was to recover Alsace-Lorraine, lost in 1871, and to receive besides the whole left bank of the Rhine either in full possession or under cover of some arrangement assuring political control. Italy, which declared herself neutral in 1914, had refused to join the allies till they lavishly baited the hook in the Treaty of London of 1915. That Italy was promised such fragments of Austria as the Trentino and the city of Trieste, which were genuinely Italian, goes without saying. But she was given, besides, the southern Tyrol, which was German, and Istria and northern Dalmatia, which were preponderantly South Slav.

Russia, it is perhaps hardly necessary to note in passing, was not represented at Paris. Its communist government had broken off relations with the allies; or, to put it just as correctly in view of the incompatibility manifested by both sides, the allies had broken off relations with the Bolshevists. Alarmed at the subversive propaganda issuing from Moscow and Petrograd, the western nations had closed to Russia every avenue of trade and intercourse which they commanded. Indeed they had drifted into a relation with the revolutionary land hardly distinguishable from war. Russia was therefore quietly ignored when the distributions to be effected under the secret treaties came up for discussion. That did not hinder all the other powers, Great Britain, France, Italy, and Japan, from insisting each one on its own pound of flesh. They stood shoulder to shoulder against President Wilson, champion of the Fourteen Points. In view of the fact, however, that Wilson, as representative of the United States, was strong in himself, and further, because he had the liberal, if minority, opinion of the world behind him, his opponents found it necessary to equivocate. They stood stubbornly by the secret treaties; at the same time they considered it politic not to proceed to an open repudiation of the Wilson program.

The victors insist on realizing the secret treaties

Under these difficult circumstances President Wilson had not been long in Paris before he saw that he would have to make concessions to the fierce egotism of his associates. Undoubtedly their private arrangements greatly disconcerted him. But since they would not abandon them, he considered it advisable first, to try and mitigate some of the worst provisions; and second, to trade his acceptance of the rest for the particular passion of his heart, a world league to be called a League of Nations. By means of the new institution processes of peace and conciliation were, if not on the present occasion, at least thereafter to replace a rapacious imperialism. The conflict raged for some time but the president clung to his point. Without any question the League of Nations is and remains the outstanding historical action of the Paris conference. What is more, it is in literal truth the child of Wilson's loins.

Wilson creates the League of Nations

In April, 1919, the covenant or constitution of the League was completed and presented to the world. Let us look at its leading features. It goes without saying that so great an innovation was subjected to sharp and abundant criticism. People of a conservative and nationalist outlook generally thought that the covenant went much too far in conferring power

The covenant of the League

on an institution with an international or cosmopolitan tinge. Men of a liberal persuasion, on the other hand, contended that the League did not go far enough. Truth to tell, President Wilson had nothing more in mind than to plant a modest seed which he hoped might sprout leaves and branches in the coming years. The two leading institutions of the League are an Assembly and a Council. The Assembly is the general body wherein all states, which are members of the League, are represented. In the Assembly each state is equal to every other state and casts a single vote. The Council is a smaller and far more important body. As sketched in 1919 it was to be composed of five permanent members, one each from the United States, Great Britain, France, Italy, and Japan, together with four members elected annually by the Assembly, that is, nine in all. To the Council, which meets normally four times a year and which can be summoned, in addition, in any pressing emergency, important functions are assigned. In the first place it must at once act as a body of conciliators the moment a dispute arises which threatens war. As peace is its great concern it is authorized to formulate plans for the reduction of armaments. It must also attempt to abate the evils which have arisen from the private and competitive manufacture of guns and munitions. A very serious responsibility falls upon it in connection with the system of mandates. Under this system the colonies taken from Germany, as well as many of the provinces appropriated from Turkey, are not considered to be the property of the powers to which they were assigned but possessions held in trust for the League, to which an annual report is due touching their administration.

Geneva seat of the League

The seat of the League was established at the city of Geneva in Switzerland. There the Assembly holds its annual meetings and there a permanent bureau or secretariat disposes of current business. The small, mobile Council does not have to come together at Geneva. It is privileged to meet wherever it pleases.

The International Court established at The Hague

Since the chief purpose of the League is to settle disputes among nations without recourse to war, it was necessary to supplement the Assembly and Council, which have a consultative and legislative character, with a court of justice. This, too, was outlined in the covenant, although its details were left for later elaboration. This court was established, not at Geneva, but at The Hague, capital of the Netherlands.

With the League of Nations out of the way, the path was cleared for the treaty of peace with Germany. Besides the five great powers with which we are familiar, more than twenty small states had joined in the war against the Teuton empire and the adjustment of the often conflicting claims of this mass of victors was no easy matter. However, on May 7, 1919, the completed treaty was presented to a German delegation called for that purpose to Versailles. They were told peremptorily that no round-table discussion was to be allowed. They might, however, communicate in writing their objections to the terms submitted. Their counter-proposals were rejected as fast as they were offered, until, weary of further haggling, the conference ordered the Germans to sign without delay on pain of renewal of the war. To this curt ultimatum the German government responded with a last-minute submission. On June 28, in a formal session held at Versailles in the famous palace of Louis XIV, where the German Empire had been proclaimed in 1871, the document which registered its demise received the signature of vanquished and victors. By a no less remarkable coincidence the day marked the fifth anniversary of the historic pistol-shot which killed the Austrian archduke and which had ever since filled the world with its deafening echoes.

Germany signs the Treaty of Versailles June 28, 1919

The Treaty of Versailles was an elaborate document of 80,000 words. Its severity makes it unique among treaties imposed by civilized nations as the result of a successful conflict. It declared Germany solely responsible for the war (Article 231) and justified its harsh measures on this ground. Taking up the main divisions of the treaty, let us consider first the territorial penalties. In the west Germany was obliged to give back Alsace-Lorraine to France; in the east she handed over the bulk of the two provinces of Posen and West Prussia to the resuscitated state of Poland. Belgium acquired Eupen and Malmédy; Memel, ceded to the victors, was afterwards given to Lithuania; and Danzig was set up as a free state. In addition a number of regions were designated as plebiscite areas. Such were two zones of Schleswig on the Danish border, two zones in eastern Prussia, and the district of Upper Silesia with its invaluable coal-fields. In these areas it was left to the population to decide by vote whether they wished to remain in the German communion. In another important coal region, that of the Saar, on the French border, the coal mines were given to France outright in compensation for the French mines

The territorial losses of Germany

destroyed in the war. Politically the Saar was put under a commission responsible to the League of Nations with the understanding that the inhabitants would, after fifteen years, have the privilege of determining their ultimate fate by a popular vote. Finally, the German colonies in Africa, Asia, and the Pacific ocean were distributed among the victors, not as owners in full sovereignty, it is true, but under the mandatory system of the League of Nations. This gave the League a right of supervision. It did not alter the fact that the colonies were allocated to the conquerors.

The disarmament of Germany

Next come the disarmament clauses. Germany agreed to dissolve her army and to surrender to the allies practically the whole of her military and naval equipment. This included her battle fleet, her submarines, her heavy artillery, her machine guns, her munitions, and her airplanes. A great power was rated as great in European affairs by reason of its army and navy and in approximate proportion to their size. Although this was not what historians usually wrote in their books, it was what every diplomat knew. The purpose behind the disarmament measures of the Paris diplomats is therefore clear: it was to reduce Germany from the status of a great power. And, once reduced, why should she be permitted ever to rise again? In consequence the army and navy she might maintain in the future were exactly laid down in terms and figures exceeded by many a small state. Her army may not number more than 100,000 men recruited by voluntary enlistment. Universal compulsory service was abolished. This abolition was decreed with a view to depriving the diminished army of potential reserves. Above all, the army was not to have the characteristic equipment of the machine age and was obliged to renounce the use of heavy artillery, tanks, poison gas, and airplanes. By the same token the navy was forbidden to build, buy, or own submarines. Since all this might not suffice for the end in view, Germany was obliged to destroy the war-harbor at Helgoland, which guarded her coast, and was prohibited from maintaining any fortifications on the left bank of the Rhine or in a zone fifty kilometers wide on the right bank. This broad belt of territory toward France was completely demilitarized. Along her eastern frontier she might maintain a few small and ineffective fortresses. In short, she was to be open to invasion from every side and unable to defend herself when invaded.

The most immediately harassing articles dealt with reparations. In the armistice agreement of November 11 Germany had consented to accept responsibility for all damages suffered by the civilian population of the allies due to her aggression. Elastically interpreted, this could be made to mean whatever the victors desired. In any case they saddled Germany with an enormous program of indemnities. She was at once to hand over all her merchant ships of 1600 tons and over together with immense quantities of cows, bulls, stallions, mares, sheep, coal, and dyestuffs. When the plenipotentiaries came to discuss the money indemnity to be imposed, in addition to the fine in animals and goods, they at once reached fantastic figures. Unable to agree on the exact amount, they resolved to call for an immediate payment of 20,000,000,000 gold marks and to adjourn the fixing of the final sum to May 1, 1921. All the complicated problems connected with indemnification were entrusted to a Reparation Commission to be established on German soil. In effect the Reparation Commission undertook to manage Germany as a bankrupt estate in the interest of the creditors.

Reparations

Resolved to get their full rights under the treaty, the allies did not overlook military coercion. They occupied with their armed forces the whole area west of the river Rhine together with three important bridge-heads on the east bank opposite the cities of Mainz, Coblenz, and Cologne. The cost of the occupation was charged to Germany. It was to continue for fifteen years and might be extended if Germany should fail to meet the financial obligations imposed on her. In case of such default, the victors might even occupy additional territory. Although there were many other articles in the treaty, each of which canceled some property or treaty right of Germany within or without her political boundaries, enough has been said to make clear that, in addition to being stricken from the list of the great powers, she was, as far as lay with the victors, drained of her economic resources in the present and threatened with a continuation of the drain through an indefinite future.

The military coercion clauses

With the acceptance of the Treaty of Versailles by Germany, President Wilson and the other leading dignitaries went home. Delegates with full powers took their places and proceeded to draw up treaties with the remaining enemies, Austria, Hungary, Bulgaria, and Turkey. In preparing these treaties it was necessary to trace the boundaries and determine the international obligations of the many new states established on the ruins of the ancient empires of the Hapsburgs and Romanovs.

Further labors of the peace conference

This was no easy work and obliged the peace conference to continue its sessions for over a year after the completion of the Treaty of Versailles. The procedure in each case was modeled after that adopted toward the Germans. The treaty was drawn up by the victors according to their pleasure. When it was ready, the agents of the vanquished power were summoned and ordered to sign without demur.

The Treaty of St. Germain with Austria

The first of this group of states to be called before the victors was Austria. Post-war Austria had shrunk to a small republic of German nationality. It had about 6,000,000 inhabitants, of whom 2,000,000 lived in the single city of Vienna. The Austrian delegates were summoned to St. Germain, near Paris, and there on September 10, 1919, set their names to the document. By its terms Austria was disarmed like Germany and along identical lines. She was required to pay a reparation bill of an amount to be determined at a later time. As a sum of any sort turned out to be beyond her strength, no indemnity was ever assessed. The new republic was the outcome of the Hapsburg overthrow and of the victory of the principle of nationality. In accordance with this authoritative principle Austria had in November, 1918, promptly proclaimed her union with Germany. Not only did the peace conference veto this act but it forbade the union of Austria and Germany until permission had been given by a unanimous vote of the Council of the League of Nations. For the present at least Austria was to remain an independent German republic dwelling in the shadow of her greater brother. In the matter of the states which had arisen on the Hapsburg ruins, Austria was obliged to recognize their sovereignty and independence within such boundaries as the plenipotentiaries might see fit to draw. These new creations were Czechoslovakia, Jugoslavia, and Poland. Finally, she was made to accede to the cessions of territory with which Italy and Rumania had been favored.

The Treaty of Neuilly with Bulgaria

Bulgaria was the next in line. At Neuilly, another Paris suburb, she signed in November, 1919, the treaty prepared for her by the conference. Like the other defeated states she was obliged to accept military control, to pay an indemnity, and to suffer severe economic losses. Her army was restricted to 20,000 men and the indemnity fixed provisionally at 2,000,000,000 gold francs. More painful even to her pride were the new losses of territory imposed on her. She had joined Germany and Austria in 1915 because she wished to win back Macedonia, to which she had, on purely nationalist grounds, a better claim than Serbia and Greece. Yet these two neighbors had appropriated the whole of Macedonia after the Second Balkan War (1913). In consequence of the disastrous defeat of Serbia in the campaign of 1915 Bulgaria was able to occupy Macedonia till her own overthrow in 1918. At Neuilly not only was Macedonia lost again but Bulgaria was punished with fresh cessions of territory to her chief enemies, Serbia and Greece. Among these new losses that of Thrace, which went to Greece, was particularly grievous because through Thrace Bulgaria had enjoyed direct access to the Aegean sea.

The Treaty of Trianon with Hungary

The signing of the treaty with Hungary had to be delayed owing to violent domestic disturbances in that fertile mid-Danubian realm. As soon as the Hapsburg dynasty had been deposed, Hungary, following the fashion of the hour, became a republic. Proclaimed by middle class elements, the republic assumed a moderate character. In March, 1919, however, a group of radicals or "Reds," who were inspired and financed by Russia, overthrew the bourgeois republic and replaced it with a purely proletarian régime. Thereupon with the blessing of the peace conference, Rumania took the war-path against this social-economic anomaly in central Europe and in the month of August brought it to the ground. When the Rumanian army retired, having done its work, the reactionary group of agrarian magnates, which had always dominated Hungary in the past, again assumed control of the state. It was agents of their government who were invited to Paris and in January, 1920, signed at still another spot near Paris the Treaty of Trianon. The new treaty was closely modeled on its predecessors in the matter of disarmament, military control, indemnities, and economic servitudes. The army was not to exceed 35,000 men. The territorial losses were tremendous. Large sections of the former kingdom were handed over to the three neighbors, Rumania, Czechoslovakia, and Serbia. To be sure, the transferred areas were preponderantly inhabited by nationals of the country which was given title. None the less there were many Hungarians resident on the surrendered territories. Even Austria gained a strip of western Hungary inhabited by a German population (Burgenland). By these vast reductions Hungary shrunk to one-third of her former size and to a total of 9,000,000 inhabitants.

The last state to hear from the peace conference was Turkey. This was because the Turkish problem was a knotty one and caused much dissension among Great Britain, France, and Italy, the three powers who reserved its settlement to themselves. The situation would have been easier, if tsarist Russia had not disappeared from the scene and thereby made impossible the execution of the secret treaties elaborated during the war. By these treaties the tsar was to get Constantinople and the straits, the goal of Russian longing for well over a century. However, with Russia gone Bolshevik it was necessary to find another solution. After long discussion the three powers resolved to try the experiment of converting the whole straits area into an International Zone subject to their common rule. As for the remainder of the Ottoman Empire they took over, each one for itself in either open or veiled possession, such areas as seemed economically desirable. Great Britain indicated Mesopotamia with southern Syria (Palestine) as the territory of her choice; France marked off a French sphere in northern Syria and southeastern Anatolia; and Italy reserved southwestern Anatolia (Adalia) to her uses. Because the three allies wished to employ Greece as a spearhead against a possibly recalcitrant Turkey, they assigned the rich city of Smyrna with its hinterland to this small Balkan power. There was very little left of Turkey after these liberal subtractions had been made and that little was sure to be taken away as soon as the victors, themselves still groggy from their exhausting struggle, would have recovered their equilibrium and normal self-assurance.

The Treaty of Sèvres with Turkey

When the news of the proposed dismemberment of their state reached the Turks in Anatolia, they again took up arms. Or rather they found an inspired leader in Mustafa Kemal, to whose summons to die like men rather than be sold like cattle, they enthusiastically responded. The representatives of the sultan summoned to Paris duly signed the Turkish treaty submitted to them at the suburb of Sèvres in August, 1920. But when they brought it home, they found that the sultan and his government no longer counted and that the power had been usurped by Kemal and his followers, inflamed with the new nationalist spirit originally imported from Europe. Of all the peace treaties drawn up at Paris the Treaty of Sèvres, which was perhaps the severest of all, was the only one that was never executed. It succumbed, as we shall see, to the aroused resistance of the Turkish will-to-live.

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CHAPTER XXXV

THE NEW GERMAN REPUBLIC AND THE EXECUTION OF THE TREATY OF VERSAILLES

Germany continues to be the center of allied interest

During the World War the history of Europe became focused on a single object to a degree known only on very rare occasions in its checkered past. Attention was directed as by an all-powerful spotlight on the breathless, titanic struggle of the belligerents. But no sooner had the peace negotiations begun at Paris than the events particular to the separate countries and regions, of which Europe was composed, again surged to the front demanding the consideration which was their due. Even the lofty demi-gods assembled in the French capital to reorganize a war-shattered world were moved to look about them with unconcealed anxiety: toward Russia, for instance, whence a communist propaganda of extraordinary virulence radiated over the western world; or toward the many new and perilously frail political growths such as Finland, Latvia, Esthonia, and Poland just springing to life along the western rim of Russia; or toward that ancient and incurable center of confusion, the Balkan peninsula. But chiefly their thought was troubled by defeated Germany, which they were preparing to confine within the strait-jacket of a uniquely rigorous peace treaty. In approaching with the present chapter the history of post-war Europe we may profitably begin with Germany not only because it would be an important factor in a prospective European reorganization but also because the united stand maintained by the allies during the war was secured for an indefinite period after the war by the very nature of the Treaty of Versailles. With its perpetuated front against Germany the treaty gave to the victor group of Europe much of the unity characteristic of the war years.

Germany becomes a republic

The defeat of Germany, foreshadowed in the armistice negotiations of October, 1918, led in the following month to a rising of the disillusioned German masses. The movement aimed at the overthrow of the imperial government as well as of the governments of the constituent German states. On November 9 the revolution reached its climax at Berlin with the proclamation of the republic and the assumption of the reins of power by the Social Democrats. When the news of this event reached the headquarters of the army on the western front, it caused the dismayed Kaiser to offer his abdication and flee precipitately to near-by, neutral Holland. On the very next day, on November 11, representatives of the new republic signed the armistice agreement which brought the war to a close.

Germany holds to a middle course

During the following months exhausted and defeated Germany looked more like a vast madhouse than an ordered civilized society. With their seeming-solid inherited institutions falling about their ears the starved, disillusioned, and war-shocked people clutched wildly at any straw that appeared to offer security against immediate destruction. The socialists had seized the power and much depended on their courage and intelligence. Unfortunately they were not a united party, for they had during the war split into a majority and a minority group. The minority group was radically inclined and sought contact with the rising body of communists, who, bowled over by the forceful Russian propaganda, were fiercely set on creating an exclusive government of the workers. Indeed after wavering for a few weeks the minority socialists actually abandoned their more conservative brethren, threw in their lot with the communist extremists, and unloosed a civil war which repeatedly tinged the pavements of Berlin with blood. Because the bourgeois elements lined up behind the majority socialists, these were able to win the victory and rescue Germany from the destructive Bolshevism which the radicals desired to impose. It was the milder evolutionary doctrine of the majority socialists which enabled them to avail themselves of the help of the frightened middle classes. They bade the middle classes emerge from the holes in which they had been hiding since the proclamation of the republic and take their accustomed places in the social order. In fact they established a working alliance between themselves and the moderate elements of the citizenry which saved the situation. And when, on January 19, 1919, the elections for the National Assembly took place, the extremists of both the Right and the Left were signally defeated.

The Weimar National Assembly

The National Assembly came together not in the disturbed German capital but in the quiet little town of Weimar in the heart of Germany. Its Right was made up of the irreconcilables of the old régime, its Left of the groups (communists and minority socialists) which faced toward Moscow. In the middle of the house sat the moderates, distributed among several parties which reflected liberal opinions either of a socialist or a democratic character. It was these middle groups which agreed on parliamentary coöperation and ruled the Assembly. By their firm union they were able to beat down the repeated upflares of discontent in various industrial centers and to carry out their great task of giving the new republic an appropriate constitution.

The Assembly accepts the Treaty of Versailles

Let us agree that the allied moderates in control at Weimar faced a situation of rare difficulty. The army on flowing back from France had been dispersed and no force was immediately available which might take its place. What the peace which was being prepared by the master-cooks at Paris would be like no one was able to tell. However, since the victors absolutely refused to deal with the vanquished it was at least highly probable that the terms would be crushing. Undismayed by these evil prospects, the National Assembly set about its constitutional work. And good headway had been made when, late in April, the order came to dispatch a delegation to Versailles to receive the verdict of the conquerors. Laid down in a stern, imperious document, this verdict, on being transmitted to Weimar, first stunned the assembled legislators and then led to a passionate protest reëchoed by the whole German people. In the end on being threatened with a resumption of the war, the National Assembly sullenly gave way and authorized the signing of the document. The ceremony, which rang down the final curtain on the long agony of Europe, took place at Versailles on June 28, 1919.

The new constitution a very democratic instrument

Before taking up the thorny and often interrupted execution of the Treaty of Versailles we may advantageously dispose of the constitutive labors of the Weimar assembly. Completed in the course of the summer, the new constitution was on August 14 declared to be the law of the land. It is a very democratic document which replaced the defunct Bismarckian handiwork. The chief executive is a president elected for a seven-year term by popular vote. The suffrage is extended to every person, male or female, twenty years of age. Under the president and appointed by him serves the cabinet of ministers which is responsible to the Reichstag and must in consequence command a parliamentary majority. The Reichstag is the popularly elected legislative chamber which, like the British Commons, constitutes the core of the system. There is also a second, less important chamber, called the Reichsrath, which represents the eighteen states making up the federated commonwealth (*Reich*). For the new Germany resembles the old in that it is organized as a federation. However, the component states, which are required to be republics like Germany itself, do not have the authority which had formerly been theirs. In a word republican Germany is characterized by a more unitarian constitution than that which imperial Germany possessed. Against this development some of the south German states (Bavaria, Wurtemberg) have never ceased to protest. Further, the constitution provides for certain advanced democratic measures, such as the initiative and referendum; also it makes a bow to the industrial workers by establishing factory councils. By virtue of these councils the workers have the right to consult with the factory owners touching wages, hours of labor, factory hygiene, and other similar matters. An innovation which has yet to prove its value is the Economic Council of the Reich. This body is supposed to facilitate the labors of the Reichstag by offering expert advice in the economic field. As the main economic groups of which the nation is composed send delegates to the Economic Council, it may be conceived as an attempt to supplement political with economic representation.

The German plebiscites

For the next few years it looked doubtful whether the new constitution or indeed whether Germany itself would survive. There were repeated outbreaks on the part of the disappointed communists; and when these radicals had been put down, the monarchists of the extreme Right rose in their turn. It will be agreed that it did not add to the strength and popularity of the new republic that it was obliged to begin its existence by humbling itself before the lords of the world at Versailles. Nor did it improve matters that in the following years the government had to kowtow to innumerable entente commissions dispatched to Germany to carry out the many punitive stipulations incorporated in the treaty. Under the control of these enemy boards the war-ships, merchant vessels, artillery, airplanes, tanks, machine guns, and other equipment which Germany had forfeited were assembled either to be sent to the victor countries for distribution or to be destroyed in immense repeated auto-da-fés. More distressing still were the boundary commissions which, on the one hand, clipped important areas from Germany and, on the other, superintended the several plebiscites which were to decide whether the nation would suffer still further diminution. The first plebiscites occurred in the two Schleswig zones. By virtue thereof the northern zone went to Denmark, while the southern elected to abide by Germany. In eastern Prussia both plebiscite districts (Allenstein, Marienwerder) opted by an almost unanimous vote for Germany as against Poland. By far the largest as well as the most valuable plebiscite area was Upper Silesia. Disturbed conditions in this region caused the postponement of the vote till March, 1921, when the population by a very substantial majority decided for Germany. But the allies, more particularly France, were resolved that this rich mining and industrial area should not remain with Germany and insisted on dividing it between Germany and Poland in such a way that the overwhelming preponderance of its coal and zinc mines was handed over to the resuscitated Slav state.

The United States repudiates President Wilson

In order to make sure of Germany's acquiescence in the above measures the allies had provided in the treaty for the military occupation of the left bank of the Rhine together with three bridge-heads on the right bank opposite the cities of Cologne, Coblenz, and Mainz. But more particularly the presence of allied troops on German soil amounting to an army of more than 75,000 men was intended to insure the payment of reparations on the part of the defeated power. It will be remembered that the total reparation sum was not named in the Treaty of Versailles because the victors were too far apart in their figures to reach an agreement. In consequence a Reparation Commission was appointed and charged with studying the problem to the end of naming the total bill by May 1, 1921. On this commission the United States was to be represented; but as the Senate of the United States refused to ratify the Treaty of Versailles, the American representative had to be withdrawn, thus leaving the work to the four remaining powers, Great Britain, France, Italy, and Belgium. The adverse action of the Senate was due to opposition in that body, as well as among the people of the United States, to President Wilson's commitment of his country to continued intervention in Europe, above all, in connection with the League of Nations. To his sorrow and chagrin the President learned on his return from Paris that his policy had aroused a strong and growing opposition. It came to a head in November, 1920, when the Republican and anti-Wilson candidate for the presidency, Warren G. Harding, was returned by an overwhelming majority of votes. The election proved in an unanswerable manner that the American people rejected the League of Nations and wished to have the Treaty of Versailles with its continued involvement of the country in European affairs replaced by a separate peace with Germany. When Harding succeeded Wilson as president on March 4, 1921, the steps dictated by the election were taken and the withdrawal of the United States from Europe, already foreshadowed during Wilson's last year of office, became complete and final.

Germany gets the reparations bill

The removal of the American representative from the Reparation Commission signified the extinction of the only moderating voice in that body, for the United States, having renounced its claim to reparations, was in a position to insist on Germany's being assessed not vindictively but in strict accord with its capacity to pay. When on May 1, 1921, the hour struck to present the Germans with their bill, the Commission, yielding to the war passions which still held undiminished sway, named as Germany's indebtedness the wholly irrational figure of 136 billion gold marks. In one of their repeated conferences of this period the allied governments had agreed that whatever sum Germany might be assessed, its distribution should take place in such a way that France would receive 52 per cent of the total, Great Britain 22 per cent, Italy 10 per cent, Belgium 8 per cent, while the remainder was to be divided among the lesser allies. The detailed arrangements under which Germany was required to make the payment of 136 billion marks we may save ourselves the trouble of examining, since they broke down almost at once and had to be abandoned. It is however worthy of note that Germany, on being confronted with the above sum, vehemently denied that it was justified under the pre-armistice terms offered by President Wilson and accepted by the allies. Exactly as at Versailles two years before she was silenced by an ultimatum carrying the threat of a renewal of the war. Thereupon, still protesting, she signed as ordered.

Germany requests a moratorium

Of only one feature imposed on Germany in connection with the total indemnity bill are we constrained to take account. The victors declared that until the admittedly disturbed domestic situation had been clarified Germany was to make an annual payment to the Reparation Commission of three billion gold marks. Now it must be understood that a debtor country can not deliver such a vast sum to foreign creditors in the actual form of gold for the simple reason that such an amount of gold is not held in the treasury of any country; or, if it should happen to be held, its transfer would promptly undermine the financial stability of the exporting country by the withdrawal of the security which sustains its paper currency. The only safe way in which an annuity of the kind imposed on Germany can be transferred is by an export surplus supplemented by such economic services as are rendered, for instance, by a merchant marine. This path disorganized and war-torn Germany could not travel, for she did not at the time produce enough to enable her own people to sustain existence. Even in the brilliant period before the war she had habitually imported much more than she exported. Besides, the long war had so seriously depleted her financial resources that she no longer enjoyed any credit and could so little live by borrowing that not a penny could be raised either at home or abroad. The result was that, pressed to pay, she simply printed paper money, first to pay her bills at home, and second, to sell on foreign money markets for whatever it might bring. Before long the value of the unconscionably multiplied paper mark began to decline so rapidly that the government was obliged to appeal to the Reparation Commission for a moratorium. A moratorium means a respite from payment; and a respite, if granted, signified that the allies would have to forgo expected and much needed income. Accordingly the German appeal precipitated a crisis. Indeed crisis followed crisis over the reparation issue for many years to come and kept Europe in a turmoil making it impossible to resume the processes of peaceful living and exchange.

Great Britain and France part company

Germany's request for a delay not only told the world that Germany was bankrupt but presently revealed that the two leading creditors were no longer of one mind. Great Britain wished to grant Germany the desired moratorium, France did not. It will not do to conclude from this that Great Britain was magnanimous, while France proved herself vindictive, although writers of a sentimental turn never tired of ringing the changes on this theme. The simple fact was that the general conditions of France and Great Britain were different. The latter, as the leading industrial and commercial nation of Europe, needed to have the international markets restored as fast as possible in order to find employment for her factories and ships. Owing to the chaos which stubbornly persisted in the world after the exhausting war, the British industrial plant was largely idle. It followed that Great Britain harbored a vast army of unemployed — as high at times as 3,000,000 workers — who had to be kept alive by doles out of the national treasury. Quite naturally the British considered reparation payments from Germany, important though they were, as less important than the setting of their unemployed to work. Further, they saw that the restoration of Germany to economic health would prove an aid to British recovery since Germany had always been one of Britain's best customers. Hence the British willingness to adjourn reparations and give Germany a breathing-spell.

The case of France

France, on the other hand, had had her northeastern provinces shot and stamped to ruin during the war and wanted them restored as soon as possible. The liability of Germany for this restoration had been laid down in the treaty and had been acknowledged by Germany herself. Without waiting for the slow trickle of reparations the French government had begun the restoration with its own means, largely by floating new loans among the French people. It was expected that with the happy advent of May-day, 1921, German payments in huge quantities would be set flowing toward France; and now when they had only just begun, Germany hoisted signals of distress and demanded a halt. The exasperated French with an exaggerated view of Germany's riches were convinced that their neighbors were acting in bad faith. Vehemently they threatened them with the occupation of further territory, a punishment which, in accordance with the Treaty of Versailles, the allies were free to exact in case of a voluntary German default.

The French enter the Ruhr

The French prime minister at the time was Poincaré, who during a long and energetic career, had become the leading spokesman of French nationalism. In December, 1922, he formally proposed to declare that Germany had voluntarily defaulted. When Great Britain refused to take this position, he contented himself with the active support of Belgium and the half-hearted support of Italy and on January 11, 1923, proceeded to enter the rich industrial area of the Ruhr in order to collect, under duress, the reparations which Germany, according to him, was wilfully withholding. The Ruhr constituted one of the greatest coal and industrial areas of the world and was the very heart of economic Germany. This must be kept in mind if the ensuing crisis is to be understood. Great Britain's protest against the French action encouraged Germany to declare it illegal. Ruhr government and factory officials, as well as the workers, were exhorted from Berlin to balk the French designs by means of the formidable weapon of passive resistance. Against his first plan of a small body of experts supervising the Ruhr industries and turning the profits into the

French treasury, Poincaré was obliged to bring a vast army across the Rhine in order to set the recalcitrant Germans to work under military compulsion. The German government at Berlin, for its part, did its best to sustain the spirit of local resistance by promising to pay wages and salaries to all employees whom the French might oust for disobedience.

Germany makes submission

The mad and ruinous Ruhr episode alarmed a breathless world till August, 1923. By that time the Germans were at the end of their tether and made an abject submission. The government had paid the heavy bills of passive resistance by running off more and still more paper marks from the printing presses until it took a million and, finally, some hundreds of millions of marks to buy an American dollar! In pre-war days the American dollar had been quoted at a little more than four marks. To be sure, the value of the mark had begun to shrink as far back as the outbreak of the World War and the process had continued uninterruptedly since the peace. The precipitate downward plunge however, the descent into Avernus, was reserved to the passive resistance of 1923. By the summer of that year, with the national treasury bankrupt and all individual savings wiped out, Germany had become a nation of paupers. In addition, since the exchange of goods could not be conducted with a useless currency, business was at a standstill and the whole population threatened with starvation.

The experts to the rescue!

With the Ruhr invasion post-war Europe reached its lowest ebb, when even a confirmed optimist might have been led to despair of the old continent's ultimate recovery. But the black outlook brought this tiny, though invaluable, good: people generally, including the French, recognized that the question of reparations must be removed from the heated atmosphere of politics by referring it to a body of economic experts prepared to say, after an objective investigation, what Germany was able and what she was not able to pay. The Germans accepted the idea as did also the allies. Even the French acknowledged that an army was not the most suitable instrument for producing economic returns. A committee of experts, on which American representatives consented to act unofficially in the rôle of umpires, met at Paris in the early months of 1924 and devised a plan which was put into effect in the summer. It is usually called the Dawes plan from the American, Charles G. Dawes (afterwards vice-president), who headed the trans-Atlantic delegation.

The first measure of the Dawes plan was to put Germany back on her financial feet by an international loan of 800,000,000 gold marks. This would enable her to reëstablish her currency and set in motion once again the paralyzed machinery of business. Next, the plan devised a scheme of reparation payments over a period of five years; it called for 1,000,000,000 marks in the first year and increased this sum by degrees to 2,500,000,000 marks in the fifth year. Owing to Germany's present bankruptcy and to the financial scepticism which this condition entailed, other features of the Dawes plan put Germany under foreign tutelage by obliging her to accept allied control of her railroads, her bank of issue (the *Reichsbank*), and a specified group of revenues. At the head of all of these separate financial controls was placed an Agent General for Reparation Payments with offices in Berlin, who virtually succeeded to the powers of the former Reparation Commission. To him was entrusted the task of getting the collected annuity out of Germany into the hands of the respective creditors. A neutral, the American, Parker Gilbert, was appointed to this key position. In collaboration with a Transfer Committee the Agent General was authorized to suspend the sending of the annuity out of Germany in case the operation was likely to endanger the stability of the reëstablished German currency. On Germany's accepting these various measures of control (which were also measures of help and protection), France agreed to withdraw her soldiers from the Ruhr and hand back the seized mines and factories to their owners.

The Dawes plan

The Dawes plan was an experiment. That is proved by two circumstances: first, that it provided for no more than the next five years; second, that it did not fix the final sum which Germany was to pay, although it tacitly assumed that the fabulous 136 billion marks demand of 1921 would be dropped. As soon as the plan was put to work, it produced almost at once an immense financial and economic improvement in Germany. The billions on billions of useless paper marks were scrapped; the currency was reëstablished on a gold basis by means of the Dawes loan; and with confidence returning to the business world everybody went back to work. Before the end of 1924 German recovery was well under way. But official France and the French people looked on this recovery with very mixed feelings. They argued that a strengthened Germany would inevitably attempt to strike off the shackles of Versailles and in the process might resume the ancient and heredi-

Germany begins to recover

tary feud with its western neighbor. Against this eventuality France desired to make every possible provision by a system of international guarantees. She called this achieving her security.

France seeks security

Not only after 1924 but really ever since the peace negotiations of 1919 security against Germany had been the preoccupation of France almost to the point of obsession. At the instance of Clemenceau, the vigorous spokesman of his country at Paris, security had been coupled with the Treaty of Versailles by means of certain pledges whereby Great Britain and the United States promised to come to the assistance of France the instant that Germany made a warlike threat. When the Senate of the United States repudiated the Treaty of Versailles this pledge went a-glimmering, and not only so far as the United States was concerned. It was canceled for Britain, too, owing to the provision that it was not to bind one of the pledging powers without binding the other. Deeply disappointed, France undertook to look for security elsewhere. She returned to the system of military alliances, morally discredited though it was by the recent war, and attached to herself, one after the other, all the small neighbors of Germany. Before the war she had cultivated the friendship of Russia as the best means of holding Germany in check. Now that Russia had gone Bolshevik, the Slav power had become useless for French purposes and was replaced in the French system by the three immediate neighbors of Germany, Belgium, Poland, and Czechoslovakia. Even Rumania and Jugoslavia, although they nowhere touched on Germany, were added to the list of French allies. It may be interposed at this point that France had helped establish the League of Nations and that the purpose of the League was to preserve peace by adjudicating national differences without resort to arms: why not rely on the League for security? To this question France answered that the young League was an experiment and might prove too feeble to procure its ends. Hence France refused to place faith in it and went her own way by renewing the very system, favored before 1914, of surrounding Germany with a ring of iron.

The Locarno treaties

When the adoption of the Dawes plan produced a better feeling between France and Germany, it occurred to some leading Frenchmen that the moment was favorable for promoting a political accommodation with their ancient enemy. Might not that prove to be a more effective method of obtaining security than through either the League of Nations or a military ring of German neighbors? The idea rapidly gained adherents on both sides of the Rhine and in February, 1925, led to a public declaration of support on the part of the German cabinet. The German foreign minister, Stresemann, had convinced himself that Germany could not regain her position in Europe except on the basis of a durable understanding with France. Informal exchanges among the cabinets of all the leading powers were followed in the autumn of 1925 by a conference at Locarno (in Switzerland), out of which grew five important treaties. The first four were contracts between Germany, on the one hand, and France, Belgium, Poland, and Czechoslovakia respectively, on the other, whereby the signatories pledged themselves to settle all disputes between them by arbitral methods. This is in substance no more than the obligation assumed by all members of the League of Nations. Germany, however, was not yet in the League and her declared readiness to submit any quarrel that might arise between her and her four neighbors to a board of conciliators was a distinct advance.

The French security treaty

More important by much was the fifth Locarno treaty. It dealt with French security and gave France a measure of this article far beyond anything thus far achieved by her. This fifth treaty was arranged among Germany, France, Belgium, Italy, and Great Britain and put the Franco-German and the Belgian-German boundary, as drawn in the Treaty of Versailles, under the collective guarantee of the five signatories. Explicitly or implicitly the treaty contained two vastly significant declarations: (1) that Germany renounced, not under duress as at Versailles, but voluntarily the former province of Alsace-Lorraine; and (2) that in case Germany broke her pledge and encroached on the frontier of her two western neighbors, the other four signatories would stand together against her as one man. Better even than the treaty was the novel feeling of good will manifested in the conference. It was acclaimed as the "Locarno spirit" and has ever since constituted the best hope of those who regard the permanent reconciliation of France and Germany as the unavoidable preliminary for the new moral order foreshadowed in the League of Nations.

A logical consequence of the Locarno agreements was the admission of Germany to the League of Nations. It took place in September, 1926. Germany was accorded a permanent seat in the Council alongside of Great Britain, France, Italy, and Japan. While the permanent seats were thus increased to five, the non-permanent seats, which the Assembly of the League has the right to fill by election, were also increased. Originally four, they had already been increased to six; and now in 1926 they were raised to nine. That is a regrettable development, for it is clear that the Council, which must act rapidly in the emergencies likely to arise, does not gain in effectiveness by having its membership indefinitely enlarged.

Germany joins the League of Nations

Having examined the anxieties of France touching security, we may turn to her financial difficulties. There were times when they were so grave that her money unit, the franc, might be thought to be heading toward the abyss like the German mark in 1923. The main trouble was that the country, expecting the gold of Croesus from Germany, went on spending lavishly while subjecting itself to relatively light and insufficient taxation. The resulting deficit in the national budget was met, as in Germany, by printing paper francs until the franc exhibited an alarming weakness. In 1926 the problem became urgent. Happily the French rose to the occasion, called their strong man, Poincaré, back to office, and by subjecting themselves to heavy taxation both saved the franc and balanced the budget. Incidentally the franc was stabilized at a little less than four cents, that is, at about one-fifth of its pre-war value.

French financial difficulties

Another matter which troubled France was its debt to the United States contracted during the war. As many other European states were under identical obligations to the trans-Atlantic republic, we may at this juncture take up the problem in its entirety, especially as it became inextricably tied up with that very lively issue already considered, German reparations. The debt situation, broadly viewed, presented itself thus: the reparations of Germany, when they began to flow, would move toward all her European ex-enemies and notably toward France, Great Britain, Italy, and Belgium. As all the ex-enemies had been associated in the war with the United States and had received loans in varying amounts from Washington, they would be obliged to make annual payments to that country in order gradually to extinguish their debt. It follows that Germany was everybody's debtor, the United States everybody's creditor. But the business was further complicated by the fact that Great Britain had lent very considerable sums to France, Italy, and other countries, while France had lent with almost equal lavishness to such states as Italy, Rumania, and

Inter-allied debts

Serbia. All these obligations of the allies toward one another constituted an intricate web of accounts currently covered by the term inter-allied debts. Seeing that the debts had been contracted in a common cause, the opinion was frequently voiced after the war that the fairest way of getting them out of the world would be by universal mutual cancellation.

The United States negotiates settlements with its European debtors

The stumbling-block to cancellation was the United States. The Washington government took the stand that it had made *bona fide* loans to the European states to an amount of over ten billion dollars, and that in the coming time it would not, like them, receive German reparations. The three principal debtors of the United States were Great Britain, which owed something over $4,000,000,000; France which owed $3,000,000,000; and Italy which owed a little more than $1,500,000,000. These sums the United States intended to get back, though the government indicated its readiness to remit a varying amount of the interest charge, depending on the debtor country's "capacity to pay." There was a unanimous pained outcry from the borrowers on this announcement but in the end they came to terms. Beginning with Great Britain, they signed between 1923 and 1929 debt settlements with the United States whereby they agreed to make annual payments over a period of sixty-two years. At the end of that long stretch of time the account will at length be cleared.

German reparations largely diverted to the United States

Let us now consider the bearing of the debt policy of the United States on German reparations. In consequence of the adoption of the Dawes plan the passions aroused by the war lost, as we have seen, some of their ferocity and the allies showed a disposition to temper the icy wind of reparations to the shorn Teutonic lamb. But with the United States insisting on the repayment, to the tune of ten billion dollars, of its loans to these same allies, they declared that there was little they could do for their German debtor. Without doubt the Dawes plan helped Germany to get back on her feet by means of an international loan and a substantially reduced annuity. But it indicated an annual payment of 2,500,000,000 gold marks for an indefinite number of years as normal. When and if Germany should pay this annual contribution, the beneficiaries would find themselves obliged to transfer something like sixty-seven per cent of the amount to the ultimate creditor, the United States. Only thirty-three per cent would remain in European hands for reparation purposes.

The relationship between the inter-allied debts and German reparations is therefore basic to every discussion touching the post-war financial settlement. The nexus was once more emphatically brought home to every observer when in February, 1929, the signatory powers of the Dawes plan again assembled in Paris to consider their next move in view of the approaching expiration of their five-year agreement. As the United States was again informally represented by a delegation of bankers and business men, the indissoluble financial ties between Europe and the western hemisphere stood revealed to the world. The head of the American group was Owen D. Young. He also acted as general chairman. In consequence the new plan worked out after a stormy four months' debate usually goes by his name. The Young plan is so important a forward step in the liquidation of the war that we must try to grasp its main features. First of all it at last fixed the total indebtedness of Germany at about 36,000,000,000 marks. By way of interest payment and amortization it exacted an average annuity of about 2,000,000,000 marks to run till 1967, that is, for a period of thirty-seven years. For twenty-one years thereafter, that is, till 1988 an average annual payment of 1,700,000,000 marks is required. The first thirty-seven instalments are intended to meet the various inter-allied payments to the United States plus the cost of reparations. The last twenty-one instalments are to go exclusively to the United States on the theory that the actual reparations bill will by that time have been paid. Should the Washington government grant its debtors better terms at any future date, Germany is promised a proportional benefit. The Siamese twinship of reparations and inter-allied debts could not be more frankly avowed than by these arrangements.

The Young plan

Seen from the German angle, the Young plan has both advantages and disadvantages as compared with its Dawes predecessor. That the annuity was reduced by 500,000,000 marks and the total indebtedness at last fixed must be credited as distinct improvements. As such also must be listed the removal of all foreign control bodies, since Germany had suffered a grievous loss of self-respect through the financial tutelage imposed on her in 1924. The German railroads, industries, and central bank (*Reichsbank*) are given back into German hands in measure as the various control commissions established by the Dawes plan vanish from the German scene. Further, it is clear gain that the immensely important functions of the Agent General for Reparations will be

Advantages for Germany of the Young plan

taken over by the Bank for International Settlements to be established at Basel in neutral Switzerland. To this bank, governed by a directorate of delegates from the central banks of all the interested countries including Germany, the German annuities will be paid in order to be distributed among the respective creditors. As an independent, non-political agency, the International Bank should contribute considerably toward carrying the heated issue of reparations into the cooler and more objective realm where economic reflection prevails over political passion.

The disadvantage of the Young plan

As against these several advantages stands the disadvantage that Germany is obliged to give up the protection afforded by the Transfer Committee. Under the Dawes plan the Transfer Committee had the power to suspend reparation payments whenever the German currency was threatened thereby. Though this concession now disappeared, it was agreed that the German annuity was to consist of a postponable and a non-postponable part. The non-postponable sum, amounting to 660,000,000 marks, must be transferred regardless of the state of the German currency. That leaves a postponable sum, twice as large as the non-postponable, for which an adjournment may be obtained in case a German breakdown threatens. And now let us ask: is it safe to affirm that the Young settlement marks the end of a dangerous conflict? Certainly not, since its success depends on the ability of Germany to pay annually a tremendous sum through a period of two ordinary human generations. But the improvement in the international atmosphere achieved since 1919 holds out the promise that an eventual German default will not entail a military occupation as in 1923 but rather bring about the summoning of a new conference of experts. There is thus at least a good chance that Europe will henceforth meet its financial difficulties by some other means than force.

The Young plan ratified by the governments

A substantial basis was given to this hope when in January, 1930, representatives of the creditor governments met with German representatives at The Hague to ratify the Young plan of the experts as the necessary preliminary to formally setting it in motion. After long debate victors and vanquished agreed to refer a future German default to the World Court. Only in case this international judicial body decides that the default was voluntary, will the former enemies of Germany be privileged to exercise the right of military occupation and coercion conceded to them by the Treaty of Versailles. In looking forward to the future it will be well to keep an eye also on the Bank for International Settlements. Not impossibly it may reveal itself as the germ of a venture calculated to contribute toward making the world a more effective and better coördinated economic unit. In that case it might conceivably develop into the financial department of the League of Nations.

Dangers threatening the republic

During its whole first decade of existence the new German republic was completely dominated by the problems and agitations resulting from the execution of the Treaty of Versailles, more particularly by the overshadowing issue of reparations. As at the same time it was usually receiving curt and peremptory commands from a group of victors from whose dictation there was no escape, it did not cut a very dignified figure before its own people. In consequence the two extremist groups of the Right and Left found eager listeners when they employed the freedom of speech guaranteed by the constitution for venomous attacks upon the servile new government and its cringing official representatives. Especially during the early years and until the Dawes plan somewhat reduced the feverish international temperature the republic was often in danger of being overthrown either by the nationalists, who favored a return to monarchy, or by the communists, who wished to introduce the Russian system. On the whole the extreme Right proved more dangerous than the extreme Left. By means of its private semimilitary organizations and a more or less systematic policy of assassination of republican leaders it succeeded for a while at least in holding the government at its mercy. But either because William II, owing to his flight, had lost prestige and was unavailable as a popular leader or because the nationalists failed to develop magnetic champions of monarchy from their own ranks, the reactionary peril steadily diminished until the elections of 1930, when it again raised its head.

The Social Democrats the main prop of the republic

It is notable that the government during this same first decade has almost uninterruptedly drawn its parliamentary support from the middle parties embracing the convinced republicans of the bourgeoisie and the industrial workers. The largest single political party is still the Social Democrats. They may be looked upon as the main support of the republic, which they founded and which they have been wisely content to hold to a moderate course. In 1922 the minority socialists, who had split off from their comrades during the war, came back into the fold, not however without suffering the defection of an intransigeant group of their own. This group, scorning the majority socialists as "bourgeois," joined the communists. The German communists deserve to be watched first, because they have a considerable and excellently organized following among the workers, and second, because their subjection to Moscow and membership in the Third International make them a dangerous potential instrument of German and world revolution.

The improved outlook for the republic

The first president of the republic was the social democratic leader, Friedrich Ebert, elected to office by the Weimar assembly in 1919. When he died in February, 1925, a popular election was held by virtue of which he was succeeded by General Hindenburg, a field marshal of the old empire and the national hero of the war. The common expectation abroad that the new president, in spite of the sobering influence of his seventy-seven years, would lend himself to the support of plots for the restoration of the Kaiser proved to be erroneous. President Hindenburg has taken his oath of office with the greatest seriousness and by his devotion to duty has signally strengthened the government. The gradual liquidation of the reparations problem coupled with the admission of Germany to the League of Nations has worked in the same direction. And when in the autumn of 1929 the allies, in sign of their satisfaction over the Young accord, began to withdraw their troops from the occupied Rhineland, the rejoicing in Germany was greater than over any event since the end of the war. On June 30, 1930, the Rhenish provinces were, in accordance with the promise made by the allied governments, entirely liberated from foreign soldiers. For this relief the republic may claim and will receive a large share of the credit. Even the Saar, still ruled by a commission responsible to the League of Nations, may be presently returned to Germany without awaiting the plebiscite which the Treaty of Versailles has set for 1935. In short, the "Spirit of Locarno," which seems at last to have become something more than an oratorical phrase, may operate to erase from German memory some of the most stinging humiliations imposed on the nation in the dark period after 1919. And with the cessation of the systematic wounding of German self-esteem the republic may be expected to increase its popular following until it becomes a government to which the people will freely tender their faith and service.

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CHAPTER XXXVI

THE NEW STATES OF EAST CENTRAL EUROPE

We learned in an earlier chapter that the World War resulted from a large number of clashing forces, among which nationalism was particularly vigorous. Nothing reveals the share of nationalism in the great conflict like a comparison of the pre-war and the post-war maps of east central Europe. If we begin at the northern extremity of the Baltic sea and let our eye gradually travel south, we find the new states of Finland, Esthonia, Latvia, Lithuania, and Poland, occupying what had formerly been the western marches of the Russian Empire. The five states are inhabited by peoples who had been conquered by the tsars in the course of the westward advance inaugurated by Peter the Great, and who, though covered by a uniform Russian blanket, had developed a lively sense of separateness under the nationalist influences of the nineteenth century. When the Russian revolution of 1917 ended the rule of the tsars, the suppressed peoples were encouraged, one and all, to claim their independence and, in the course of the next few years, succeeded in setting up free governments of the republican type. In accordance with the far-heralded declaration of the new Soviet régime that it would coerce no alien people to remain within the Russian fold, treaties were gradually signed by which the sovereignty of the new border states was formally acknowledged.

The new states on Russian soil

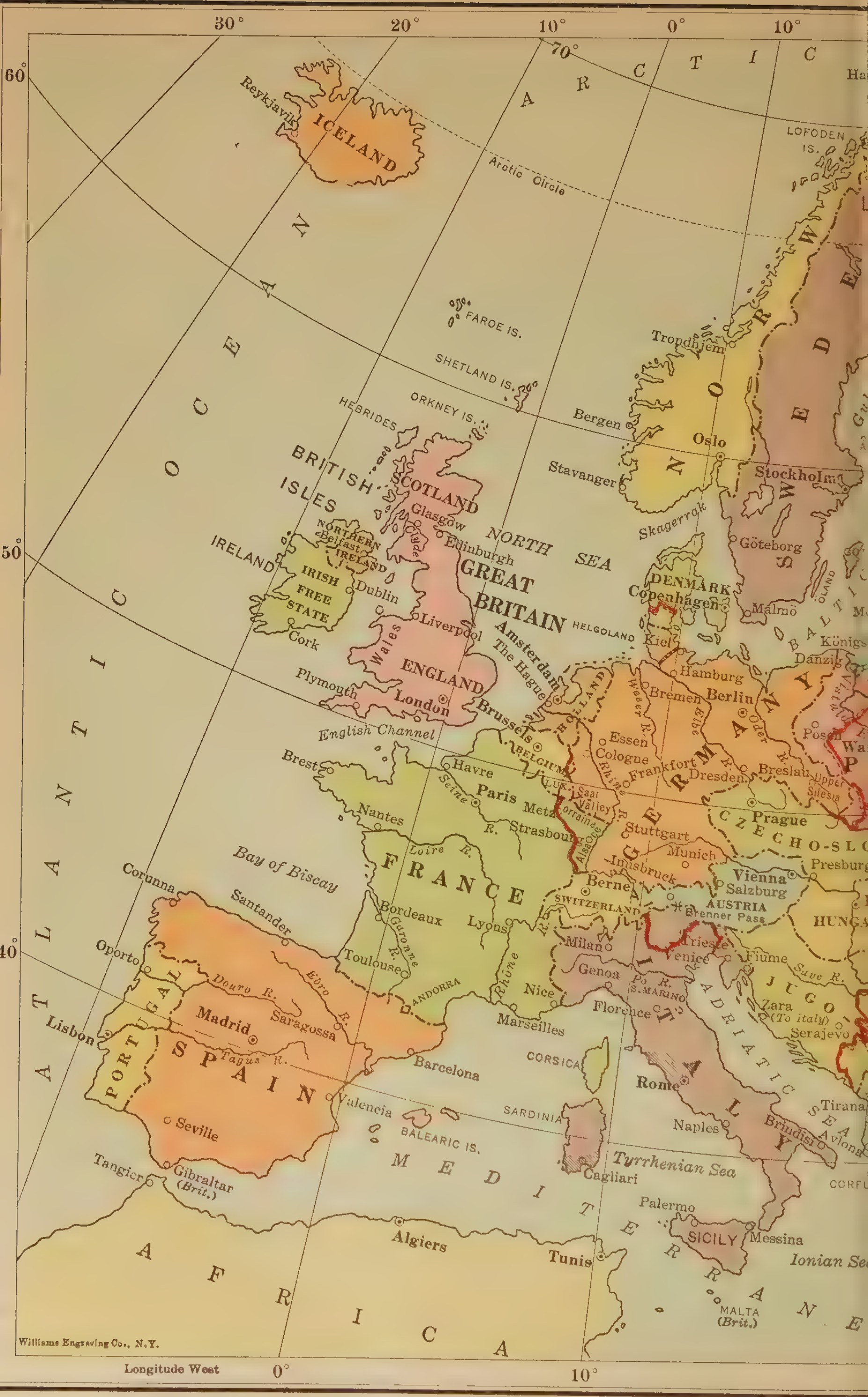
If nationalism called five young states to life along the western rim of Russia, it worked even greater wonders in Austria-Hungary. We recall that the polyglot Hapsburg monarchy, after fairly seething with nationalism throughout the nineteenth century, in 1918, in consequence of the unbearable strain of the long war, simply fell apart. Thereupon every constituent people hurried to proclaim its independence, striving at the same time to include within its boundaries as much territory as it could seize. However, the peace conference at Paris took charge of the situation and officially traced the new frontiers in the several treaties named from the Parisian suburbs in which they were signed. In consequence the former Austro-Hungarian monarchy was replaced

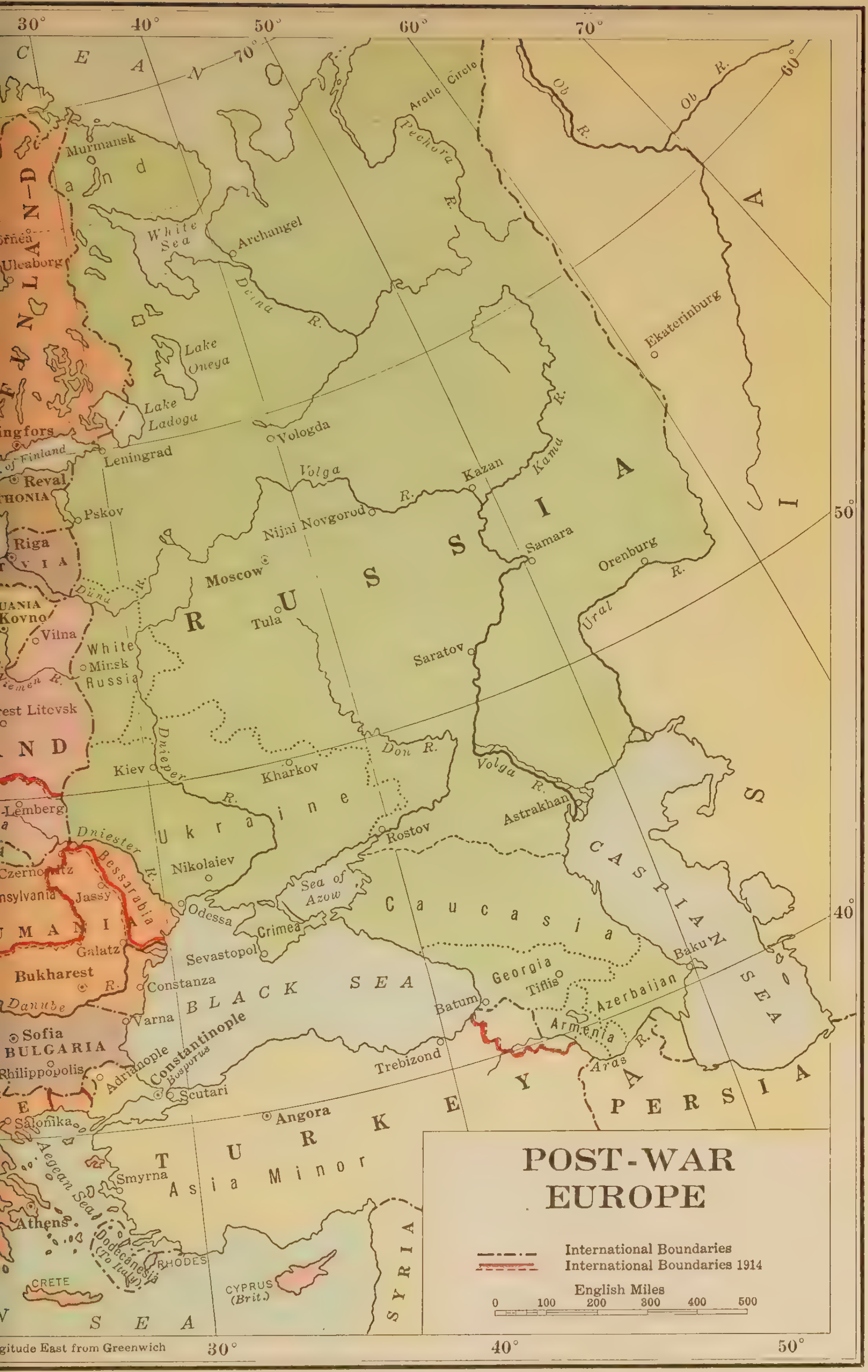
The Austrian succession states

by the following so-called succession states: Austria, Hungary, Czechoslovakia, Jugoslavia, and Rumania. Strictly speaking, Rumania and Jugoslavia are not Austrian succession states, for they ante-date the Hapsburg demise. Rumania came into existence in consequence of the Crimean war (1854–56) and Jugoslavia, under the more modest name of Serbia, goes back to the first quarter of the nineteenth century. Both these states, however, received in 1919 such increments of territory from the former Hapsburg state that they must be carried on every list of Hapsburg heirs which aims at completeness. Indeed Poland, already enumerated by us among the new growths on Russian soil, also deserves to be classified as an Austrian succession state in virtue of its having taken over from Austria the important province of Galicia.

Drawbacks of the "Balkanization" of east central Europe

Within the broad European belt bounded by the Baltic sea on the north and the Adriatic sea on the south, we thus find an extraordinary situation. The fundamental national units in possession of this zone have asserted themselves and effected their independence. In view of the universal and irresistible character of nationalism in our day this is an intelligible development. But there is no denying that it has distinct and even painful drawbacks. In the first place nationalism, which has its origin in love of home and people, too often becomes an offensive super-nationalism, of which the most usual characteristic is a flaming hatred of all neighboring peoples. Under this aspect it makes for political antagonism; and a very luxurious crop of such antagonisms has already sprung up among the new and uneasy creations of the east central European belt. To the political must be added an economic evil. An area once dominated by two great empires is now divided among half a score of small states, which in their fresh pride of sovereignty have surrounded themselves with high tariff walls to the disadvantage and often to the complete paralysis of trade. It is sometimes said that the peace has "Balkanized" this large section of Europe. The phrase carries a criticism of the post-war arrangements based on the view that large untrammeled markets are in our age a necessary condition of economic well-being. Without doubt the splitting of east central Europe into numerous small entities causes trade to languish throughout the area. It is to be hoped that in the course of time the evil will correct itself by the recognition on the part of all the sufferers that political independence must somehow be made compatible with economic law.


30°
20°
10°
0°
10°
70°
60°
50°
40°
ARCTIC
ICELAND
Reykjavik
Arctic Circle
ATLANTIC OCEAN
FAROE IS.
SHETLAND IS.
ORKNEY IS.
HEBRIDES
LOFODEN IS.
Trondhjem
Bergen
Stavanger
Oslo
NORWAY
Stockholm
SWEDEN
Göteborg
Malmö
Skagerrak
DENMARK
Copenhagen
BALTIC
Königs
Danzig
BRITISH ISLES
SCOTLAND
Glasgow
Clyde
Edinburgh
NORTH SEA
GREAT BRITAIN
NORTHERN IRELAND
Belfast
IRELAND
IRISH FREE STATE
Dublin
Cork
Liverpool
Wales
ENGLAND
London
Plymouth
English Channel
HELGOLAND
Kiel
Hamburg
Bremen
Weser R.
Elbe
Berlin
Oder R.
Amsterdam
The Hague
HOLLAND
Brussels
BELGIUM
LUX.
Essen
Cologne
Rhine R.
Frankfort
Dresden
Breslau
Upper Silesia
Posen
GERMANY
Saar Valley
Lorraine
Alsace
Metz
Strasbourg
Stuttgart
Munich
Prague
CZECHO-SL
Presburg
Vienna
Salzburg
AUSTRIA
Innsbruck
Brenner Pass
HUNGA
Brest
Havre
Seine R.
Paris
Nantes
Loire R.
FRANCE
Bay of Biscay
Bordeaux
Garonne R.
Toulouse
Lyons
Rhône R.
Nice
Marseilles
ANDORRA
Berne
SWITZERLAND
Milan
Genoa
Po R.
S. MARINO
Florence
Venice
Trieste
Fiume
Save R.
JUGO
Zara (To Italy)
Serajevo
ADRIATIC SEA
ITALY
Rome
Naples
Brindisi
Avlona
Tirana
CORFU
CORSICA
SARDINIA
Cagliari
Tyrrhenian Sea
Palermo
SICILY
Messina
Ionian Se
MALTA (Brit.)
Corunna
Santander
Oporto
Douro R.
Ebro R.
Saragossa
Madrid
Tagus R.
PORTUGAL
Lisbon
SPAIN
Barcelona
Valencia
Seville
BALEARIC IS.
Gibraltar (Brit.)
Tangier
MEDITERRANEAN
Algiers
Tunis
AFRICA
Williams Engraving Co., N.Y.
Longitude West
0°
10°



POST-WAR EUROPE

30°
40°
50°
60°
70°
C E A N
70°
Arctic Circle
Ob R.
Ob R.
60°
Murmansk
a n d
N—D
N L A
F I
Uleaborg
White Sea
Archangel
Pechora R.
Dvina R.
Lake Onega
Lake Ladoga
Helsingfors
Gulf of Finland
Leningrad
Vologda
Reval
ESTHONIA
Pskov
Riga
LATVIA
Düna R.
LITHUANIA
Kovno
Vilna
White Russia
Minsk
Niemen R.
Brest Litovsk
N D
Volga R.
Kazan
Kama R.
Nijni Novgorod
Moscow
Tula
R U S S I A
Samara
Orenburg
Ural R.
Ekaterinburg
A
I
50°
Saratov
Kiev
Dnieper R.
Kharkov
Don R.
Volga R.
Astrakhan
Ukraine
Lemberg
Dniester R.
Bessarabia
Czernowitz
Transylvania
Jassy
RUMANIA
Galatz
Bukharest
Danube R.
Nikolaiev
Odessa
Rostov
Sea of Azow
Crimea
Sevastopol
Caucasia
CASPIAN SEA
Baku
Georgia
Tiflis
Azerbaijan
Armenia
Aras R.
Batum
Trebizond
40°
Constanza
BLACK SEA
Varna
Sofia
BULGARIA
Philippopolis
Adrianople
Constantinople
Bosporus
Scutari
Angora
TURKEY
PERSIA
Salonika
Aegean Sea
Smyrna
Asia Minor
Athens
Dodecanesia (To Italy)
RHODES
CRETE
CYPRUS (Brit.)
SYRIA
SEA
Longitude East from Greenwich
30°
40°
50°
International Boundaries
International Boundaries 1914
English Miles
0
100
200
300
400
500

Let us now pass these products of the great nationalist upheaval in swift review and begin with Finland. This state extends from the port of Pechenga on the Arctic ocean southward all the way to the gulf of Finland. It is a sober northland country of lakes and forests and, although twice as large as New England, is not capable of supporting more than a sparsely scattered population. The inhabitants, called Finns, are liberally intermingled with Swedes along the coast. In consequence the Swedish language enjoys official recognition together with Finnish but is steadily losing ground before the national idiom. The Finns are a frugal, intelligent people energetically determined to make the most of their slender natural resources. These consist of immense forests, largely pine, and of vast water power either developed or still to be developed from the innumerable lakes and rivers. In order to overcome the communist propaganda emanating from neighboring Russia the government promoted a plan for creating as many small freeholders as possible and to this end did not scruple to break up the large individual estates wherever they existed. The country people have thus been won for the new régime, which is a republic with an elected president and a legislature of a single house chosen by universal (male and female) suffrage. In addition to a habit of persistence, characteristic of most northern peoples, the Finns exhibit a happy mixture of courage and caution which augurs well for the future of their state.

Finland

We may examine Esthonia and Latvia together because they are small neighboring republics of a democratic type which in 1927, under the pressure of economic necessity, began negotiations aiming at a customs union. The peoples of the two republics, called Esths and Letts respectively, are totally distinct in blood and language. None the less they have passed through an identical historical experience and have been and still find themselves in much the same social situation. From the thirteenth century, when they were conquered by certain German monkish-military orders, they have both been serf peoples tilling the soil for a small baronial class of German landlords. Not till the early nineteenth century was a change effected in their hard lot. By that time their country, organized as three small states called collectively the Baltic provinces, had passed under the scepter of the Russian tsar. Owing to the liberation of the serfs in the era of Napoleon in the neighboring territories of Prussia and Poland, the serfs were, in order to keep them from running away to free soil, liberated also in the Baltic prov-

Esthonia and Latvia

inces. It was the first ray of light in their dark existence. Gradually the national consciousness of Esths and Letts came to life and by the twentieth century had reached such vigor that when the tsarist rule was overthrown in 1917 both peoples immediately proclaimed their independence. Naturally enough their first step toward national recovery was to redress their ancient social wrongs. In both Esthonia and Latvia, to which the three historical Baltic provinces of Russia were reduced, the vast baronial estates were seized without compensation by the two governments and distributed in small freehold farms of about thirty acres each among the agricultural laborers of the former landlords. This agrarian policy has given the land back to the people. Though now politically free, both Esths and Letts remain in their preponderance poor and backward peasants. Moreover, their farms are not particularly productive except in a few favored sections. The happiest geographic feature about Esthonia and Latvia is that they front on the Baltic sea and enjoy the advantage of an easy access to foreign markets. Their seaboard boasts a number of excellent harbors, such as Reval, Libau, and Riga. None the less they are economically dependent on the vast hinterland of Russia and it is questionable whether they can maintain themselves in the long run without working out a close economic agreement with the Slav mass which overshadows them.

Lithuania

Continuing our southward journey, we come next to another precarious creation, Lithuania. It has a slightly larger area than either Latvia or Esthonia. As it boasts a little more than 2,000,000 inhabitants, it has also a somewhat larger population. The Lithuanians are the remnant of what was once a much more numerous people who have been absorbed by their several neighbors, more particularly the Poles. Before the war a thin upper layer of Polish nobles owned most of the land in Lithuania, much as a small group of German nobles (the so-called Balts) had title to most of Esthonia and Latvia. Since under the influence of the nationalist awakening of the nineteenth century the Lithuanians developed a strong animosity against their masters, they inaugurated their independence, exactly as did their neighbors to the north, by confiscating the great estates and parceling them out to peasants and artisans. It will take decades and perhaps generations before this backward people can hope to overcome the handicap under which it labors resulting from political inexperience and primitive agricultural methods.

A passionate dispute with restored Poland has kept the population and government of Lithuania in continuous ferment. The boundary between Poland and Lithuania was not easy to draw since the two peoples overlap all along the line of junction. However, in a treaty signed between them in 1920 the city of Vilna, which had once been the capital of Lithuania, was assigned to the latter state. But the Polish nationalists, claiming Vilna as their own, refused to accept the settlement and, marching an army into Vilna, took it by force. The Lithuanians, too weak to go to war, cried to heaven and the League of Nations for redress. All their clamor was without avail. Poland calmly incorporated Vilna in its territory and mocked at the threats of its feeble neighbor. None the less these proved to be more than a laughing matter when the Lithuanian government went the length of barricading the highways which led to Poland and of forbidding every exchange of goods. This astonishing condition of complete non-intercourse has now lasted a decade. It need hardly be expressly stated that the Polish-Lithuanian frontier dispute does not contribute to the pacification of post-war Europe.

The Vilna dispute

Paradoxically enough this same Lithuania, victim of a Polish military stroke, practiced an identical affront on a neighbor to the west, whose sole offense was that it was even weaker than weak Lithuania. This neighbor was the city and district of Memel, lopped off from Germany by the Treaty of Versailles and assigned to the victor powers as one of their minor prizes. The new owners put Memel provisionally under a French governor while they debated at their leisure how to dispose of it. It never occurred to these champions of democracy to let the people of Memel determine their own fate for the reason that, if permitted to express an opinion, they would have voted overwhelmingly for reunion with Germany. As that was the one thing the allies would not agree to, they were probably relieved when in 1923 an armed Lithuanian force suddenly invaded the territory. At any rate France, Great Britain, and their associates speedily accepted the new situation by transferring Memel to the Lithuanian state. The upshot is that feeble Lithuania, which might well have been content with one powerful enemy, Poland, has indulged in the luxury of creating a second one in Germany.

Lithuania seizes Memel

Poland is the largest of the new European states, but the Poles are not a revived nationality in the sense of their small neighbors to the north. For, although their country was partitioned in the eighteenth century among Russia, Prussia, and Austria and disappeared from the map, the Polish people never lost their vigorous national consciousness. It was therefore right and proper that they should achieve statehood in 1918 and take their place in a Europe resolved to reorganize itself along national lines. When the peace conference at Paris undertook to draw the boundary of the new Poland, it was confronted with both a geographic and a racial difficulty. As all eastern Europe is a vast undifferentiated plain, the frontier could not be traced by means of convenient mountain barriers; and as the Poles are unusually intermingled with all their neighbors, it was far from easy to define the territory which, in the Wilsonian phrase, was "indisputably Polish." We have just seen how this racial overlapping led to the Vilna dispute with Lithuania. On the whole, the Paris conferees were very favorably disposed toward Poland and when it came to drawing the country's western frontier favored Poland at every turn as against Germany. With the plebiscites out of the way [1] and the Polish-German boundary finally drawn at Paris Poland came into possession of two regions which German public opinion has never ceased to claim as objects of German national aspiration. These are Polish Upper Silesia and the so-called Corridor. Of Polish Upper Silesia we have spoken in the previous chapter. The Corridor is a narrow tongue of land along the lower Vistula separating the mass of Germany from the German province of East Prussia. The Corridor was given to Poland without a plebiscite in order to provide the new state with a Baltic seaboard. The Poles also desired the port of Danzig at the mouth of the Vistula; but as Danzig was quite "indisputably German" it was organized as a Free City incorporated in the Polish customs' union. In this way Danzig, while remaining independent, serves the economic interests of the Polish hinterland.

Problems of the Polish-German frontier

Almost the first act of revived Poland was to engage (1920) in a war with its ancient enemy, Russia. This ended in a Polish victory and enabled the Polish government to draw its boundary as against Russia far to the east of even the liberal line the Paris patrons were willing to concede. The Treaty of Riga, which in October, 1920, terminated the Russo-Polish conflict, permitted Poland to add to the genuinely Polish core around Warsaw a broad fringe of territory to the east in which White Russians and Ukrainians (Ruthenians) constitute the

Problems of the Polish-Russian frontier

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[1] See p. 755.

preponderant element. Through these various circumstances it has come about that Poland is not strictly a national state and that it has to wrestle with difficulties arising from powerful minorities in its midst. These include, in addition to Germans in the west (Upper Silesia, Corridor) and White Russians and Ukrainians in the east, a considerable body of unassimilated Jews. The Jews are the trading element of Polish society and make up a high percentage of the urban population.

The unstable Polish government

Every sober student considering the present and future chances of Poland will give due attention to the difficulties caused, on the one hand, by the incorporation against their will of numerous minority peoples and, on the other, by the presence on the frontiers of the state of the three hostile countries of Germany, Russia, and Lithuania. In certain other respects the outlook is distinctly promising. Poland is not much smaller than post-war Germany and has a population, largely agricultural, of about 30,000,000 people. Its fertile soil may be expected to produce a large export surplus of cereals, pigs, and potatoes as soon as the backward agricultural methods have been improved. Not to be overlooked in even a hurried economic survey are the rich petroleum wells of Galicia and the prosperous mining district of Upper Silesia. Owing to the numerous political parties, expressive of deep class and regional cleavages, the government has been very unstable. It is hard to persuade the many small parties composing parliament to agree to form a compact and durable majority. Disgusted with this situation, the Polish military hero, General Pilsudski, sprang a *coup d'état* in 1925 and has been virtual dictator ever since. However, he has not gone the length of abolishing the parliament. At this juncture (1930) it is not possible to say whether the dictatorship will be employed to effect a constitutional reform in the direction of a strengthened executive (president) or whether it will go farther and replace the republican with a monarchical form of government. Important as the constitutional issue is, it means less for the future of the country than financial sanitation, economic progress, and improved relations with the three offended neighbors, Lithuania, Russia, and Germany.

South of Poland we come upon the important Austrian succession state, Czechoslovakia. It was constructed from the former Austrian provinces of Bohemia, Moravia, and (Austrian) Silesia, to which were added Slovakia and Ruthenia belonging to former Hungary. It is

The peoples of Czechoslovakia

a worm-shaped territory, whose imposing Bohemian head ends far to the east in an inconspicuous Ruthenian tail. The frontiers of the new state cut in a most irrational way across rivers, mountains, and existing avenues of communication. Czechoslovakia owes its capricious form to the desire of the peace conferees to load it with as much territory as possible at the expense of defeated Austria and Hungary. It is not inhabited by a single nationality, although the related groups of the Czechs and Slovaks, which give their name to the state, make up sixty-five per cent of the total population of 14,000,000. It is, however, a fact not to be overlooked that there are so many differences of speech and culture between Czechs and Slovaks that they frequently clash and must, for the present at least, be regarded as distinct Slav families. There even exists a strong nativist party in Slovakia which demands complete autonomy within the Czechoslovak state. A far more disturbing feature than the imperfect union of Czechs and Slovaks is the presence in the state of well over 3,000,000 Germans in the northern and western districts bordering on Germany. Magyars to the number of 700,000 in Slovakia and 460,000 Ruthenians (Ukrainians) in the extreme east further complicate the situation. As the government, located in the capital, Prague, has adopted a conciliatory attitude and grants the minorities certain fundamental cultural rights, above all, in respect to education and the public press, the relation between the ruling and the subject groups is far less tense and dangerous than in Poland.

Czechoslovakia a wealthy agricultural and industrial society

While the eastern sections of the new state obtained from Hungary are undeveloped and backward, the western sections represent, both agriculturally and industrially, the wealthiest provinces of former Austria. Here are to be found abundant coal and iron and the industrial society which these invariably call to life. Here are produced the machine goods which the less developed states of the east and southeast will absorb in exchange for cereals, cattle, and other foodstuffs. As to the outlook for the state it is on the whole excellent with two important reservations. Czechoslovakia can not survive the hostility of its minorities and must seek to keep them satisfied. Also, should it become involved in war, it would with its indefensible boundaries be exposed to grave danger. The president of the republic, the well known philosopher, Masaryk, and the successive cabinets which have served under him seem to be fully aware of these difficulties.

They have consistently striven for peace within and without as the policy imposed by the prevailing conditions. Inevitably the foreign policy rests on the Paris treaties to which the state owes its existence. Together with Jugoslavia and Rumania Czechoslovakia constitutes the Little Entente, the main purpose of which is to keep a watchful eye on restless Hungary. The other possible enemy of Czechoslovakia is Germany. For protection against Germany Czechoslovakia relies on a formal military alliance with France.

Austria forbidden to join Germany

When the Hapsburg monarchy fell apart, the purely German areas organized as a republic under the name of Austria and, on the principle of nationality, voted their union with the new German republic. Indignant at this resort to one of their own principles on the part of an enemy for whom it was not intended, the allies forbade the union and put both Germany and Austria under oath to live in single blessedness. As matters have stood ever since, only in case the Council of the League of Nations unanimously endorses the absorption of Austria into Germany can the union be effected.

Austria doomed to economic misery

The republic of Austria is composed of the Danubian region around Vienna (the provinces called Upper and Lower Austria) and the Alpine provinces of Salzburg, Carinthia, Styria, Tyrol, and Vorarlberg. The single city of Vienna contains almost one-third of the total population of 6,000,000. Once the capital of a mighty empire, Vienna is now the over-grown metropolis of a small mountain state which can not satisfy the food needs of the Danubian city nor afford to buy its manufactures. Further, because the many small units into which the Austro-Hungarian monarchy has been dissolved have surrounded themselves with high tariff walls, Vienna can not send its wares to its former markets. The immediate effect of the peace was therefore a terrible economic crisis which shook Vienna and the new republic to the foundations. Hundreds of people died of starvation and thousands would have followed in their wake had not help been given from outside by way of charity and credits. The whole state indeed tottered on the edge of destruction. To save it from the abyss the League of Nations intervened in 1922 and under its steadying support Austria was enabled to float an international loan. With this money the national currency was stabilized and the budget balanced. Since then an equilibrated state of general misery has marked the situation permitting the chronicler to affirm that Austria still breathes.

What Austria needs to regain its health is association with a vigorous economic unit in which it can freely market its products. The only such unit in sight is Germany, fusion with which is forbidden by the Paris treaties. This does not hinder the Austrians from agitating for this fusion (*Anschluss*) with all their might and even more for economic than for political reasons. Anschluss is the leading issue of Austrian public life, but another runs it a close second. It is the struggle between industrial Vienna, where radical socialist elements wield the power, and the provinces, which constitute the stronghold of peasant and middle class conservatism. Each side maintains a semi-military organization to defend its position with the result that the two militias, the socialist *Schutzbund* and the provincial *Heimwehr*, are constantly making warlike gestures at each other. To avoid civil war Austria will have to find a remedy for its deep social schism. In 1929 some progress was happily made toward peace by constitutional changes which strengthened the powers of the president and have led to proposals for the disarmament of both hostile militias.

The two pressing Austrian issues

When the lords of Europe, assembled at Paris, applied the principle of nationality to the former kingdom of Hungary, they gave the northern area (Slovakia) to Czechoslovakia, the southern (Croatia, Banat) to Jugoslavia, a vast eastern zone (Transylvania) to Rumania, and a narrow western strip (Burgenland) to Austria. By these several major operations Hungary was reduced to less than one-third of its former extent and to a population of somewhat over 8,000,000. The new Hungary is a national state of Hungarians (Magyars), which was not the case with pre-war Hungary. However, the new frontiers were drawn in so partisan and anti-Hungarian a manner that no less than 3,000,000 Hungarians were distributed among the victor states of Czechoslovakia, Jugoslavia, and Rumania. Whereas old Hungary embraced numerous subject nationalities within its limits, the victorious neighbors have since 1919 reversed the situation and now hold considerable bodies of Magyars in unwilling bondage.

Reduced Hungary

The fate meted out to Hungary at Paris brings out the fact that the principle of nationality, so generally revered in our day, often runs gravely counter to the dictates of geography and political economy. Hungary before the war was the fertile region of the middle Danube. It presented itself to view as a core of rich agricultural land with peripheral areas along the slopes of

Economic difficulties

the Carpathians which supplied such needed raw products as lumber and minerals. By extending to the head of the Adriatic at Fiume old Hungary had also an advantageous access to the sea. All this signified a balanced economy within a natural geographic unit which the new boundaries ruthlessly destroyed. Admitting that the severed sections have themselves suffered from this economic dislocation, it remains true that reduced Hungary with its capital, Budapest, has suffered more. Although still an opulent agricultural community, the new state was cut off from its normal supplies of timber, coal, and metals. There followed a period of acute distress which was not relieved until 1923, when the League of Nations intervened, as it had already done in Austria in the previous year. By means of an international loan Hungary was put on its feet and rewarded the sponsors of the loan by making a rapid recovery. There followed a partial adjustment to the harsh, new conditions with the result that Hungary may be considered to be again enjoying fair economic health. That must not be taken to mean, however, that the Hungarian people have ever for a moment ceased to protest against the dismemberment which their country suffered at Paris.

Hungary a dictatorship

Following the communist interlude of the spring of 1919 when Bela Kun with a group of Russian agents ruled the country for a few months, Hungary experienced a strong political rebound. So far did the pendulum swing toward conservatism that even the republican form of government was given up in favor of a return to the ancient monarchical constitution. As Hungary has bound itself to the allies not to recall the Hapsburgs, and as it has been unable thus far (1930) to agree on any other candidate for the vacant throne, the royal office is exercised by a regent. This is Admiral Horthy. In view of the fact that the elected parliament is overwhelmingly conservative, the tenor of the whole Horthy government is conspicuously conservative and reactionary. It is hardly an exaggeration to characterize it as a dictatorship of the fascist type. To keep this government in check the victorious neighbors, Czechoslovakia, Jugoslavia, and Rumania, have formed the military alliance known as the Little Entente. As France in its turn stands shoulder to shoulder with the members of the Little Entente, there is no immediate prospect that Hungary will be able, either by peaceful or by warlike means, to effect the revision of the Treaty of Trianon which it so hotly craves.

When the kingdom of Rumania joined the allies in 1916, it was promised liberal territorial gains in the event of an allied victory. These promises were more than generously fulfilled at Paris. Rumania received Transylvania, Bukovina, and a part of the Banat from Austria-Hungary and Bessarabia from Russia. These additions doubled her territory and brought her population to about 16,000,000. Since numerous Magyars, Ruthenians (Ukrainians), Germans, Bulgarians, and Jews were included within the new frontiers, post-war Rumania is troubled with a minorities problem only a little less acute than that of Poland. However, the Rumanians form the compact core of the enlarged state and, being in possession of a rich country, look not without a justified confidence into the future. The Carpathian mountains occupy the center of the country and constitute its outstanding physical feature. Thickly covered with immense forests interspersed with excellent grazing grounds, they represent a vast treasure in terms of the lumber and cattle industries. Around the foot-hills toward the capital city, Bucharest, lie invaluable petroleum areas. Finally, the broad belt of the Danubian lowlands is one of the most productive areas in every variety of cereal to be found anywhere in Europe.

Enlarged Rumania

If countries developed automatically on the basis of their natural resources the future of Rumania would be assured and brilliant. But the human factor is inseparable from every economic forecast and the human factor in this Carpathian country is unusually problematical. The great preponderance of the population consists of backward, illiterate peasants, who until quite recently (1863) were serfs. As the land was generally held in large estates, the peasants have steadily striven to better themselves by becoming small freeholders; and in order to placate them the government, long before the World War, adopted the policy of parceling out some of the great estates to them from time to time. Such distributions took place in 1864, in 1889, and in 1907. Nevertheless the land hunger of the agriculturists persisted in so furious a form that in the period after the war it could not be appeased with anything short of a new and sweeping distribution. The imposing latifundia once so characteristic of Rumania have now either disappeared entirely or else are represented by farms of a maximum extent of 200 acres. Gone too, or at least going, is the political control formerly exercised by the landed magnates. They are a dying class and the future rests with the peasants. This social-political trend was clearly indicated by the elections of 1929, in which the National Peasant party won a resound-

The peasant problem

ing victory and took over the government. Is Rumania going to be a state run by and for peasants? Or will the urban elements, organized in the defeated Liberal party, regain the upper hand and transform Rumania into a modern industrial state?

Rumania's foreign policy

No less important than this domestic issue is the question of Rumania's relation to its growling neighbors, west and east, Hungary and Russia. Neither accepts in its heart the territorial losses to which it was condemned at the close of the war. Fully aware of the precariousness of the peace it enjoys, Rumania has fortified its position by the same means as Czechoslovakia, that is, by the Little Entente, on the one hand, and by a military treaty with all-powerful France, on the other. Latterly it has also entered into an alliance with Poland against their common enemy, Russia.

Jugoslavia

The kingdom of Serbia, famous *fons et origo* of the World War, was abundantly indemnified in the peace treaties. In the course of the long struggle representative Serbs had made arrangements with spokesmen of the other two South Slav groups, the Croatians and the Slovenes, looking forward to a union of the three peoples after the conflict. Accordingly, the Hapsburg monarchy had no sooner fallen apart than all its provinces inhabited by South Slavs gravitated toward Serbia. These were Croatia, Batchka, Banat — these three belonging to Hungary — and Carniola and Dalmatia belonging to former Austria. Of course those ancient apples of discord, Bosnia and Herzegovina, belonging to both Austria and Hungary, went the same way. Further, most of Macedonia, acquired in the Balkan wars of 1912–13 but lost during the World War, was again taken over, as was also the mountain eyrie of Montenegro. Little Serbia, swollen by all these accessions, is now currently called Jugoslavia, which is, being translated, the land of the South Slavs; but it should be noted that its official title is "Kingdom of the Serbs, Croatians, and Slovenes." Among the 13,000,000 inhabitants there are some foreign groups, which it will prove difficult to assimilate, Magyars and Germans in the north, Albanians and Macedonians in the south. Of them all the Macedonians are perhaps the most dangerous, for they look for deliverance toward Bulgaria, to which they feel racially closer than to Serbia and which willingly gives them encouragement.

The gravest domestic difficulty of Jugoslavia takes the form of centralization versus local autonomy. Because the Serbs, who are the most numerous and powerful of the three South Slav groups joined in the new state, favored a close-knit government, they imposed a constitution favorable to themselves. By virtue thereof political power is concentrated in the hands of a king, cabinet, and parliament located at Belgrad. Against this development the Croatians and, to a less extent, the Slovenes, have never ceased to protest as they prefer a loose, federative system. The conflict precipitated a long succession of crises culminating in January, 1929, in a *coup d'état* carried through by King Alexander. Not only did he sweep the Croatian opposition from the boards, but he dissolved parliament, canceled the constitution, and abolished the freedom of the press. In thus making himself dictator Alexander followed a fashion which threatens to become general in southern and eastern Europe, as the cases of Admiral Horthy in Hungary and of Premier Mussolini in Italy sufficiently attest. The Serb dictator has declared that it is his intention to hold the Jugoslavs together at all costs. He faces a difficult situation which is not made easier by the suppression — even though it be temporary — of the personal and local liberties which the constituent groups of his young kingdom claim as their inalienable right.

Centralization versus local autonomy

The foreign situation of Jugoslavia is also fraught with perils. Let us concede that the hostility of Bulgaria over the loss of Macedonia is not alarming so long as Bulgaria remains as feeble and isolated as is the case today. But the sharp rivalry with Italy is another matter. It began with the negotiations at Paris, where Italy claimed the city of Fiume, though it was the natural outlet toward the Adriatic of the new Jugoslav state. Not content with Fiume, the Italian plenipotentiaries also asked for the greater part of Dalmatia in accordance with the promises made them by the allies when they entered the war (Treaty of London, 1915). So bitterly contested were these boundary disputes between the two states that they were not settled till November, 1920, in the Treaty of Rapallo. Even then a number of matters remained unregulated which were not adjusted till 1924. When all was over Italy found itself in possession of the coveted Fiume, but Jugoslavia had acquired Dalmatia with the exception of the port of Zara and a few small but strategically important islands. The settlement has not converted the rivals into friends. In 1926 Italy signed a treaty with Albania which reduced that country to a virtual protectorate and which consequently gives Italy a powerful foothold on the Jugoslav side of the Adriatic. Thoroughly alarmed at the stealthy move, Jugoslavia strengthened

The conflict with Italy

her hand by negotiating a formal treaty of alliance with France. No one may close his eyes to the critical situation which exists in the Adriatic and which is doubly dangerous because it brings the two leading Latin powers face to face.

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CHAPTER XXXVII

THE BALKAN PENINSULA, TURKEY, AND THE ARAB WORLD

The Balkan peninsula less in the public eye than before the war

The Balkan peninsula is no longer the European storm-center as which it was celebrated and feared before the World War. It had proved itself a storm-center for the reason that Austria-Hungary and Russia had made it the battle-ground of their political ambitions. When the war was over, Austria-Hungary had disappeared and Russia, converted into a communist republic, was too much occupied with domestic difficulties to engage in Balkan adventures. But the disappearance of the Austro-Russian rivalry did not signify that all was quiet on the Balkan front. By no means. First of all, there was vanquished Bulgaria. Having been obliged to give up considerable territory to Serbia, Greece, and Rumania, it nursed an ill-concealed animosity against these neighbors. This made for an unrest which was further fed by such ancient and apparently incurable feuds as existed between Greece and Turkey. But far and away the chief source of trouble was the friction between Jugoslavia and Italy which had the particularly evil feature of drawing France upon the scene as Jugoslavia's defender. It is not outside the range of possibilities that the two great powers, France and Italy, will in time again convert the Balkan peninsula into the storm-center it was in the good old days when Austria and Russia set all Europe by the ears by reason of their unchecked competition in this area.

The list of Balkan states

We took note in the previous chapter of how by obtaining Hapsburg territories at the close of the war Serbia and Rumania, typical Balkan states before 1914, projected themselves well into central Europe. None the less they continued to stand with one foot in Balkania and must, for a proper evaluation of their present-day position, be looked on both as Austrian succession and as Balkan states. As we have already reviewed their general situation we shall not return to them in this chapter but confine ourselves to the remaining states of the peninsula. These are Bulgaria, Albania, Greece, and Turkey. Since post-war Turkey has transferred its center of gravity to Asia Minor, it shares with Jugoslavia and Rumania the distinction that, while it is a Balkan state, it can not be rated as exclusively Balkan.

Bulgarian losses

The Treaty of Neuilly of 1919 reduced the kingdom of Bulgaria to a sorry plight. Like the other defeated states it was obliged to pay a crushing indemnity and submit to a detailed limitation of armament. But the worst feature of the treaty in the eyes of the Bulgarian people was that, in addition to the territorial losses inflicted at the close of the Second Balkan War of 1913, their state was obliged to surrender certain western districts to Serbia and its whole Aegean seaboard to Greece. By this latter operation Bulgaria became exclusively a Black sea state with no other access to the avenues of world trade than by her relatively inconvenient eastern coast.

Bulgaria and Macedonia

That the Bulgars have ever since 1919 complained of their losses goes without saying; but the real conflict with Greece and Serbia (become Jugoslavia) continues to concern that province of Macedonia, over which the two Balkan wars of 1912–13 were chiefly waged. Let us recall that Macedonia was an ethnically mixed area, certain peripheral sections of which could very properly be claimed by Serbia and Greece on the strength of the nationality argument. The core of Macedonia, however, was inhabited by neither Serbs nor Greeks but by Macedonians, who, though a mixed Slav stock, would seem to be Bulgars rather than Serbs. In any case they have in their majority given unchallengeable evidence that, if left to themselves, they would choose to be incorporated in Bulgaria. This consummation Serbia and Greece, which in 1913 divided Macedonia between them, are resolved to hinder at all costs. They have established a harsh police régime in their respective sections, which a lawless element among the natives has met with a secret revolutionary organization and the creation of a reign of terror. Macedonia, hapless land of Cain before the war, still labors under the curse of fratricide and violence. This perpetuated state of chaos Serbia and Greece declare to be a purely internal question — a declaration not strictly true since behind insurgent Macedonia looms Bulgaria, which has not ceased to look upon the Macedonians as enslaved Bulgar brothers.

The Dobrudja

Hardly less than with Serbia and Greece over Macedonia is Bulgaria embroiled with Rumania over the Dobrudja, the peninsular plateau at the mouth of the Danube. This, too, is a racially mixed area, but the Bulgars probably preponderate over the other two groups of Turks and Rumanians. Having acquired the bulk of the Dobrudja at the Congress of Berlin (1878), Rumania, in addition, demanded and received a broad southern zone as its reward for helping to defeat Bulgaria in the Second Balkan War (1913). Macedonia, Dobrudja, and the Aegean seaboard signify three raw spots in the Bulgarian national consciousness.

Will Bulgaria join Jugoslavia?

It has often been suggested that the easiest way for Bulgaria to end her isolation in the Balkans would be to join Jugoslavia. Besides, this would seem to be in accord with nationalist reasoning since the Bulgars, too, are a South Slav people. But reason does not count for much against passion; and so much hatred has been piled up between Belgrad and Sofia that to remove it will be a greater labor than any ever credited to Hercules. Still the task may lure some South Slav statesman of the future. Meanwhile Bulgaria, a country of some 4,000,000 inhabitants, will have to get along by itself as best it can. It is organized as a constitutional monarchy. The reigning king is Boris, son of Ferdinand, who was obliged to abdicate in 1918 in consequence of Bulgaria's defeat in the war. Socially considered, Bulgaria is a land of small independent farmers. It has practically no industry and little chance to develop one, owing to the absence of mineral deposits. Essentially a peasant folk, the Bulgars have the merits and demerits usually encountered in sturdy, hard-working, and unimaginative children of the soil.

The difficulties of Albania

The Albanians, who are the most undeveloped of the Balkan peoples, did not achieve statehood till 1913. During the World War their territory was overrun by all the combatants in turn. At one time the entente allies planned to partition Albania, but they suffered a change of heart and finally agreed that it should be independent. When in 1920 this feeble state, snatched as a brand from the burning, was admitted to membership in the League of Nations, it may be considered to have achieved a certain guarantee of permanence. But so serious are its problems that no one short of a confirmed optimist would venture to prophesy that it will retain its independence. Albania is a mountainous country with a few fertile valley floors and no mineral wealth of any considerable promise. Its people, numbering hardly 1,000,000 souls, are a very primitive folk. In the northern hills they are still organized in tribes and live by the barbarous code of the blood-feud. As the Albanians, who speak several distinct dialects, have adopted an alphabet and a written language only in recent years, they labor under the handicap of an all but universal illiteracy. Granting that they are honest, loyal, and courageous, these are no more than the usual traits of primitive mountaineers and are not enough to enable them to struggle successfully against their more civilized neighbors. In addition to all these drawbacks they suffer from religious differences. The Albanians of the center, well over sixty per cent of the population, are Mohammedans, while the northern Albanians belong to the Roman Catholic Church and the southern Albanians are of Greek Orthodox persuasion. This means an average of three Moslems for every two Christians.

Zog I becomes an Italian vassal

Under these circumstances the government, republican in form, proved itself lamentably weak. The Albanians were simply not ripe for self-rule. In 1925 a native adventurer, Ahmed Zogu by name, seized the power and, after playing at dictator for a period, in 1928 established a monarchy with himself as king. He has figured in the dispatches since that event as Zog I. Conceding that a much divided country like Albania is probably best served by a benevolent despot, it does not follow that the despot has an easy time of it. The outstanding advantage for Albania of King Zog's usurpation of power is that, whenever he decides for a particular policy, it can be carried through without wavering. The policy itself, however, is certain to reflect all the difficulties inherent in the situation. Let us take a concrete instance: unable to raise money from his impoverished people by taxation, the dictator was gravely embarrassed, as the country lacked roads, harbors, judges, police, and soldiers. Indeed it lacked everything suggestive of civilization since it had been content merely to vegetate for hundreds of years. No one outside Albania showed any inclination to lend the chaotic land as much as a penny with the single exception of Italy; and Italy, after the fashion of imperialist states, insisted on being repaid for its generosity with economic, financial, and political concessions which in their sum denoted a protectorate. We may assume that the Albanian ruler was aware of all the implications of the Italian proposals; he had his qualms but in the end he struck the required bargain.

The Italo-Albanian treaty was signed in 1926 (Pact of Tirana). Since then roads have been built, the country has been pacified by means of police and courts, and a small, highly efficient army has been drilled and equipped under Italian instructors. Undeniably the winds of modernity are for the first time in history blowing across the Albanian valleys; but King Zog has been obliged to pay the price by putting himself under Italian authority. It is too early to say what the upshot will be. The Italians are gleeful at having armed a dependent vassal against their Adriatic rival, Jugoslavia. As already stated, this has caused Jugoslavia to throw itself in sudden alarm into the arms of France. Though a tense situation has resulted throughout Balkania, he would be rash indeed who, so far as Albania is concerned, would venture to affirm that this land of brave, fighting hillmen is unescapably doomed to end its existence as an Italian colony. It would certainly not be without precedent if Albania, leaning heavily on Italy in its youth, should, on attaining manhood, turn a cold and ungrateful back on its protector.

Consequences of the Italo-Albanian friendship

Although the kingdom of Greece refused for a long time during the World War to give up its neutrality, strong allied pressure brought it into the struggle just in time (1917) to enable it to take its place among the victors. It was represented at Paris by its leading statesman, Venizelos, who proved himself an ardent champion of Greek nationalism. Venizelos demanded the surrender to the kingdom of all Greek territories not yet incorporated therein. This was an impeccable ambition in the light of the Wilsonian principles supposed to guide the Paris deliberations. But, like all the other champions of nationalism, Venizelos resolved to use the favorable hour of victory for gathering in as much additional territory as he could lay his hands on. The result was that Greece gained from Bulgaria a coastal strip on the Aegean and from Turkey the whole of eastern Thrace right up to the walls of Constantinople. She received, besides, another and signally important slice of Turkey outside of Europe. This was a salient of western Asia Minor centered upon the rich trading city of Smyrna. True, the Greeks constituted a far from negligible ethnic element in all the above Bulgar and Turk areas; on the other hand, they were not in indisputable ascendancy. In short, the Greek accessions secured by Venizelos were from a national angle debatable ground.

The Greek gains of 1919

Even more ominous than these dubious claims was that behind the liberality manifested by the allies toward their Hellenic protégée lurked a most sinister thought. About to carve up the Ottoman Empire in the Treaty of Sèvres (to be presently discussed), the allies needed an army to cow the Turks

Greece the tool of the allies

into a duly submissive frame of mind. As their own troops were too war-weary for this distant work, they bethought themselves of the Greeks, who, having hardly got into the recent fray, were like hounds straining at the leash. The offer was too tempting for the flattered Venizelos to resist and he agreed to send a force into Asia Minor (Anatolia) to hold the Turks in check. In substance the Greeks undertook to act as a sheriff's posse to eject the Turks from the house which the allies coveted and which the Turks had the impertinence to regard as their own.

The Greek losses of 1923

After a few initial successes the Greek army was in September, 1922, overwhelmed with disaster. Under their new leader, Mustapha Kemal, the Turks pursued the routed Greeks to Smyrna and finally drove them, together with thousands of Greek civilian refugees, out of Asia Minor. Recognizing that their plan for overawing the Turks had suffered shipwreck, the allies stepped in between the Greeks and their conquerors, signed an armistice which ended hostilities, and then agreed to meet Turk representatives in Switzerland for a final settlement. Of course the Greeks lost heavily in the resulting Treaty of Lausanne (1923). They had to surrender to the Turks their Smyrna salient as well as that part of eastern Thrace which constituted the immediate hinterland of Constantinople. In addition they had to agree to a compulsory exchange of populations. This was imposed by Kemal because he was resolved to get rid of the Greek minorities in Anatolia to the end of making it a solidly Turk territory. As a concession, it is true, he agreed to accept in exchange for the Greeks of Asia Minor the Macedonian Turks whom the Greeks were privileged to expel in order to make room for the Smyrna refugees. In the next few years this exchange and resettlement, involving several million Greeks and Turks, was carried through, not without pain and heartache we may well believe, but also with the ultimate advantage of eliminating the political friction which the entanglement of two hostile peoples on the same soil inevitably produces. The Greeks and the Turks are still far from being friends, but when Macedonia shall have become wholly Greek and Anatolia wholly Turk, at least there will be no longer any nationalist reason for a war between Greece and Turkey over these two provinces.

Greece a republic

The catastrophe of 1922 produced a long series of domestic disturbances in Greece. No government could maintain itself in power longer than for a few months. Finally, in 1924, the Danish dynasty, established on the throne in 1863 in the person of George I, was deposed and a republic proclaimed. In spite of continued party strife the republic is gaining strength and may survive. But, as in the case of all the other youthful states of Europe, the future of Greece depends less on the form of government than on the intelligence and resolution the people will show in facing their problems and opportunities. Greece is a poor land, largely mountainous and with but few mineral resources. It is obliged to import its manufactures and even most of its cereals. Its exports are valuable semi-tropical products, chiefly olives, olive-oil, figs, and wine. Its greatest asset is its broken coast-line and the sea-faring population to which dependence on water communication has given birth. Greek vessels ply the eastern Mediterranean in every direction and constitute the basis of a valuable carrying trade.

Italy and Britain in possession of Greek islands

However, the Italians are advancing steadily as rivals of the Greeks in east-Mediterranean shipping. When in the Lausanne settlement of 1923 they acquired, together with Rhodes, the island group west and north of Rhodes known as the Dodecanese, they gained a valuable base for this commerce. Rhodes and the Dodecanese signify an Italian holding in Greek waters and promise to make mischief between Italy and Greece. That the British have retained the Greek island of Cyprus, acquired from Turkey in 1878, is also displeasing to the Greeks but less immediately provocative of trouble. Except for the retention by the two powers named of their respective island areas Greece has now assembled within her boundaries all the lands to which she has an indubitable national claim. Under these circumstances it would be a happy change if she could persuade herself to give up her excessive interest in foreign affairs in favor of an undivided attention to pressing domestic problems.

Disposal of the Arab lands of the Ottoman Empire

In turning to Turkey we face the story of an almost miraculous recovery from the defeat suffered in the World War. In October, 1918, the Ottoman Empire lay or seemed to lie at the mercy of the victors, who proceeded to make the most of the favorable situation. Arabia, Syria, and Mesopotamia, important provinces of the Ottoman Empire, were essentially Arab, that is, non-Turkish lands. This must always be kept in mind, for it made it possible to dispose of them without regard for the beaten Turks. On the Red sea coast of the vast peninsula of Arabia the Hedjaz was established as an independent Arab state under a sheik acclaimed as King Hussein. On the strength of certain promises made to him by Great Britain this desert warrior hoped to be rewarded for his help against the Turks during the war with the rule also over the Arabs of Syria and Mesopotamia. He dreamed of becoming a pan-Arab ruler. But Great Britain and France had other plans. While the fighting was still in progress they had agreed to divide Syria and Mesopotamia between themselves. After further negotiations at Paris in 1919, it was decided that France should receive northern Syria with a generous segment of desert toward Mesopotamia, while Great Britain should acquire the remaining Arab lands in three separate units, southern Syria or Palestine, Transjordan, and Iraq. All four Arab conquests were accommodated to the mandate system of the League of Nations and are therefore held by France and Britain not in fee simple but as mandates under League auspices.

The allies agree to partition Turkey

With the Arab regions disposed of, there remained for consideration the prevailingly Turkish area of Asia Minor (Anatolia) together with the imperial city of Constantinople. At once grave difficulties arose among the victors. During the war Russia, as a leading ally, had been promised not only Constantinople and the straits but also a vast segment of northeastern Asia Minor adjoining the Caucasus. Having gone Bolshevik, Russia was adjudged to have forfeited its claim. But Italy stepped forward to fill the gap and, after many sharp debates, Great Britain, France, and Italy at last agreed to assign Anatolia to themselves as the three exclusive beneficiaries. Their elaborate partition scheme was laid down in the Treaty of Sèvres. Although it was in effect the death sentence of the sultan, they forced an intimidated representative of that potentate to affix his signature to it in August, 1920.

Turk resistance organized by Mustapha Kemal

We need not occupy ourselves with the details of the Sèvres treaty for the reason that it remained a pious hope and was never executed. It was the Turks themselves who scuttled it. Although routed in the war, they had been swiftly reorganized by a remarkable leader, Mustapha Kemal, in order manfully to resist the extinction which he divined would be decreed against his people. No sooner did the Treaty of Sèvres become known in the heart of Anatolia, where Kemal had established his power, than it was rejected and a passionate appeal made to the Turkish people to renew the fight. A congress assembled at Angora drew up a platform, called the National Pact, which claimed for the Turks the same right of self-determination within the areas preponderantly Turkish as was theoretically conceded to all other peoples. Thereupon the allies struck that bargain with Venizelos already mentioned and the Greek army was set in motion to bring the stubborn Turks to terms. We know the outcome. In September, 1922, the too audacious Greeks met disaster on the battle-field. The victorious Turks did not rest until they had captured Smyrna and driven every Greek soldier out of Anatolia.

Boundaries of the new Turkey

In July, 1923, representatives of Turkey and the allied powers signed the Treaty of Lausanne, which replaced the rejected Treaty of Sèvres. A little less than five years after the Turks had apparently received a knock-out blow, they obliged the victors to accept a settlement which, though it did not reëstablish the Ottoman Empire, gave the reborn Turkish people everything they wanted. This was independence within their national frontiers and security from European exploitation. The amazing triumph was due to Mustapha Kemal and the determination to do or die which he had called to life. The new Turkey, conceived as a national unit, was given unqualified possession of Anatolia and became thereby in a geographical sense an essentially Asiatic state. But it did not surrender its European foothold at Constantinople. Indeed Greece was obliged to hand over a part of eastern Thrace in order to provide a more acceptable hinterland for the metropolis on the Bosporus.

The straits settlement

A remarkable arrangement was made for the straits (Bosporus, Dardanelles) in the hope of satisfying the claims which all sea-faring nations were rightly conceived to have in this important avenue of communications. In time of peace the straits were declared to be open on the same terms to all vessels of all nations, whether merchantmen or warships; in time of war they were to be open only to the vessels of neutrals. To give effect to this concession Turkey agreed to demilitarize a narrow strip of coast on either side of these two waterways. That the legitimate needs of transit in peace-time are met by these arrangements may be granted. Whether they will survive the strain of war is another matter. Most commentators are inclined to hold that the control by Turkey of the Bosporus-Dardanelles channel is as complete now as it ever was and that she can quickly fortify it at the approach of war. A final benefit demanded and received by Turkey at Lausanne was the cancelation of the Capitulations. These were the special privileges of ancient date by virtue of which European nationals resident on Turkish soil were amenable to their own but not to Turkish courts. This irksome limitation of Turkish sovereignty was formally abolished in spite of the stubborn resistance of the western powers.

Turkey committed to a policy of Europeanization

"The Ottoman Empire is dead. Long live Turkey!" This nationalist slogan well expresses the modern fervor behind the Kemalists. As soon as they had made their state secure against the outside world they proceeded to realize their domestic aims in government and society. The first step was to depose the sultan and proclaim (October, 1923) new Turkey a republic with its capital at Angora in central Anatolia. Constantinople, because identified with the now defunct Ottoman Empire, was purposely set aside. Welcome to such importance as it might claim as a great mart of trade, it was too cosmopolitan in structure and geographically too peripheral to serve as the heart of a Turkish national state. Of course none other than Mustapha Kemal, the savior of his people, would do as president of the new republic and he was accordingly elected to this post. By the terms of the constitution he is assisted in the work of government by an elected parliament of a single house. In vigorous pursuit of the policy of Europeanization the Caliphate was abolished in 1924 as a first step toward freeing Turk society from the hitherto all but absolute control of religion. There followed the appropriation of the property of the Mohammedan church, the closing of the religious schools, and the inauguration of a system of public schools designed to give a western, utilitarian education to all boys and girls. While the people continue to adhere to the Mohammedan faith, they are now encouraged to be, first of all, Turkish citizens. Western systems of law have superseded the ancient Moslem system and even western dress has been made obligatory by the abolition of those two symbols of an oriental outlook on the world, the fez of the men and the veil of the women. Does this hectic reform activity signify that republican Turkey is now on a level with the nations of the west? Certainly not! Under favorable circumstances it will require several decades for her to catch up even with her relatively backward neighbors of Balkania. The meaning of the measures just recited is this and nothing more: inspired by an indomitable leader, the Turks have declared their will to abandon their heritage and follow, for better and for worse, the path of European civilization.

The outlook for the Arab areas detached from Turkey by the

World War is still far from clear. The most advanced Arab region is French Syria because it stretches along the coast and is open to the influences of trade. On several occasions since the close of the war Syria has raised the banner of revolt against its European masters in the hope of forcing them to make concessions to the native program of self-government. At last in May, 1930, the French government yielded to this pressure and accepted, with certain reservations, a constitution elaborated by a Syrian Constituent Assembly. The immediate outlook therefore is that Syria will be organized as a republic, subject to French control but enjoying a large measure of autonomy.

Unrest in Syria

What the student of the Near East will be henceforth obliged particularly to reckon with is the pan-Arab movement. This hopes to persuade all Arabs to coöperate politically and will be recognized at once to be, like Turkish nationalism, an off-shoot of Europe. However, Arabism is still weak and may long continue so, owing to the hard economic conditions which prevail throughout the Arab world and, still more emphatically, because of the separatist tribal organization unescapably imposed by desert life. The normal center for the Arab movement is the Hedjaz, within which lie the two holy Moslem cities, Mecca and Medina. It is a further recommendation of the Hedjaz that it is the only Arab land which enjoys the status of an independent kingdom. But the British-made sovereign, King Hussein, was in 1925 driven out of the Hedjaz by a rival, Ibn Saud, who, a valiant warrior, has very nearly succeeded since in uniting all of Arabia under his scepter. This may look like a nationalist advance and within narrow limits it is; but the Arabs of Transjordan, Iraq, and Syria register little enthusiasm for the rude desert king of Arabia and still less inclination to submit to his rule. Besides, they can not move without the consent of France and Great Britain, who hold them in subjection. It would therefore be premature to make any statement at this juncture regarding the pan-Arab movement beyond that it exists and that it may in the course of time overcome its many difficulties.

The pan-Arab movement

A very special problem of the Arab area is southern Syria or Palestine. On being taken over by the British, it was, in accordance with a promise made during the war, declared to be a homeland for the Jews. This meant, if it meant anything, that the Jews were free to migrate thither and take the land in gradual possession. Such was in fact the interpretation

The problem of Palestine

attached by the Jews throughout the world to the British (or so-called Balfour) declaration. At the same time the British, in order not to affront unnecessarily the Moslem world, announced that the Arabs, who constituted well over eighty per cent of the population, were to be protected in their historical rights. Can these two contradictory positions be brought into harmony? At this moment, some ten years after the start of the experiment, the outlook is decidedly troubled. On the strength of the invitation of the British, who hold Palestine as a mandated territory, the Jews have poured into Palestine in considerable numbers. Supported by the enthusiasm and resources of their co-religionists of Europe and America, they have improved the productivity of the soil, laid out modern highways, and built excellent schools and hospitals. Undoubtedly the Arabs have benefited from the invasion but they have also increasingly resented it. In sum, the Jewish immigration has lighted at a new point the ever dangerous fires of nationalism. In the summer of 1929 the problem was revealed to the whole world. There were clashes between Jews and Arabs at a dozen points accompanied by murders and an indiscriminate destruction of property. Only the prompt arrival of British troops kept the movement from degenerating into a wild civil convulsion. How the Arabs and Jews are going to be persuaded amicably to share the same fatherland is at present hidden from the most perspicacious observer.

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CHAPTER XXXVIII

RUSSIA AND ITALY

Reasons for bracketing Russia and Italy

At first glance it may seem a trifle far-fetched to couple in a review of post-war Europe two countries geographically and politically so far removed from each other as Russia and Italy. But if we hold to the plan of this book to follow the unfolding of western civilization, the procedure becomes defensible and rational. For western civilization has been like a river, which, while it sometimes changes its direction, flows with ever increasing volume and momentum in a single stream-bed. Even when in past ages there have arisen among the European nations, which have been the carriers of this civilization, differences pushing them finally to the arbitrament of war, they have continued to share a body of ideas and institutions which have never ceased to constitute a common background. Then came the World War. It was more destructive than any war ever waged, so much so that it threatened to end our civilization altogether. None the less it was no sooner over than the interrupted associative processes among the combatants began again. And at once the leading nations re-dedicated themselves to the liberal-democratic ideology which had come to the front in the nineteenth century and of which the outstanding features were free speech, free assembly, free worship, democratic suffrage, and parliamentary representation. But two countries, Russia and Italy, each in its own particular manner, turned sharply from this program. For reasons to be presently examined each abandoned liberalism and developed in conscious opposition to the prevailing creed, the one a system called communism, the other a system called fascism. Since communism and fascism represent two remarkable departures from the ruling western norm, it follows that they may be bracketed together, even though they are as hostile to each other as both are hostile to the democratic system.

We had our last glimpse of Russia in March, 1917, when hungry, war-weary, and disillusioned, it rose against Tsar Nicholas II and overthrew him. It was a liberal-bourgeois government which first took over the reins to be replaced, after a few months, by a moderate socialist government. Since revolutions have a way of swinging ever more and more to the left, in November, 1917, the moderate socialist group was in its turn ousted by a body of radical socialists, called Bolshevists or Bolsheviks. The Bolshevists enjoyed the leadership of a number of very capable men, of whom Nicolas Lenin was the acknowledged chief. They made up for their lack of numbers by an effective organization of a military type and by a fervor of belief in their program, for the like of which one has to turn to the history of religion.

The Bolshevists seize the power

The Bolshevist program proclaimed as its general aim the taking over by the workers of all means of production. It is undeniable that all variants of socialism since the days of Karl Marx have sounded the same note. Wherein the Bolshevists showed originality was that they advocated a new tactic to attain the desired goal. Its essence was direct action, that is, the immediate and ruthless use of force to gain control of government and industry. To the cry: *all power to the workers, peasants, and soldiers*, Lenin and his aids not only drove the moderate socialists from the seats of power but also, in order to realize at one bound the full socialist program, began the quick extermination of the former ruling classes, the nobility and bourgeoisie. Under the lash of Bolshevist oratory a popular fury swept, like a conflagration, through the vast Slav land, precipitating an unexampled chaos. Amid scenes of frenzy and violence that beggar description the peasants threw themselves on the landlords, representing the ancient aristocracy, in order to drive them to flight and divide their property among themselves. At the same time the workers of the cities seized the banks, factories, offices, and other properties of the middle classes and turned them over to the state as possessions to be henceforth shared by all.

Destructive tactics of Bolshevism

The first phase of so revolutionary a program as this was necessarily cruel and often wantonly destructive. Its purpose was to get rid of the two former ruling classes and to tear up the institutions of capitalism by the roots. Only when this work had been done could the second and constructive phase be inaugurated. It aimed to create a society of workers and peasants constituting a single class, a class of equals with individually identical claims on the goods owned and produced by the commonwealth. In order to distinguish this radical economic system from

The communist ideal

the older and milder varieties of socialism it will be well to call it communism. By the same token we may, instead of calling its adherents Bolshevists, designate them by the more descriptive term of communists.

The soviet or council system

For over a dozen years now since their triumph in November, 1917, the communists have been building their novel society and have not yet brought it to completion. Observers throughout the capitalist countries have busied themselves with prophesying the early demise of the experiment. They have been disappointed because, however imperfect the strange venture has been and still is, it has developed unexpected sources of strength. Let us try to understand the amazing organization the communists have erected on the bed-rock of their central principle. This is, as we already know, the dictatorship of the proletariat, conceived as embracing the hitherto exploited classes, the workingmen and peasants. In every village and city these form a *soviet* (or council) for the handling of local affairs. The soviet idea, which thus appears at the very bottom of the communist scheme, maintains its ascendancy all the way to the top. For above the lowest village soviets are soviets for larger administrative entities until, mounting upward, we reach the national soviet for Russia. As White Russia, the Ukraine, Transcaucasia, and a number of smaller communities, established as independent republics, are organized on the same model, they too have at their head a soviet of national scope; and as the republic of Russia is federated with all these states, they constitute together the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics (U. S. S. R.). The representative organ of this supreme federation is a union congress of soviets of about fifteen hundred members which meets every two years. Its leading business is to elect the executive called the union council of Commissars. This is the all-powerful governing body of the vast realm of the U. S. S. R. To all intents it exercises an uncontrolled despotism in the name and to the advantage of the common people.

Function of the communist party

But how is this extraordinary abundance of soviets, which discuss, legislate, and govern, to be kept pointing, like the magnetic needle, to the lodestar of communism? This work of direction is entrusted to the communist party. It consists of several hundred thousand or, at the most, of one million impassioned partisans who make it their business to play the leading rôle in all the soviets from the lowest to the highest and to keep these bodies filled and brimming over with the faith. They are unwearied propagandists in a more or less indifferent mass of over 150,000,000 fellow-citizens. Plainly a mere handful, they suffice for their work as a pinch of yeast suffices to spread a ferment through a mass of baker's dough. As all other parties have been abolished, even the other socialist parties, the communist party exercises a political monopoly. There is no longer even any pretense of the famous democratic liberties and tolerances practiced in the west. Just as there is but one party and all others are forbidden, so there is but one opinion and all others are taboo. In consequence only communist newspapers may be printed and circulated and no criticism of the ruling bodies is tolerated for a moment. A thousand-eyed censorship enforces the control of news. And more effective even in the stamping out of opposition before it can get under way is the political police, called the Cheka. True, the Cheka was abolished in 1922, but a new organization under another name does the same work. It penetrates into every corner by means of innumerable spies and punishes its victims by secret and ferocious verdicts intended to spread an indefinable terror.

Communism a controversial issue

Should we ask whether this tyrannical system has achieved its purpose, proclaimed to be the well-being of the proletariat through the even distribution of material goods, we are unable to give an authoritative answer. Communism has become a flaming controversial issue, with its partisans as little inclined to tell the truth about it as its adversaries. It will have to suffice first, to point out the present status of communism; and second, to indicate its most pressing problems.

Present status of communism

Undoubtedly the movement was fortunate in having the resolute, yet flexible Lenin as its first guide. A member of the supreme executive council and idolized by the whole communist party, he was practically an autocrat. Under his direction the government bravely shouldered the economic burden which the revolution imposed and which signified nothing less than the taking over the total business of the country, that is, the direction of banking, industry, transportation, commerce, agriculture, and education. For, private property having been abolished and all property having been declared public, it behooved the state, in which the title to everything inhered, to keep the economic processes agoing. Of course this was not easy, especially as the violent destruction of the system of private ownership had produced an indescribable chaos.

However, a certain recovery did presently take place. A new currency based on a gold reserve helped stabilize business. This was accompanied by a vigorous continued effort to reorganize the railroads and to open and run the mines and factories under state direction with money wages for the workers. Lenin, who was no petrified doctrinaire, saw the advantage of utilizing private initiative in setting the paralyzed wheels of business to turning once again and legalized a limited amount of individual enterprise under the general supervision of the state. Naturally it was announced that this compromise with the despised bourgeois system was temporary and would be abandoned as soon as the immediate crisis was over. Although it is plain that the crisis has not yet passed (1930), a measurable improvement has taken place. There is a better train service due to renewed equipment; the grain of the peasants is on the whole both more abundant and better distributed; and some indispensable manufactured articles such as clothes, shoes, shirts, hats, and underwear have put in a halting appearance.

Lenin succeeded by Stalin

In the midst of this reorganization, in 1924, Lenin died. He was succeeded in the dictatorship by his friend, Stalin. If the figures published in the communist press are correct, the economic improvement begun under Lenin has, with occasional relapses, continued under his successor. But Stalin, a man of much smaller mental stature than the communist founder, has met with much opposition from rival leaders such as Trotsky and Zinoviev. He has thus far triumphed over them, but it is not impossible that the movement will be ultimately wrecked by the quarrels of its chiefs.

First difficulty: lack of capital

Turning now to the problems of Russian communism, let us admit that the Bolsheviks are faced with innumerable difficulties. As it would take a separate book to do them justice, it will have to serve if we content ourselves with pointing out two of them. The first is the lack of fluid capital. Old Russia had no capital reserves to speak of and lost what it had amassed in the exhausting World War. New Russia has not been able to accumulate any considerable amounts in its brief existence and has been thwarted in its effort to tap the wealth of the west by the west's set hostility to the communist idea. Under these circumstances the state-controlled industries have not been able to develop with sufficient rapidity to meet the demands of Russian society for manufactured goods. The consequence is that a western visitor to

Russia encounters what he conceives as an appalling lack of the simplest conveniences of life.

Second difficulty: the peasants

An even greater difficulty is the peasants. They constitute something like eighty per cent of the population and are in effect the proletariat which communism aspires to elevate. The first phase of the revolution brought them a welcome benefit through the distribution of the estates of the crown and the nobility. Russian peasants, like peasants throughout Europe, are in the main stubborn individualists whose chief pleasure in their farms is that they are theirs. Filled with consternation by this attitude, the communist leaders long contented themselves with encouraging the peasants to improve their condition by such forms of coöperation as are usual among the individualistic farmers of Europe and America.

Proposed cures of the industrial and farming problems

Weary of the persistent under-production of industry and angry at the same time at the peasants for their stubborn conservatism, Stalin and his associates in the supreme governing committee resolved in 1928 to resort to radical remedies. For ailing industry they projected what is known as the Five Year Plan. This consists in diverting to the national industries through a period of five years as large a percentage of the state revenues as possible in order to modernize and enlarge the industrial plant to such a degree that the demands of the home market will be satisfied and Russia by 1933 made independent of the capitalist west. As for the peasants it was resolved to give up the lenient policy of the past and not to be afraid to use force to bring the lagging system of agriculture into line with the principles and methods of Russian industrial production. To this end the well-to-do peasants or *kulaks*, the back-bone of individualist production, were systematically ruined by taxation. Thereupon a beginning was made with agricultural communism by merging adjoining peasant properties into national estates of a thousand and sometimes of many thousands of acres and by "communizing" the former owners by setting them to work collectively at plowing, planting, and harvesting under expert direction and with the aid of modern machinery supplied by the state. Not inconceivably it will, even under favorable circumstances, take more than five years to carry through the proposed agricultural revolution since the peasants do not have and apparently can not be made to develop the enthusiasm for the communist cause characteristic of the factory workers. On these two far-reaching and fundamental measures looking forward to a true collectivist industry and agriculture, Stalin and his friends seem to have staked the success of the whole Soviet experiment.

As confirmed Marxists the Bolsheviks are frank, godless materialists and have consequently disestablished the Orthodox church. Undoubtedly they would like to see the church disappear entirely, but that they systematically persecute priests and worshipers, as alleged by their enemies, is probably not true. They have enough intelligence to know that neither Christianity nor any other religion practiced on Russian soil can be stifled by force. That they would like to stifle them may be admitted, for the Bolsheviks are fanatics with a militant religion of their own, communism, which they long to set up in triumph in every country on this round earth.

The Bolsheviks enemies of every supernatural religion

To understand the present situation of Russia in the world we must glance at the development of Soviet foreign policy. As the Bolshevists from the very start of the revolution of 1917 made a parade of their complete lack of sympathy with the war-aims of tsarist Russia, they acted logically in concluding a separate peace with Germany as soon as they had seized the power. It was signed at Brest-Litovsk in March, 1918. Of course this desertion deeply offended the entente allies, who in their resentment did not scruple actively to support the insurrectionary movements within Russia of the various anti-communist groups, collectively called "Whites" in distinction from the ruling "Reds." The communists were obliged to create a "Red" army, which finally crushed all its inner or "White" adversaries. The climax of this assault on communist supremacy came in 1920 when Poland, encouraged by France, began an invasion of Russia which, after an exciting military see-saw, was terminated by the Peace of Riga. Though the Poles were victorious in the struggle, they had to acknowledge the solidity of the Bolshevist régime. Since then there has been peace and all the new states erected on Russia's western border have recognized the communist government and established diplomatic relations with it. The great powers, with the single exception of the United States, between 1922 and 1924 did the same. Since the United States is far removed from Russia and abstains from interference in its affairs, the American aloofness does not detract from the general picture of official peace.

Russia officially at peace with the world

And yet there is no real peace owing to the propagandist activity of communism. Very soon after gaining control the Bolshevists called into being the Third International with offices at Moscow and dedicated to the great goal of world revolution. With uncompromising logic the high priests of the new doctrine declared that communism could not be right in Russia and wrong everywhere else on earth. The plain duty of the faithful was to wage perpetual warfare on capitalism, their western foe, even though the weapons of that conflict should not be guns but pamphlets and ideas. The Third International is in effect the propaganda section of the Russian government and has spent immense sums in Europe, Asia, and America to bring local communist parties into being in preparation for the overthrow of the ruling liberal-democratic system. Of course the threatened nations have raised an outcry and in certain instances have gone the length of breaking off the diplomatic relations with Moscow which they had only recently assumed. Whenever these have subsequently been renewed, Russia has given a formal undertaking to abstain from further interference in the domestic affairs of its neighbors. But the pledge has not been kept. It has about the same chance of being observed as the promise of a drug-addict to break himself of his confirmed habit. As long as world revolution is in the eyes of the communists the certain salvation of Russia, so long will propaganda be practiced as the best available means for producing world revolution.

The Third International an organ of propaganda

If communism is a revolutionary variant of Marxism, fascism is nothing other than a super-stimulated nationalism. Two things happened in Italy after the war which greatly offended and depressed the national sentiment. First, Italy came out of the war with a much smaller portion of the spoils than France and Great Britain; and second, Italian socialists and radicals in general took advantage of the revulsion of feeling produced by the fierce carnage of the war period to preach the necessity of social and political change. They gained so great a following among the workingmen and peasants that riots and disturbances became a common phenomenon throughout the peninsula. In this troubled situation the Moscow Bolshevists sensed the possibility of a harvest and set their most effective propaganda machinery in motion in order to bring an Italian communist party to the front pledged to carry through a communist revolution. However, communism could not overcome the many rival brands of radicalism. In fact all that the various radical groups of Italy succeeded in doing

Fascism a nationalist reaction against radicalism

was to reduce the existing order to chaos without making any noticeable headway toward a new order.

The rise of Mussolini

For many months the national elements, identified in Italy as elsewhere largely with the middle classes, were too discouraged by their many disappointments to attempt to stem the radical tide. Then here and there they formed centers of resistance, each such center being called a *fascio*, from the Latin *fasces*, signifying the bundle of rods with a protruding ax which the lictors carried before the consuls of ancient Rome as a symbol of authority. When representatives of the fascios, gathering courage, came together to form a national federation, they at once discovered that the most vigorous spirit among them was Benito Mussolini. Mussolini accordingly became the acknowledged chief of the movement. Since this young nationalist leader, the son of a village blacksmith, had begun his public career as a radical socialist, he has been sometimes represented as a turncoat. This is not a tenable view unless we should maintain that a man has no right to bring his early opinions into accord with his later experiences. It was the World War which converted Mussolini, as it did millions of men throughout Europe, into an ardent patriot. When, on its conclusion, he saw how Italy got fewer rewards at Paris than in his opinion it deserved, and how, further, the socialists and communists were turning the country topsy-turvy with their agitation, instead of bowing his head to fate like most of the patriots, he put on his armor and seized the sword to save his country from destruction. Once identified with the national movement, rebaptized fascism, his splendid talent of organization, added to his natural ardor, quickly carried him to the post of supreme command.

The fascists crush the radicals and seize the government

The government of Italy, which answered to the current liberal-democratic type, failed to dominate the domestic confusion because it possessed no man or group of men prepared to adopt the rugged and uncompromising measures which the situation demanded. When the appeals of Mussolini and his followers to show a wholesome energy against the subversive elements passed unheeded, the nationalists resolved to take matters into their own hands. They converted the fascios into military units and fell upon the radical clubs and labor unions wherever and whenever they made a public demonstration. As the attacked groups armed themselves in their turn and offered resistance, there was precipitated what can not be better described than as a sporadic civil war fought between nationalists and international radicals up and down the length of the peninsula. It lasted for three years, that is, until the summer of 1922, and ended with the complete victory of the fascists. Because they were better armed, manifested a higher discipline, and, above all, because they were unified under a fiery and unflinching *duce* or leader, the fascists drove their enemies from the field and dominated the country. Then in October, 1922, Mussolini took a still more audacious step. He had developed an angry contempt for the feeble central government which had permitted the radicals to become a menace. Why should he with an irresistible fascist militia at his back meekly surrender his authority to a system which in his eyes had proved itself to be bankrupt? Encouraged by his lieutenants, mostly young men eager to win distinction, he marched on Rome and overthrew the ministry. In order to avoid civil war the king, Victor Emmanuel, legitimized the revolution by inviting Mussolini to form a government of his own — a fascist government.

Mussolini destroys the liberal-democratic state

What Mussolini, become prime minister and presently dictator of Italy, did in the years following his conquest of the state can be no more than summarized here. Step by step he moved toward his goal, which was to unify Italy, under the aegis of fascism, as it had never been unified before, and to fill it with his own national purpose to the exclusion of every other aim. He therefore set out deliberately to destroy the liberal-democratic inheritance of the period of Italian unification. This had been built up around certain conceptions of civil liberty such as free speech, free assembly, free press, free elections, and representative government. One after another the institutions erected on these principles were totally destroyed. When the work of wreckage was over, the press had been muzzled, public assemblies forbidden, elected officials replaced by appointed ones, and the national parliament converted into a mere council of the fascist party. This last and crowning act of destruction did not take place till 1929.

Repressive measures

Long before the suppression of the national legislature every other than the fascist party had been declared illegal and fascism been given the right of dominating the political scene without a rival. Ferocious press laws provided that the promulgation of any other than fascist opinions entailed crushing penalties. No political news might be printed but such as was handed out to the newspapers by the official bureau of information located at Rome. The ferreting-out of such opposition as had gone underground was committed to the secret police. Woe to whomsoever these agents of tyranny caught in their net! He was examined in secret session by a tribunal created *ad hoc* and invariably sentenced to exile on certain barren and sun-scorched islands lying off the Italian coast. On these the thousands of opponents of the régime were herded under a military surveillance, which cut them off from home and family as completely as though by a sentence of death.

The fascist educational program

Simultaneously Mussolini undertook innumerable positive labors looking toward the reconstruction of Italian life along national and supernational lines. It was not enough for him to solidify his dictatorship by the abolition of the democratic inheritance of his people. His plan was to inoculate the whole population with the fascist ideology. One of his earliest reforms was therefore the remodeling of the public school system to the end of filling the youth of the nation with the spirit of an exalted patriotism. As an adjunct to the schools he founded such youth organizations as the *Balilla* (for boys from 8 to 14 years) and the *Avanguardia* (for boys from 14 to 18). Besides indoctrinating the rising generation with the principles of fascism, Balilla and Avanguardia served the practical purpose of a training-school for the fascist militia, the so-called Black Shirts. To this armed force, let us not forget, Mussolini owed his march to victory and on its perpetuation depended his continued lease of power. As it was manifestly desirable to give candidates for the fascist militia a sound preliminary training, this work was assigned to the above organizations. Practicing upon small boys, the Balilla leaders showed wise restraint in contenting themselves to develop in their charges a love of games and out-of-doors. The Avanguardia (Advance Guard) was constructed on a much less innocent plan since it strove to initiate the adolescent youths in the discipline and sacrifices of the military life. At eighteen the young guardsman received a rifle and was with appropriate ceremonies inducted into the famous Black Shirts. Above all, he took the vow to die, if necessary, for the incomparable leader of the cause.

Although a score of other aspects of fascism invite attention, we shall have to limit ourselves to three: its economic program, its relation to the Church, and its foreign policy. Probably the most original single act of Mussolini and his coadjutors is the attempt to consolidate the economic activities of the Italian people in accordance with the philosophy of a super-heated nationalism. All citizens are required to organize by occupation in such a way that national corporations of farmers, manufacturers, machine workers, transport workers, physicians, lawyers, and other activities are formed, with everybody classified according to his economic function. Each corporation is supposed to look after its particular interest, while over all the corporations presides a supreme economic council authorized to adjust differences among the separate groups. It was of course foreseen that the main conflicts would occur among the corporations of the employers and employees of industry. Special labor tribunals are provided to adjudicate these quarrels wherever and whenever they arise. It indicates the efficient spirit of the fascist régime that adjudication is made obligatory and that strikes, on the part of the workingmen, and lockouts, on the part of the employers, are declared to be penal offenses. It is as yet too early to say how this project of the closely bound, corporative nation will work out. Recent developments indicate that the experiment inclines to take on a socialist character. This would not be surprising since every state-directed economy inevitably tends to suppress private initiative in the real or supposed interest of society considered as a whole. A socialist conclusion to the fascist venture would not be without a touch of irony in view of the anti-socialist fervor with which fascism began its career.

Fascism organizes the nation into economic corporations

We may recall that when the liberal state, which Mussolini destroyed, was created by Cavour and his disciples, it mortally offended the Catholic Church, first, by taking Rome away from the pope, and second, by confiscating the property and limiting the activities of the clergy. Recognizing the unbroken moral authority of the Church, Mussolini was wisely desirous of lining it up behind fascism and began negotiations with the pope with the view to a reconciliation. The pope, Pius XI, for his part was not averse to ending the state of war which had existed since 1870, provided he could get a number of concessions. After tedious and often interrupted exchanges there were signed at the Lateran palace, in February, 1929, two treaties by virtue of which state and Church again entered into relations of amity. In the first or political treaty the pope agreed to accept the Vatican palace together with the adjoining church and square of St. Peter as a sovereign territory about one hundred acres in extent. It was to be called the Vatican City and to be for all practical purposes outside the kingdom of Italy. In addition, the kingdom agreed to indemnify

The Lateran settlement with the pope

the pope for the territorial losses suffered during the unification movement with a large sum of money. Even more important, in the eyes of the pope at least, than this political settlement were a number of concessions affecting marriage and education which were embodied in the second or ecclesiastical treaty. Marriages performed by priests were henceforth to have the same validity as civil marriages contracted before a magistrate; and the Catholic religion was to be introduced into the curriculum of the public schools as an obligatory subject. It would be absurd to declare that the dictator has by these friendly gestures hitched the clergy to his triumphal chariot. There are still some immensely serious matters of dispute between the authoritative state and the equally authoritative Church. However, there now exists something like a *modus vivendi* between the two ancient adversaries which Mussolini may very properly sport as a feather in his cap.

Fascist foreign policy

In turning to the foreign policy of the fascist state it is certain that the despotic concentration of power in a single hand has been primarily prompted by the desire to enable Italy to play a larger rôle in world affairs. Mussolini himself has repeatedly confirmed this statement. He has even gone so far as to proclaim a Mediterranean empire as the goal of his endeavors. His neighbors on this sea therefore never miss an opportunity to charge him with war-like designs. In further support of their accusation they call attention to his vigorous campaign of preparedness on land, sea, and in the air. But in view of a certain statesmanlike restraint of which he has repeatedly given proof, it does not at all follow that he will fight with or without provocation. It would be much safer to say, negatively, that he will not fight till a favorable situation arises. And that hour no man may prophesy. However, if Italy is to expand, we may agree that it will have to be in the Mediterranean area and at the expense of its nearest neighbors, Jugoslavia and France. Jugoslavia holds the coveted coast of Dalmatia, while France holds Tunis in Africa, which is still more desirable because it is a colonial region capable of relieving Italy of some of its surplus population. Their common alarm induced Jugoslavia and France in 1927 to form a military alliance. Since then the relations between France and Italy have been strained, but certain moderate elements in both countries have never ceased to busy themselves with their improvement.

In conclusion, it is permitted to repeat that post-war Russia and post-war Italy represent two departures from the main line of European development. Ten years after Armageddon western civilization still pursues the democratic ideal with its familiar liberties and tolerances. This ideal Russia and Italy have firmly rejected, Russia in the supposed interest of the toiling masses, Italy in order to subject the individual to the control of an omnipotent nationalist state. In pursuit of the desired goal each has adopted the identical device of a dictatorship which brooks no opposition. We have therefore at this moment three irreconcilable social-political systems within the frame of western civilization and no one can tell whither their instinctive aversion for one another may lead.

The conflict within western civilization

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CHAPTER XXXIX

THE INTERNATIONAL AND DISARMAMENT MOVEMENTS SINCE THE WAR

From the outset this book has taken the position that its main concern is with western civilization and that western civilization is a distinct creation of Time originating in western Europe in what is currently called the Middle Age. Since its birth this western or European civilization has passed through the successive phases which have been indicated and is at present embarked upon its latest phase inaugurated with the conclusion of the World War. Throughout the many centuries of its existence western civilization has been held together by strong unitarian influences. Were it not so, it would long ago have been dispersed, for the essence of a living civilization is that it has an indestructible core. In the Middle Age the main cohesive element was Christianity and the Catholic Church. When romantic dreamers of the present day look back regretfully to that vanished period, it is the lost religious-philosophical unity which they most movingly lament. The medieval unity was first weakened by the multiplication of secular interests in connection with the expansion of town life. It was even more gravely imperiled by the rise in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries of self-conscious, combative national states.

The unitarian element in civilization

The earliest national monarchies were France, Spain, and England, and these promptly on their formation engaged in so furious a rivalry with one another that a general chaos threatened to result. Fortunately they themselves applied the brakes as soon as they recognized the importance of maintaining open avenues of intercourse across the rising barriers of disagreement. They therefore built up diplomatic and consular services to keep up profitable contacts and thereby set in motion a counter-current of internationalism. Gradually by means of treaties of amity and commerce they created a notable body of international law. By the seventeenth century, as the labors of the great jurist, Grotius, prove, reorganization on the new lines had advanced suffi-

Nationalism tempered by international law

ciently to enable the Dutch writer to propound the theory that Europe was a loosely joined Society of Nations.[1]

The World War as evidence of an unbalanced civilization

We are thus faced, from at least the seventeenth century, with the presence in European civilization of two contradictory principles, nationalism and internationalism. Both were lusty and vigorous and continued steadily to grow, though not at the same rate of speed. From the fact that nationalism won ever new converts and in the nineteenth century set out to conquer the world, we are obliged to concede its superior strength. This impression is confirmed when we recall its rôle as a leading cause of the World War. If in the light of these evidences of nationalist ascendancy, internationalism must be frankly admitted to have been overshadowed, it was by no means obliterated. On the contrary, it continued to spin its threads during and after the nineteenth century to the very eve of the 1914 cataclysm; and throughout that time it attempted to create bonds which would hold the world together in spite of the explosive material piled up by an over-eager nationalism. When the most destructive war of history devastated Europe for four years, the episode proved preëminently this truth: that the forces of conflict and separation had become stronger in our civilization than the forces of association. Europe in 1914 was the victim of a disequilibrium which had for some generations been becoming more and more pronounced. No wonder that while the war was still raging, reflective spirits in both camps should have raised their voices in favor of redressing the balance by strengthening the international agencies. The main outcome of this reaction against the excesses of nationalism was, as everybody knows, the League of Nations. The League and all other results of our chastened attitude toward nationalism and its works are the subject of this chapter. But before we deal with them, it will be well to assure ourselves that the League was not a sudden improvisation or a miraculous birth. And in proof of this assertion we can do no better than enumerate some of the international arrangements which ante-date the war and which acted as a check on the innumerable nationalist divisions of Europe.

This is not the place to speak again of the tendency inherent in the modern means of communication by land, sea, and air to draw all the continents and peoples of the earth together. Nor need the reader be more than reminded of the Industrial Revolution and the invasion by its products of every community of men no matter how remote in space or backward in development. Not only did railways, steamboats, the telegraph, standardized and cheapened clothes and shoes, and a thousand greedily appropriated conveniences of living operate to bring all the continents to the threshold of Europe, but also by replacing dark ignorance with exact knowledge of distant and despised peoples they contributed to the overthrow of provincial prejudice in favor of a human sympathy ready to fling a girdle of good will around the earth. But then again these same agencies exercised also the opposite effect. They stimulated competition among the sovereign states and brought about that hunt for colonies and markets which, called imperialism, poured oil on the already ardent nationalist fires. Who would deny that science, to which the machines and the accelerated means of communication are due, is the mother of bounties? But who would not admit that, appropriated for armaments to threaten and crush unwelcome commercial rivals, science grows not fruits of plenty but apples of Sodom?

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[1] See pp. 276–7.

The products of science both unite and divide

In plain truth we are here confronted with a tragic paradox, which we may reduce to terms of simple understanding by saying that modern commerce, industry, and finance, in a word, modern business, greatly intensified intercourse among the peoples of the globe without, unfortunately, producing institutional controls that could be relied on to hold in check certain savage forces making for war. In no case is it true that business itself proved internationally uncreative, for it produced instrumentalities, and very notable ones indeed, for the promotion of its own ever widening world interests. As early as 1878, for instance, there was established the Universal Postal Union, which secured uniform postal laws, lowered the postal rates, and greatly sped up the transmission of letters and packages over the surface of the earth. There followed a Telegraph Union, a Union for the Protection of Industrial Property (patents and trademarks), and many others of like nature. And scholars and artists did not lag behind the business men in devising international approaches. The mathemeticians, the physicists, the philologists, the historians, and practically every other group of scientific specialists met in general congresses and before they separated usually effected a permanent organization for the advancement of their special interests. Moreover, in every capital of Europe there occurred periodically an international exposition of

International agencies before 1914

paintings and sculptures based on the assumption that artists constituted a fraternity, which, if it did not ignore national frontiers, undoubtedly transcended them. The socialist workingmen went even farther in international organization and purpose. They formed in 1864 the organization called the First International on the express principle that workingmen throughout the world were brothers and that the national states, as constituted, were their enemies and must be overthrown before the path is cleared for a better and a more fraternal order. When the First International went to pieces after a few years over the quarrels of its leaders, a Second International was formed in 1889 on the original principles. It grew steadily stronger in the following years; and as it was officially opposed to war, there were numerous sanguine but deluded people who contended that the socialist parties of the world, united in the Second International, would prove powerful enough to veto any conflict which the nationalist governments might see fit to let loose upon the world.

The two Hague conferences

Even the governments were visited by occasional qualms touching their envenomed competition, especially after the formation of rival alliances made the maintenance of the traditional concert of Europe more and more difficult. In 1899 the leading countries of the world held the First Hague Peace Conference as a result of which they created a Permanent Court of Arbitration located at the Dutch capital. They thereby affirmed that they believed arbitration to be preferable to war; but they must have believed it only half-heartedly since they refused to make the reference to the court of a dispute between two states obligatory. The court proved its value by disposing between 1899 and 1914 of eighteen important cases which were voluntarily submitted to it. At the Second Hague Conference, held in 1907, compulsory arbitration was actually one of the subjects of discussion, though it did not take long to disclose that there were too many counter-currents of opinion to make agreement possible. It was also proposed that the limitation of armaments should be taken up at this meeting. But the powers, jealously watchful of their treasured sovereignty, managed to sidetrack the issue. The two Hague conferences are chiefly interesting as proving that the estranged European states were not blind to the dangers of their frenzied course. We see them at these sessions warily approaching such possible cures of the evil pass in which they found themselves as judicial arbitration of quarrels and limitation of armaments. But in a sudden access of alarm they always drew back again, because in every binding international commitment they instinctively sensed an attack upon their sovereignty. With the governments as with the peoples the idea of national supremacy was too rampant to admit of anything more than relatively harmless international groupings in the realms of business and culture. In the sacred realm of politics nationalism was minded to rule as absolute master. For this reason the international bonds which had gradually come into existence proved very weak and snapped like dry twigs when nationalism reared itself like a lion in 1914 and filled the world with its roar.

The League of Nations at work

The League of Nations created at the Paris conference in 1919 was the answer of the liberal and humane spirits of Europe and America to the riot of destruction experienced during four ghastly years. The League signified the general recognition that the remedy for an over-grown and cantankerous nationalism was an improved and effective international organization. We have in another chapter discussed the main features of the League which were three, a Council, an Assembly, and a permanent Secretariat located at Geneva. The main purpose of the new creation was to avoid a recurrence of the recent madness by providing a forum for discussion and arbitration operating in full sight of mankind. For decisions of a purely legal nature there was established at The Hague a Permanent Court of International Justice, commonly called the World Court. As is usual with a novel institution, the League has still to establish its place. During the ten-year period of probation, which has just closed, it has been the object of praise from its partisans which has been as excessive as the blame meted out by its detractors. It states a simple verifiable fact to say that it has got under way and operates smoothly according to its constitution. The Council has met four times every year and the annual meeting of the Assembly, which occurs in September, has attracted constantly increasing attention. Important successes have been achieved under League guidance as, for instance, the composition of the dispute between Finland and Sweden over the Aland Islands, the settlement of over a million Greek refugees from Asia Minor in Macedonia, and the adjustment of a very dangerous conflict between Greece and Italy which was precipitated when Italy occupied Corfu as a reprisal for the murder on Greek soil of an Italian boundary commission.

No less important was the financial assistance the League was able to give to Austria and Hungary left prostrate by the war. It was the case of Austria which came up first. On being appealed to in 1922 by an Austria which, threatened with starvation, was rapidly disintegrating, the League through certain committees worked out a scheme whereby Austria secured an international loan. With its help the Austrian government was enabled in the course of the next two years to balance the budget and stabilize the currency. When Hungary appealed for financial aid in 1923 it was conceded a loan on similar terms and with the like happy result. If Austria and Hungary figure today as going political concerns, they owe thanks for this result to the League of Nations.

The League saves Austria and Hungary

Two functions of the League have greatly added to its prestige. Because the German colonies and most of the Arab areas of the Ottoman Empire were distributed among the victors as mandates from the League, that body enjoys a right of supervision which puts the mandataries on their good behavior and tempers their exploitation of the backward natives. It was a no less fortunate act that the League took international labor under its wing. In recognition of the new importance of labor in the world the covenant created as an autonomous section of the League an International Labor Organization. Like the League itself it maintains at Geneva a permanent secretariat, called Labor Office, and is directed by a small Council of delegates and a larger annual Conference. Within the three bodies of Labor Office, Council, and Conference there is representation of the workingmen, the employers, and the state, which last-named authority is conceived to be as vitally interested in labor problems as are employers and employees. During the ten-year period under review the annual Conference has drafted many recommendations dealing with woman and child labor, night work, unemployment, and similar matters. The procedure followed is for the recommendations of the Conference to be sent to the governments of the member states, which accept or reject them according to their pleasure. The permanent Labor Office is particularly concerned with gathering information on the questions in debate and in issuing and disseminating valuable special studies in its field.

Mandates and the Labor Organization

The offsets to these achievements must not be overlooked. Not all the disputes submitted for settlement have been so wisely handled as to bring credit to the League. Thus in the Polish-Lithuanian quarrel over Vilna the Council, which took the issue in hand, more than once reversed itself and finally, in a most pusillanimous manner accepted the Polish solution for no better reason than that Poland was stronger than its adversary. Then there is the thorny problem of the national minorities. On being incorporated in the new states erected in 1919 they were by means of the so-called minority treaties guaranteed the right to the unmolested enjoyment of their inherited speech and culture. These concessions have in numerous instances been treated with contempt by the nationalistically minded governments of the majority peoples. But when the offended groups have appealed to the League, they have been generally ignored. The reason is that the League, which began as a league of victors, can not forget its origin and is loath to reprimand friends in the interest and at the request of former enemies.

Failures of the League

Even more conspicuous has been the failure to make any headway with the problem of disarmament. Disarmament was named in the covenant as one of the main objects of the League. In addition, the victorious allies had declared in a note to Germany of June 16, 1919, that they regarded the compulsory restrictions put on that country as preliminary to "a general limitation of the armaments of all nations." In order to lose no time in carrying out these pledges the very first Assembly of the League invited (1920) the Council to appoint a committee to make the necessary preliminary studies. The Council acted on this suggestion and periodical deliberations on disarmament conducted in preparatory committees or in full-fledged preparatory conferences have taken place ever since. The depressing upshot is that not a single tangible result has been obtained in ten years. The long and short of the matter is that the great powers do not see their way to giving up the instruments of force, by virtue of which they are enabled to play a masterful and commanding rôle. They declare, and more particularly France has declared, that they can not disarm until they have achieved security. Security in the mouth of victors means and has ever meant the unchallenged retention of all the advantages gained in the most recent war. It might be argued that these are guaranteed to the victors in the World War by the League of Nations incorporated as an integral part in the Treaty of Versailles. While this is true, the League is not yet so effective an instrument that the victors are encouraged to place complete confidence in it. They prefer to rely on their own resources and, as a consequence, have thus far successfully balked every effort to crown the interminable disarmament

The failure to disarm

discussions with a definite agreement. In this situation lies the palpable hint that, although a world organization has been put on its feet with suitable institutions and program, it is confronted with nationalist energies and prejudices which in the aggregate are at this time still very much more powerful.

Reasons why the United States repudiated the League

This reflection carries us by an unescapable association of ideas to the United States of America. As we know, the head of the American republic, Woodrow Wilson, was the main sponsor of the League of Nations. By reason of this very fact he lost the favor of his own people and was overwhelmingly repudiated in the presidential election of 1920. In refusing to accept the League the American people were prompted by two leading motives. First, they were too youthfully self-assertive and nationalist to renounce as much as one iota of their vaunted sovereignty in favor of a new international body. It was characteristic that the anti-Wilson orators and critics consistently and disparagingly referred to the League as a proposed super-government. Second, the Americans, confronted with the innumerable conflicts existing among the European states, feared lest their membership in the League would hopelessly entangle them in the irrepressible feuds of the older and much harried continent.

The U. S. rejects the limitation of sovereignty implied in the League

As these objections move on different planes they do not stand and fall together. Let us take them up in order and concede with regard to the first that the American exception is not ill taken, since the League of Nations is from its very nature pointed in the direction of a super or world government. True, this is not affirmed in the covenant nor is it in accord with the view commonly held among the member states. They seem to regard themselves quite as sovereign after 1919 as they were before. But are they? On close inspection it is hardly debatable that in submitting to the limitations of the covenant they have suffered a subtle subtraction from that unlimited sovereignty which they profess to regard as their special glory. If they wish to close their eyes to this result, that is their affair. Conceivably after another decade or so of a successfully conducted international régime, the members of the League will be less enamored of a national independence which has been carried to excess in the past and which, on being subordinated to definite international responsibilities, may inaugurate a new and sounder phase of national existence than any which has gone before. That the United States, three thousand miles removed from Europe and enjoying an unexampled security, is not subject to the pressures which make European states cling to the League as an anchor of hope, is certain. The United States will therefore stay out of the League until, feeling itself through some novel and as yet undiscoverable circumstance less secure, it becomes disposed to sacrifice some fraction of its quasi-divinity in exchange for an added measure of safety.

The U. S. fears entanglement in European quarrels

The aversion felt in the United States to becoming involved in the century-old quarrels of the European peoples constitutes a second objection to the League and is of a different order from the first. These quarrels are so largely a regional, that is, an European matter that it is an unanswerable demand of common sense that they be also settled regionally. Numerous enlightened Europeans have taken this position; and latterly growing numbers of them have argued in favor of a United States of Europe as the proper solution of the economic as well as the political ills of their continent. In the 1929 session of the Assembly of the League of Nations such an organization was eloquently advocated by Briand, the foreign minister of France, and seconded by Stresemann, the foreign minister of Germany. Let us admit that much water will run under the bridges of Paris and Berlin before the United States of Europe is realized. But in so far as the Briand-Stresemann proposals are based on the perception that Europe is a natural geographical division and that it is desirable to alleviate the ills particular to that continent in its own councils, those proposals may be declared to have a vital core and may ultimately succeed in getting themselves translated into a viable institution.

The U. S. committed to the regional idea

If the United States of Europe ever sees the light, far from disrupting the League of Nations, it should prove a valuable subsidiary institution. And for the American republic it will help clarify the situation since the feeling is general in the United States that under a universal name the League is preponderantly European and preponderantly transacts European business. For such a contradictory state of affairs America has little or no taste. However, should the League, as it were, decentralize, should it sponsor an European areopagus for the handling of purely European business, the American opposition to the League may conceivably lose much of its force. It would also weigh with the United States that it has already committed itself to the regional idea by a constructive act of which it is justly proud. Believing in regional grouping, the Washington government as early as 1890 associated itself with the other American republics in the pan-American union. The central idea of this union is that its members will take counsel together to further the peace and prosperity of the western hemisphere. Accordingly they have met periodically to discuss their common concerns and iron out their differences. Membership in the pan-American union constitutes no obstacle to joining a league of world scope organized to promote the interests not of one but of both hemispheres. Indeed most of the American republics have acted on this conviction: while coöperating faithfully with the pan-American union in regard to the specific interests of the western world, they have also seen fit to associate themselves since 1919 with the League of Nations.

The Washington Conference of 1921–22

Although the United States rejected the League for the reasons given, neither the government nor the people were out of sympathy with its main purpose, which was under all circumstances to avoid another world war. An investigation will show that a very large section of that same public which repudiated the League nurses a fierce horror of war together with a strong distaste for the armaments which are a contributory cause of conflicts. Consequently the Washington authorities found themselves pushed by public opinion to take some step, which would show the United States, in spite of its rejection of the League, to be openly aligned with the forces of peace. Late in 1921 President Harding assembled a conference of powers at the American capital to the end of discussing limitation of armament at sea. While a sweeping agreement proved impossible, an arrangement regarding battle-ships was hailed as evidence of the existence of a spirit of international conciliation. It was declared that the United States, Great Britain, and Japan, the three leading naval powers, should be represented in this category of naval units by the proportion 5–5–3, while the relative strength of France and Italy was fixed for both at the figure of $1\frac{3}{4}$. As soon as these agreed proportions had been attained in actual construction, the five signatories agreed that all battle-ship building should cease for a period of ten years. Furthermore, in the hope of insuring peace in the Pacific the United States, Great Britain, France, and Japan, all of them with material interests in that ocean, signed a four-power pact whereby they guaranteed the *status quo* in the Far East in so far as their respective insular possessions are concerned. To complete the Washington record we should note that, in order to win the good will of China, Japan took a much acclaimed step by returning to its Mongolian neighbor the Shantung claims it had taken over from Germany.

Prospect for the limitation of arms movement

Though these achievements represented less than had been hoped for in pacifist circles, they constituted a genuine cause for rejoicing. They signified that if disarmament, considered as a guarantee of peace, was difficult to attain, progress by slow stages toward the hoped-for goal was not out of the question. The Washington Conference of 1921–22 did not even touch the issue of land and air armaments, and in regard to armament at sea it did no more than fix the permissible strength of the leading powers in so-called capital ships. If that was not much, it sufficed to show that progressive disarmament had become an irrepressible issue and raised the legitimate hope that new conferences in the future would lead to more inclusive limitations.

The Paris peace pact of 1928

That a legitimate hope may be defeated was shown in 1927 when another navy conference, held at Geneva and called chiefly to arrive at an agreement, like that of 1922, relative to other categories of war-ships, adjourned without an agreement. But an event of the following year caused the Genevan fiasco to be forgotten. On August 27, 1928, the plenipotentiaries of fifteen nations signed at Paris a pact originally negotiated between Aristide Briand, foreign minister of France, and Frank B. Kellogg, the American secretary of state. By virtue thereof the signatories "condemn recourse to war . . . and renounce it as an instrument of national policy in their relations with one another." In a few months over thirty states, including Soviet Russia, had put their signatures to this solemn pledge. It offers gratifying evidence of a strong present sentiment in favor of peace; but since the Briand-Kellogg treaty creates no machinery for the settlement of disputes, it may be doubted whether it is as effective an instrument for the prevention of war as the League of Nations. Doubtless the value of the Paris pact lies in the moral realm, which is to say, that only in case the governments and peoples of the world perpetually renew their present state of mind will the treaty effect that "outlawry of war" which numerous over-credulous people consider to be already an accomplished fact.

When on March 4, 1929, a new president, Herbert Hoover, assumed power in Washington almost simultaneously with a new prime

The London Conference of 1930

minister, Ramsay MacDonald, in London, their common desire to cancel the Geneva failure of 1927 induced them to open discussions with regard to a new naval conference. A flying visit paid by the British premier to the United States led to an agreement of "parity" as between Great Britain and the United States and to the calling of a new conference at London in January, 1930. It was attended by representatives of the United States, Great Britain, Japan, France, and Italy, the five naval powers of any consequence, and it was hoped to reach an agreement whereby the tonnage permitted each power in every category of craft should be exactly laid down to the end of terminating competitive construction and the fear and suspicion which such construction entails. The full program proved unrealizable because France, before accepting her allotment of tonnage, demanded "security," and because Italy would not accept any allotment which did not give her absolute "parity with France." As the United States and Britain refused to accept the obligations imposed by security and France, by reason of this refusal, rejected the Italian plea for parity, nothing better than a three-power pact was obtainable. France and Italy did, however, agree not to build capital ships till 1936, when another naval conference will review the situation. In this very limited sense it is possible to speak of a five-power pact having been achieved at London.

The three-power pact

It was on April 10, 1930, that the trying sessions ended and the three-power pact of Great Britain, the United States, and Japan was communicated to the world. It binds the signatories till a new conference is called six years later. Agreement was reached touching cruisers, destroyers, and submarines, and as the agreement touching battle-ships, previously reached at Washington, was confirmed, all categories of ships are embraced in the document. Parity between Great Britain and the United States is represented by approximately 1,136,000 tons permitted to these two powers and distributed in agreed amounts among all classes of craft. Japan is conceded a navy of approximately 800,000 tons distributed in the same way. President Hoover, in communicating these results to the people of the United States, declared that they signified the end of competitive building among the three leading naval powers, an era of better feeling, and the saving to the treasury of each signatory of many hundreds of millions of dollars. It is regrettable that France and Italy seem to entertain the idea of a naval race. Not only will it add poison to their already embittered relations but it may even nullify the gains represented by the agreement among the other three powers. For, in view of the possibility of a Franco-Italian race, there was incorporated in the three-power pact a so-called "escape" clause, which permits the signatories to exceed their allotment in case the French and Italian navies pass a certain limit.

The hope for a better world order

Reviewing the efforts since the World War in favor of peace to be maintained, on the one hand, through new international agencies and, on the other, through limitation of arms agreements, it must be conceded that the situation has novel elements giving rise to permissible hopes. Never since the earliest intensification of commercial competition and the rise of national states, that is, never since the Renaissance, have the powers been willing to go so far in restraining their individual action and in giving consideration to the interests and welfare of rivals. Something like a general world interest taking precedence over the selfish interest of each sovereign state has come to the front and received a halting recognition from the great and the small powers alike. We have made perceptible headway toward a better world order organized for the advance of civilization by the agencies and processes of peace. However, if this goal is desirable, as the leaders of thought in every country seem to be agreed, there is still a long and arduous road ahead. There are numerous and persistent international difficulties in every quarter of the globe and the ancient preference for settling them by the clash of arms, instead of submitting them to the judgment of a court, has hardly suffered impairment. The rising generation in our schools has the clear obligation to acquire as exact information as possible regarding the forces which are shaping contemporary life; it has also the right to hope for a better world and to act magnanimously on that hope. But it could make no more fatal mistake than to underestimate the agencies which have operated in the past to produce conflict and war and which continue, a decade after the World War, to exhibit a practically unbroken strength.

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CHAPTER XL

THE CIVILIZATION OF THE TWENTIETH CENTURY

Western civilization has unfolded in the successive phases or stages to which in this book we have given their long familiar names. In this customary terminology the first phase is, with utter lack of reason, called the Middle Age or Ages, while the labels attached to the succeeding phases are often equally absurd or, at the very least, the result of a narrow and inconsistent view of cultural development. After the Middle Age come, in the order named, the Renaissance, the Reformation, the Absolute Monarchy, and Revolution and Democracy, which last period carries us through the World War. It is plain that if we take the position — which historians in their vast majority have thus far regrettably failed to take — that western civilization is a distinctive growth among the numerous civilizations which history records and that it has developed as organically and inevitably as an oak develops from an acorn, we can greatly improve on the capricious and too long accepted designations given above.

The familiar stages of western civilization

Given the purpose on our part to trace the main line of cultural unfolding in the west, we would be well inspired to name the earliest stage of European civilization the stage of Christian unity or the Christian-feudal stage; for, was it not Christianity that gave the men of western Europe their common outlook on the world in what is currently called the Middle Age, and was not society organized in well defined classes in accordance with a feudal plan? The Renaissance, a name adopted for the second period because society was falsely imagined to have returned to the culture models of antiquity, is much more expressively called by some name indicative of widening commerce and the multiplication of towns. The Reformation brought us that breach of Christian unity basic to all our subsequent development and is, from a strictly cultural angle, not so much a reformation as a Christian schism. The Absolute Monarchy correctly describes a temporarily dominant political form, though the period, considered as a culture phase, is, above

Suggested cultural stages

all, distinguished by the emergence of the new scientific method of inquiry into natural phenomena. Since science with its utilitarian outlook on the world brought in its wake the machine, mass production, and finally also democracy, the too narrowly political designation of the period after 1789 as the Democratic Period might be replaced by a more sweeping title such as this: The Progressive Age: Radical Reorganization of Industry, Society, and Government.

It may prove stimulating to present the old familiar names and the proposed new designations for the leading phases in the evolution of our civilization in parallel columns.

The Familiar Periods of Western Civilization	*The Proposed Organic Periods of Western Civilization*
1. The Middle Age or Ages (500 to 1250 or 1300)	1. The Age of Christian Unity or the Christian-feudal Age (500 to 1250)
2. The Renaissance (1250 or 1300 to 1500)	2. Emergence of Secular Interests: the Revival of Commerce and the Rise of Towns (1250 to 1500)
3. The Reformation (1500 to 1648)	3. The Christian Schism, the Voyages of Discovery, and Rise of the National Monarchy (1500 to 1650)
4. The Absolute Monarchy (1648 to 1789)	4. The Birth of Science and Accelerated Secularization (1625 or 1650 to 1789)
5. Revolution and Democracy (1789 to 1918)	5. The Progressive Age: Radical Reorganization of Industry, Society, and Government (1789 to 1918)

The main line of cultural unfolding

It is undeniable that the line of significant organic unfolding is much more closely traced in the right- than in the left-hand column. For in the right-hand column we have a logical progression of cultural stages having their start in the close, religious unity of western mankind symbolized and enforced by the Christian Church. The table makes clear that this unity, this coherent cultural whole, was first challenged by the ideas and practices springing from novel commercial contacts. Then, after a few centuries of obscure mental ferment the very form of unity was shattered by the religious revolt connected with the name of Martin Luther. The success of his attack on ecclesiastical supremacy accelerated, although that was the very opposite of his intention, the secularization of society already inaugurated by the earlier commercial developments and led in the end unescapably to that emphasis on nature and the senses which gave us the first startling triumphs of the scientific method. It followed in due course that when the new knowledge rapidly accumulated by science was applied to invention, we achieved the manifold wonders of the machine and, as an inevitable social-political concomitant, experienced an industrial and political revolution, which in its popular aspect we celebrate as democracy.

Western civilization enters on its universal phase

Throughout the many centuries covered by these phases occidental civilization has exhibited a notable power of physical expansion. The diffusion began with the slow extension of its dominion beyond the narrow bounds of western Europe within which it originated. Then, in the sixteenth century, in the period of geographic discovery, it added the whole western hemisphere to the field of its potential action. In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries it inspired the vast Russian empire to assimilate, though very superficially, enough of its ways to incorporate Russia in the European system. In the nineteenth century the diffusion of western ideas and institutions over the globe continued with increased zest; and now, in the period since the World War, diffusion has reached a new and apparently final stage. It would therefore seem justified to date a new period from the close of the war and to call it, in view of the flooding by western civilization of the most remote bays and inlets of the inhabited globe, the Universal Period. Thus in the table of proposed divisions given above there would appear a sixth phase called Universalization or European Civilization becomes World Civilization (1919+). The meaning of a universalization to which there is no longer any resistance needs to be carefully weighed. While the very word sounds a brazen note of triumph, we sense in the phenomenon a disturbing process of externalization and rarefaction. Will universalization prove the final phase of our civilization beyond which can lie nothing but enfeeblement and extinction? Or will there come fresh strength from stimulating contacts and the appropriation of new and revolutionary knowledge? An issue, this, of vital importance to us all to which we shall return for a moment at the close.

In the present chapter we shall not make the palpably hopeless attempt to cover every aspect of civilization at the present moment. For one thing we may be excused from returning to the fields of government, economics, and social relations, as these, though in narrative form, have constituted the leading subject-matter of this book and have been brought down to our day. Nor need we return to the

Science and the arts as revealers of civilization

important international movement which fills so large a place in contemporary thought and action. We shall confine our attention to the current development in two fields, which a relatively small upper class, our western intelligentsia, claims as its special province. The two fields are science and the arts. By the impulse which dominates them and by the products they put forth men have long been accustomed to measure the spiritual as distinct from the practical achievements of a given age. Possibly the distinction which a large majority of mankind stubbornly maintains between the two kinds of achievement is invidious and mistaken. In this book at least it has nowhere been affirmed that creative activity directed upon government, commerce, and invention is inferior to creative activity displayed in science and the arts. In short, we have not regarded the making of a sliding scale of human values as our particular concern. We have been content to regard civilization as a vast coöperative enterprise, which to keep moving forward at any point whatever calls for fruitful energy; and it is this energy translated into more or less abiding works to which we have chiefly made it our business to direct attention. But we may agree that every highly regarded civilization has flowered in a spiritual culture, the office of which may be declared to be to influence and direct practical activity and to give worth and dignity to our personal existence. By virtue of this double office a case might undoubtedly be made out for the superiority of spiritual culture over the many varieties of labor in the practical domain. But such an argument, as already said, does not fall within the scope of a narrative account of Europe such as this book represents. It will suffice for our purpose if the reader agrees that an attempt to trace the dominant trends in science and the arts is pertinent to the understanding of any civilization or of a given phase of any civilization.

Religious versus secular knowledge

We shall begin with science after voicing the caution that we have only a résumé in mind, since the details of the scientific movement, in so far as there is at all room for them in a general work, have already been given in Chapters XII, XVIII, and XXV. Let us recall that science originally meant nothing more than knowledge. If in these days we think of it chiefly as a method, the purpose of the method still is to achieve an increase of knowledge. It may therefore help to understand the current scientific movement if we review the changing attitude toward knowledge which has characterized the development of western civilization. Our medieval ancestors held that the highest knowledge, indeed the only knowledge worth having, was knowledge of religious truth. Any other kind of knowledge was in their eyes a hook baited by the devil. Then in the eleventh century medieval philosophy was born and ventured to exalt *ratio* or reason as a proper source of knowledge. It made the very serious reservation, however, that reason must not operate except under the guidance of and in subservience to the eternal verities of Christianity. Reason, as the saying went, must always remain the handmaiden of faith. Even with this limitation put on reason considerable knowledge was accumulated in such fields as geography, astronomy, and medicine; but the path was not cleared for an unhampered advance on the path of learning until the brakes applied by faith were removed. That took place in the course of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries and therewith the medieval system was abandoned and philosophy, freed from religious bondage, entered on its modern phase.

Modern philosophy an advance over medieval philosophy but not a source of knowledge

Conceding that this modern phase of philosophy began with Descartes (d. 1649), we may set down three characteristics which have distinguished it down to our own day. (1) Reason (or thought) has completely cast off the tutelage of faith and is free; (2) the philosophers have been increasingly impressed with the discoveries of natural science and have attempted to absorb them into their descriptions of the universe; (3) in spite of their greater freedom they still regard their main problem to be what it was in the Middle Age, that is, to penetrate behind the veil of appearances to the source of pure Being in order to establish such final truths as God, immortality, and the soul. In the three hundred years since the birth of modern philosophy there have been many distinguished thinkers who have devised explanations of the universe according to the conditions and premises listed above. In earlier sections of this book we have glanced at the work of such men as Descartes, Spinoza, Kant, and Hegel. Undoubtedly they have given us philosophic structures of an imposing grandeur by which our human life has been dignified and exalted. But owing to the fact that the goal of philosophy continued during all this time to be the riddle of the universe unriddled by the employment of our powers of deductive reasoning (ratio), the great thinkers may be described as metaphysicians who contributed much to the color and worth of existence but as good as nothing to the body of immediately serviceable knowledge.

Their case makes clear that man can not reach the realm of the immaterial and the absolute because his sensory equipment is such that he can have immediate and assured cognizance of only so-called material things. Philosophy has been the inalterable quest for a finality and certainty which it has failed to attain. With an eye directed narrowly on this failure it would be possible to make the sardonic statement that philosophy presents itself to view as a prolonged exercise in futility comparable to the sport of whipping the devil around a post.

Science the source of new knowledge

But if modern philosophy has signally failed to satisfy the expectation originally entertained of it that it would enrich our knowledge, bewildering masses of new facts have none the less been accumulated since the seventeenth century, owing to the rise of natural science. Having already dealt with natural science and its novel method first formulated by Galileo, we may content ourselves with pointing out why science yielded rich and ever richer knowledge after philosophy had committed itself to its blind alley. Instead of concentrating, as did philosophy, on *the hidden nature of things*, a nut that defied cracking, science resolved to employ our five senses in the work of observing *how things acted, how they behaved.* By slowly refining on our human powers of observation and by perfecting experimental methods in the laboratory specially trained students were gradually enabled to acquire knowledge touching matter in motion or touching the composition of both organic and inorganic matter of which no metaphysical philosopher had ever dreamt. More amazing still, each succeeding generation produced a fresh increment of proven data and fruitful hypotheses and thereby imposed the necessity of a periodic revision of our basic conceptions of the natural universe.

Einstein; the atom; quantum theory

Our own day has experienced a particularly sweeping revolution in this matter of restating fundamental concepts. The latest physico-mathematical formulations of the theoretical physicist, Einstein, if finally established, oblige us to revise the system of Newton, which has stood the test for over two hundred years, and greatly to modify our conceptions of time and space. Once accepted as "absolutes" in physical theory, time and space may have to be regarded as limited and "relative." At the same time Millikan and others have resolved the atom into a complex relation of positive and negative charges of electricity and therewith disposed of another "absolute," on which chemistry has rested as on its rock of Gibraltar for more than a hundred years. The atom, accounted since its first acceptance by the chemists as a simple, irreducible element, the ultimate "substance" of the world of matter, has now passed into the same limbo as the "absolute" time and space of the older physicists. The dissolved atom, at the present stage of our knowledge, is a very complex phenomenon and in the last analysis appears to be nothing other than energy. But what is energy? When physics and chemistry are carried by their discoveries beyond the world of appearances they come upon a metaphysical world which is as mysterious and impenetrable for them as it has proved to be during hundreds of years for the philosophers. Meanwhile, as a direct consequence of the dissolved atom and of Einstein's relativity, the physicists have latterly taken up the so-called quantum theory, with which they are groping their way into very disturbing concepts touching the supposedly invariable and predictable behavior of matter. While the quantum theory, like relativity, is far too complicated for a mere layman to grasp, every student of a changing world should at the very least take note that the older physics, to which the laws formulated by Newton seemed to have given the character of eternity, is on the point of being revised and even superseded.

The social sciences adopt the method of the natural sciences

Compared with the magnificent forward strides made since Galileo's day by the students of nature, the students who concentrated their attention on man seemed for a long time hardly to move forward at all. Their studies, once called the humanities, are in our time more commonly classed as the social sciences. The tardy development of the social sciences may be ascribed to the hesitation of their followers to adopt the profitable method of the natural sciences. Only when the social sciences too should undertake, instead of the search for the eternal verities, the close study of actual human processes, would they make valuable discoveries and work a revolution in their field. The first signs of change began to appear in the eighteenth century, that is, about a hundred years after the birth of natural science. They at once inaugurated a cumulative development which, continued to our day, presents a close parallel to the expansion in the field of nature. Under the inspiration of physics and biology the studies dealing with man concentrated with ever increasing determination and precision on human processes and behavior. They ceased, though often only with reluctance, to mouth the large, intoxicating formulas borrowed from religion and metaphysics in order modestly to bring together tiny verified details with which to build up a secure body of information, capable of standing the test of practice.

The advance of the social sciences

The constant refinement of the observational method in the humanities has produced the same phenomenon of specialization which has marked the natural sciences. In the seventeenth century there were as yet no social studies in our sense and whatever interest existed in man and his social behavior fell under the rubric of history. What divisions and subdivisions have taken place in this once unified province of knowledge since the adoption of the new method of investigation! As early as the eighteenth century political economy (the problem of wealth) and political science (the problem of government) staked off claims within the realm of history which they have cultivated intensively ever since. Early in the nineteenth century philology (the history of language) followed suit; and presently anthropology, ethnology, and sociology came along and appropriated liberal areas for themselves. By the twentieth century it had become doubtful whether any part of the social kingdom still belonged to its original rulers, the historians! But this is an over-statement; though the newer studies which sprang up in response to the new method seemed to encroach on history, they really did no more than refer Clio to her proper function, which is to serve as the recorder and coördinator of historical events. The ancient muse still performs a valuable service at the side of her numerous grown-up progeny, and together mother and offspring have heaped up a wealth of knowledge which in bulk at least compares favorably with that assembled by the natural sciences. In quality, however, it is notably inferior. For whereas the knowledge of the scientists culminates in general propositions or "laws," which operate with such certainty that immense sections of nature have been brought under control by their means and been made to do our human bidding, the social studies have not led to findings of anything like the same scope and validity. We are forced to conclude that social studies present a more complicated problem and call for a longer period of experimental labor. Freely admitting that the control of society lags far behind the already achieved control of nature, we may nevertheless hail the partial results attained as an earnest of a larger mastery in the future.

In opening new approaches to the study of man the social students only very reluctantly took up the human mind for the reason that the philosophers had always claimed the mind as their particular province. By cultivating this subdivision of their field the philosophers of the eighteenth century created what came to be called psychology; but they did not get far with it owing to their attachment to antiquated methods. Only when scientifically disposed physicians and naturalists turned to the mind and, abandoning the traditional method of introspection, patiently undertook to observe and measure the behavior of our central nervous system was appreciable headway made. Although the new scientific psychology did not get fairly started till the twentieth century, it already has brilliant achievements to its credit. It has rapidly developed special provinces, like child psychology and animal psychology; and under the name of psycho-analysis it has made the bold attempt to probe into the depths of the subconscious. Still another division which has recently experienced a vast development is psychiatry, which has mapped out as its province the study and cure of the defective and diseased mind.

Recent advance of psychology

As usual it took some time before the older psychologists discarded the metaphysical traditions with which their subject was hereditarily burdened. In point of fact some of them have not discarded them yet. But before the assault of the invaders, who had been nourished on the strong diet of the natural sciences, the old assumptions and limitations have increasingly disappeared until the mind may now be said to be studied very generally as a concrete instrument responding to external stimulus under discoverable law. Extremists of this cold, matter-of-fact kind are particularly common in the United States of America. Their leader is Professor John Watson and they are appropriately called, and indeed call themselves, behaviorists. In Europe, generally speaking, the tendency still prevails to regard the mind both as a material tool and a mysterious spiritual entity and therefore only modified forms of behaviorism enjoy currency. On the other hand, the older continent has carried the experimental study of mental abnormalities much farther than America. Under the inspiration of Freud (of Vienna), Jung (of Zurich), and many others psycho-analysis and psychiatry have put our knowledge of the diseases and phobias of the mind on a sufficiently sound basis to enable us to attack their cure with a slowly rising ratio of success.

Behaviorism; psycho-analysis

At last and almost against hope and expectation the enormous

At last a modern philosophy, pragmatism

advances made by both the natural and the social sciences began to undermine the complacency of the professional philosophers, and such of them as had not altogether lost touch with contemporary life abandoned the ivory tower which had for so many centuries been their refuge from the assaults of a rude world. The seceders frankly sought the quickening contact with the life and knowledge of their time and, more particularly in America, a philosophy abreast of the machine age took shape under the name of pragmatism. Its chief exponent is Professor John Dewey and it now boasts friends — and vigorous enemies as well! — in every American center of learning. If its following is but a corporal's guard in Europe, that may be ascribed to the circumstance that the Europeans, as more deeply immersed in philosophical tradition, are less disposed to give up the ancient search for final answers to the problems with which life is unescapably beset. For this is the central feature of pragmatism, at least from an historical angle, that it marks the frank abandonment, on the ground of their unsolvability, of the special issues with which philosophy has wrestled ever since the remote days of Plato. Pragmatism has relinquished the stellar spaces in favor of the solid earth and seeks complete identification with our human life at the level at which it is actually lived. It turns with eagerness toward the knowledge heaped up by both the natural and the social sciences and endorses their method of observation and measurement as the only available tool for the steady enrichment of life and the better control of society. Its enemies have argued that by giving up the lofty ground of the great founders it has ceased to function as philosophy and has degenerated to a harmless variety of sociology. The taunt is not withering, provided pragmatism finds a field wherein to unfold a definite activity. This might well be the coördination of the unruly masses of knowledge brought to light by our innumerable specialists coupled with the adjustment of this knowledge to the world of personal values disclosed by literature, music, painting, and all the other arts. For let this be said and said emphatically: a philosophy which does not help to keep the spirit fires burning will perish and deserve to perish in the quagmire of a base materialism. It still remains to be seen whether pragmatism can justify itself in this large sense. Meanwhile we may greet it as a sound attempt to retire from a lost position in favor of the new ground reached by the thought and action of our age.

The arts as a measure of culture

In turning to the arts for a glimpse at what they may be about at present, we may well begin by referring to the somewhat artificial nature of the distinction commonly made between the higher and the lower arts, the so-called fine arts and the crafts. Every art is *the process of making or doing something*, and the maker or doer deserves the flattering name of artist at the moment at which he achieves a convincing expression of his purpose. Failure, so much more common than success, classifies him as a would-be artist, a botcher and bungler. However, we may agree that there enters a more imaginative intention as well as a fuller command of the appropriate technical means into the making of a poem or a statue than, say, into the making of a table. For this reason a hierarchy of the arts has been recognized, and the arts which are the expression of an unusual mental and emotional endowment enjoy a particular regard. Outstanding among these are poetry, music, painting, sculpture, and architecture. We shall readily convince ourselves that an examination of their present drift will throw important light on the current phase of western civilization, if we keep in mind that an art, because concerned with doing and making, is *a social activity*. Within every artist dwells the social consciousness of his group, which therefore inevitably comes to expression in his handiwork. This transfusion with his environment does not hinder the artist from making, in addition to a social, a highly personal contribution with his product. In fact, in a purely aesthetic sense the personal element is so indispensable that it frequently receives exclusive consideration on the part of specialists and critics of the arts. But for students of civilization, like ourselves, those features of an art in which the age mirrors its purposes are unquestionably of superior importance.

Modern art in revolt against the art of the past

When we turn to contemporary expression in the higher arts as a way of penetrating to the drift and purpose of our age, we soon discover that each higher art repeats with the means and accent peculiar to itself the message of all the others. And this message, succinctly put, is revolt against the past joined with the firm resolve to set forth something novel and unique. It may at once be interposed that this is not an unusual frame of mind since every generation reacts sharply against its predecessor. But the revolt of the arts in our day is on a different plane. First, it is more violent in character than any previously reported revolt; and second, it aims its hostile shafts at the art output not merely of the immediate but also of the more distant past. Finally, the distaste expressed for the past is directed at both the inherited form and the inherited matter. How account for so sweeping an insurrection except on the ground of a fundamentally altered outlook on life and the passionate desire for a complete reassessment of inherited personal values? The uncompromising attitude becomes completely intelligible as soon as we recall the vast new stores of knowledge amassed by the natural and social sciences. True, these had been in process of accumulation ever since the Renaissance and are responsible for all the important, though limited, shifts in the arts effected during the recent centuries. For one thing, however, the spiritual implications of the fresh accumulations were slow in penetrating the human consciousness, which has always loved to fortify itself against innovation with the mummy-cloths of tradition; and, for another thing, the most revolutionary discoveries and changes are of very recent date. Granted that we have had with us those children of science, the machines, for over a hundred years, it remains a fact that the universalization of the machine has only now reached the extent which brings us into contact with it at every moment of our existence, absolutely obliging us to conform our lives to its rule.

The creed of the modern artist

The practitioner of the higher arts has a particularly sensitive organization and when he says: this is a machine age, he realizes much more than express trains, automobiles, turbines, and airplanes. He realizes the reign of power and speed and their steadily increasing sway over the creature man. At the same time he realizes vast social and political changes; he realizes new approaches to age-old problems, such as food supply, population, poverty, and disease; he realizes new possibilities of coöperation among groups within a nation and among the various nations themselves; and finally, he realizes the advent of a new beauty and a new morality. What has the world of his immediate experience to do with the ages of the past other than that it is their logical successor? Agreed that the artists of the past, progenitors of the artists of today, performed appropriate and honorable tasks; agreed that, moved to express their own time, they did so in the arts at their command and through forms satisfactory to their purpose. But how are these works of the dead masters usually regarded? As a valuable archeological deposit from which we may still draw occasional inspiration? By no means! They are assembled in stately libraries and museums and exercise such tyrannical authority that they lay chains about the limbs of the living generation. Therefore, away with these shackles! became the cry of the moderns. And at the same time there took shape in their hearts the plan to give birth to an art as vital and novel in matter and form as the dynamic society of which they were a part.

Modern music

Let us, to illustrate the general tendency, take up music. There are "schools" of modern music in every country as, for instance, the school of the Six in France (of which Honegger is the leading figure), the school of Schoenberg in Austria and Germany, the school of Respighi in Italy, the school of Stravinsky in Russia, although Stravinsky himself lives as an exile in Paris. And there are American schools centering about figures like John Carpenter of Chicago and George Gershwin of New York. Each school differs in some particulars from every other and each individual within a school insists on his right to stamp and color his work with his own personality. But all these schools and all these individuals are alike in revolt against the music of the past. For its personal and romantic utterance they would substitute something as impersonal and mathematical as the machine. Instead of blushing for this symbol of our time as a shameful birth, as did the prudish Victorians, they are proud of it and would fain reflect the intoxicating power it has conferred on our generation in the dynamism and strong pulsations of their compositions. By the same token they spurn melody, which has been the fundamental element of western music from its medieval beginnings, as an indication of sentimental feebleness and unworthy of strong-willed men living among the whirr of motors and the throb of pistons. Even our basic diatonic scale with its octave of thirteen equal semi-tones has come in for criticism because its limited range is charged with putting a check on the invention of new tone combinations. In the main, the moderns may be said to have ousted the melodic theme and the practice of varying, dissecting, and harmonizing it according to an elaborate set of rules, in favor of a new musical language which operates with exotic rhythms and the strident tones of novel instruments like saxophones. And quite patently this shift in the means of expression accounts for the diffusion of jazz. Of Africo-American origin, jazz is an almost exact translation into music of the crudeness, the angularity, and the insistent beat of the machine. It is a point in favor of this American product that it is a birth from the masses and that the intelligentsia looks at it somewhat askance. But once taken over and accommodated to the means of expression already captured, it may be expected to help push the modern seekers to their goal of a new musical art.

Eclecticism in modern architecture

In examining modern architecture we have the advantage of appealing to the most universal and necessary of the arts. Let us, by way of preliminary, throw a backward glance at medieval architecture in order to learn a lesson very helpful toward comprehending our contemporary architectural chaos. The Middle Age was dominated by Christianity and feudalism, which is another way of saying that there were two interests the period was uncompromisingly serious about. It consequently built two original kinds of structure and only two: the church and the castle. In our own secular age commanding material resources beyond even the wildest imaginings of our medieval ancestors, we raise countless monuments to interests which only casually hold our attention, such as churches, museums, and urban tenements. The result is they do not spur our invention and we are content to order them according to the preference we may entertain for this or that historical style. We say to the architect who, as the graduate of a professional school, knows all about the past and is at the same time commercially eager to please: we should like a "colonial" residence, or a "Renaissance" museum, or a "Gothic" house of worship. Our towns, cluttered up with buildings representative of every form of architectural expression through the ages, indicate an insecure, eclectic taste which, to our own undoing, we can unhappily afford to indulge. An eclectic taste usually passes for cultivation but is essentially no taste at all. Its diffusion proves our lack of seriousness and accounts for the architectural chaos which aesthetic critics plaintively lament.

Our business age discloses a business architecture

But we are not eclectically indifferent about all our structures. We are an industrial and commercial people, for whom all the part of life that deeply matters revolves around the axis of business. About business therefore we are in earnest, passionately in earnest, and have sought and at last found a form genuinely expressive of this interest in many recent factories and office-buildings as well as in those vast commercial structures called stores. In buildings of this variety our best architects, though only after long exposure to the purifying fires of a searching self-criticism, have now given up the folly of decking themselves with the borrowed plumage of Greek column or Gothic tracery. They are prepared to make the structure proclaim in steel and concrete the exact purpose which it serves; and in this pursuit of function they have returned to the fundamental principles of all good work, to honesty and simplicity.

The reign of steel and function

Our architectural awakening has been helped by the development of a wholly new building medium in structural steel. It is steel which has made possible the outstanding feature of American architectural evolution, the skyscraper. The early skyscrapers were still nothing more than monstrously enlarged editions of Venetian or Florentine palaces. It is a witness to the birth of a genuinely modern sense of form that recent skyscrapers with set-backs at stated heights have entirely broken away from tradition and neither pretend to be nor are anything more than a felicitously varied but always solid geometric mass set in a firm steel frame. Even in Europe, where the skyscraper is rejected as not consonant with European urban needs, architecture has cast off the burden of the past and found its way back to the simple functional line. This statement holds not only for business buildings but also, in increasing measure, for those clustered city rookeries called apartments. Possibly our civilization will become equally serious before long about the many other features making up the modern town. Our abundant talk about town-planning points in that direction. In any case it will only be when we have recognized that the modern town is the child of the machine and that architecture must express a perfect accommodation of its ideal aspirations to this basic fact that the art, which is only just emerging from the stage of revolt against an outmoded inheritance, will come to express itself in dynamic, free, and modern terms.

Another aspect of art: revulsion against the machine

In describing modern art as engaged in a more or less voluntary adjustment to the machine, another aspect of the problem should not be overlooked. Side by side with *submission to the machine* goes *revolt against it* and the whole over-elaborated civilization which the machine symbolizes. Many artists, tired of our cluttered material existence and our distracting intellectual interests, have reverted to earlier, less complicated phases of our culture, to the Renaissance or the Middle Age; and some have even gone back all the way to primitiveness and savagery, which put the main emphasis on emotion and instinct as against our contemporary exaltation of thought and will. The passion for an Africa-derived jazz, which we have just connected with the machine, may with perhaps much greater justification be referred to this relapse into an earlier world of feeling. In all likelihood a more thorough consideration of modern music than we have here attempted would have to concern itself quite as much with the revulsion against present-day aspects of life as with the attempt to digest them.

Painting becomes simple and finally primitive

This state of affairs in the arts, this alternate favor and disfavor enjoyed by the ruling forces of our civilization, is well illustrated by painting. The rebellion against the various schools dominant during the last quarter of the nineteenth century and conveniently labeled impressionism began in France under the leadership of Cézanne. Weary of the excessive ingenuity and the many technical triumphs of the impressionists, Cézanne returned — his admirable still-life canvases will serve as evidence — to simple form and unblurred outline. He was joined by Van Gogh and Matisse, who, like Cézanne, declare that significant form and true color constitute the eternal basis of honest painting. Their elegant and learned contemporaries regarded them for a long time with quiet derision, reserving their open indignation for Gauguin, who carried the rejection of the science and intellectualism of his day so far as to abandon Europe for the South Sea islands. There, in pictures glorifying human nakedness, hot sunshine, and tropical vegetation, he tried to recover the outlook of the natives themselves and to quicken an art, perplexed by too much thinking, through contact with life lived at the instinctive level.

Primitivism culminates in expressionism

The revolt of these men was directed in the first instance against the prevailing tradition in painting, but they included in their rejection the refinements and luxuries of a materialist age. However, their protest against these by-products of the machine did not go the length of consciously condemning the machine itself. Many of their associates and followers frankly accepted the machine and sought a means of stating in terms of the imagination the higher implications of our tremendous inventions. Movements like cubism and futurism, which came to the front just before the war, were the result. Agreeing that they proved ephemeral, we can not but admit that they left a lasting mark by reason of their attitude of affirmation toward the machine and the machine age. The destructive and agonizing war, regarded by artists very generally as the bankruptcy of our civilization, produced a powerful drift among painters toward pure primitivism in the movement called expressionism. Expressionism is of many kinds but in substance it is the declaration that the artist is hardly concerned, if at all, with the representation of natural objects as they are; his primary purpose is to bring to expression the only thing that counts, *his immediate realm of feeling*. Expressionism is individualism rampant and the most violent form yet reached of primitive emotionalism. During the most recent decade it has gradually evaporated and the immediate outlook is for a better balance between tradition and originality, between the restraint of thought and the unrestraint of feeling. While there is much that is vital in modern painting, the ferment is still too great to permit the indication of the path or paths it is likely to follow.

What of the future?

We could go on and trace the revolt and new beginnings of sculpture, poetry, and the crafts, but considerations of space forbid. The reader may be assured that a similar state of things will be found to prevail and that sculptors, poets, and craftsmen are, *either as friends or as foes of the machine*, engaged in coming to terms with the forces ruling the age in which we live. And therewith we have arrived at the point where we may be expected to offer a concluding reflection on this most recent phase of our western civilization. We have followed it from its small, self-contained medieval beginnings and have become aware of the enormous energies it has applied, especially since the nineteenth century, to commerce, industry, finance, and administration. But this has happened not without giving rise to grave social conflicts, such as those represented by the struggle between capitalism and socialism, between nationalism and internationalism, between Christianity and innumerable philosophies of doubt. At the same time new knowledge with regard to the literally limitless forces of nature has swept over us like a tidal wave and put at our service for the satisfaction of our daily wants the painless work of millions and millions of mechanical horses. And now let us take our stand on the summit of the present moment and ask: what of the future?

Our present crisis

This is a legitimate question for a student of civilization to consider, provided it is done in a purely speculative manner, free from all dogmatism of prediction. A large majority of men and women, especially of the younger generation, will, in response to the very lively conviction of their hearts, be prompted to answer without hesitation touching this issue of the future that the future will be greater and more magnificent than the past. With such an instinctive affirmation they would be expressing first, the healthy faith in life which stirs in all of us, especially in youth, and second, the conviction, born of an age of steadily advancing knowledge, that mankind has put its feet upon the path of "progress" and is marching "onward and upward" to an ever loftier destiny. Progress, let us record in this connection, has been the faith and watchword of the west ever since the coming of the machine and of the science on which the machine rests. But are we justified in trusting blindly to this double leadership? Agreeing that science will increasingly add to our control of nature until we may, in the end, succeed in wielding the scepter of Jove and the trident of Neptune, will the innumerable machines, though they be as serviceable as the spirits of Aladdin's lamp, give *inner worth* to us as individuals together with *that measure of security*, as members of a group and nation, which is the fundamental condition of the "good life"? The good life, let us concede, is the dream of fraternal harmony to which our western civilization has from the beginning ideally aspired. It is in the indicated direction of spiritual decline that danger has been lurking ever since utilitarian science has taken charge of civilization; but it was not till the World War burst upon us that the danger was fully brought home to every thinking man. Since that catastrophe countless warners have arisen who, while joyfully accepting knowledge and its fruits, declare that knowledge by itself may lead us to annihilation. It is men concerned with human welfare, followers therefore not of the natural but of the social sciences, who have been particularly energetic in raising their voice in admonition. Prominent among them are writers like H. G. Wells in England and J. H. Robinson, John Dewey, and E. E. Slosson among ourselves. The great desideratum in their eyes is that we bring our social studies, and among them our ethics and aesthetics, abreast with the movement of science. Only in this way can we make sure that the resources of science, which in the World War were manipulated for the destruction of the human race, shall be dedicated to its preservation and improvement. According to these same critics it would be both stupid and cowardly not to face the disequilibrium projected into the world by an expansion of material power out of all proportion to our existing means of social control. They are neither professional pessimists, these men, nor deluded pedlars of petty, private nostrums. They are proclaimers and advocates of human intelligence, of the proved resourcefulness of man, that strange animal of many inventions. And while they acknowledge the existence of a crisis, they urge us to prove our worth by facing and solving it.

A history which, like the present one, holds that western civilization is an individual entity born under particular conditions some fifteen hundred years ago and still engaged in organically unfolding itself, comes logically to a stop with the current stage of its unfinished evolution. We have proposed to call this latest phase the Universal Phase, because western civilization, no longer confronted with any serious rivals, is on the point of taking possession by peaceful and warlike means alike of the whole world. While this is a spectacular and unique triumph, does it in itself offer the guarantee of a noble and secure future? Thus again and from another angle the question of the future intrudes on our attention. And again a group of warners, different from those named above, has been at pains to point out that our culture, in being distributed over brown and yellow peoples, over the orient and the antipodes, runs the risk of being spread so thin as to be sapped of its vigor and significance. The leader of this school of critics is the German specialist in civilization cycles, Oswald Spengler. He can summon to the support of his view some of the most famous historians of the vanished cultures of Greece and Rome, such as Gibbon and Mommsen. These civilizations, too, entered at last a universal phase and in so doing suffered an externalization and enfeeblement which produced a slow demise. But enough of prognostication! For us, the living, it should and must suffice that the prospect before us is more brilliant than any which ever lured into the unknown our adventuring predecessors. If the dangers which confront us on every hand are great, so also are our opportunities. Let us then march forward with the assurance that, commanding courageous hearts and wakeful minds, there is no need to fear.

Is the universal phase a new start or the end of the cycle?

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